

ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR,
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

PUBLISHED BY THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.

VOLUME XXI.



LONDON:

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SOLD AT THE SOCIETY'S APARTMENTS IN SOMERSET-PLACE; AND BY
MESSRS. NORVILLE AND FELL, NICOL, SOTHEBY,
WILSON, CADELL, EGERTON, AND TAYLOR.

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At a Council of the Society of Antiquaries, May 31, 1782.

RESOLVED,

THAT any Gentleman desirous to have separate Copies of any Memoir he may have presented to the Society, may be allowed, upon application to the Council, to have a certain number, not exceeding Twenty, printed off at his own expense.

At a Council of the Society of Antiquaries, May 23, 1792.

RESOLVED,

THAT the Order made the 31st of May 1782, with respect to Gentlemen who may be desirous to have separate Copies of any Memoir they may have presented to the Society, be printed in the volumes of the Archaeologia, in some proper and conspicuous part, for the better communication of the same to the Members at large.

At a Council of the Society of Antiquaries, May 2, 1815.

ORDERED,

THAT in future, any Gentleman desirous to have separate Copies of any Paper he may have presented to the Society, which shall be printed in the Archaeologia or Vetusta Monumenta, shall be allowed, on application in writing to the Secretary, to receive a number not exceeding Twenty Copies (free of all expense) of such Paper, as soon as it is printed.

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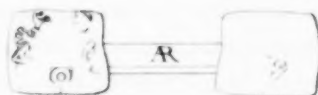
OR,

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Read 18th April 1822.



6, Langham Place, Cavendish Square, March 28, 1822.

DEAR SIR,

THE following Narrative and Extracts, copied from a Journal of Surveying, at the instance of the Honourable East India Company, have been obligingly delivered to me by my good neighbour Lieutenant

Colonel James L. Caldwell, C. B. of the Honourable East India Company's Engineers, and as several incidents thus stated appear to deserve the notice of Antiquaries, I commit them, together with three ancient specimens of silver Coins, to your hands, desiring the latter to be placed in your cabinet, if they come within the range of that valuable collection.

During a laborious Survey of the southern Districts of the Peninsula of India in the year 1809, Colonel Caldwell's attention was often drawn to a series of ancient Mounds or Tumuli, which the present Hindius represent to be of a date anterior to their own nation, and although the modern Hindius venerate every spot consecrated to religion, they do not regard the Tumuli to be described with any superstitious observance.

These mounds occur numerously in the province of Coimbatore, and they are each invariably denoted by a circle of rude stones or masses of rock, the diameter of the larger areas being often as much as one hundred feet. In one example, the circle was formed by upright flat obelisks, averaging sixteen feet in height, rude, and without impression of tools. In the centre of each mound a massive table of unhewn stone forms the roof or cover to four chambers, the sides and septa being of the same rude unworked stone, and mortices with tenons apparently ground out by trituration, serve to fix the roofs upon the walls. One of these roofs contained upwards of three hundred cubic feet of granite, and being immovable as a whole, it was divided into four equal divisions by stone cutters, in order to expose the subjacent recesses or chambers. The Hindu priests call these tumuli Paundoor Coolies, the last word meaning a mound of earth, or a hillock. Their traditional account of the word Paundoor, is, that it was the name of two brothers, the sons of a mighty ancient sovereign, who, from some cause now unknown, quitted the country on the death of their father, and lived in the jungles or woods, doing penance for a thousand years, having first hung up their arms in a certain pagodah or sacred building, the remains of which they point out near to these Paundoor Coolies. The princes having completed their penance

returned, and resumed their arms, and engaged in desperate wars for the right of empire, these tumuli being now considered as commemorations of great battles. One singular part of the tradition avers (and the whole story is similar among the best informed Hindoos) that these ancient people were pigmies, or very diminutive men, and the term always used to denote them, merely signifies "little men." Tippoo Saib was induced to open several of these tumuli, under an impression of their containing valuable treasures, and from the statements of persons who had witnessed those searches, Colonel Caldwell was induced to explore two of the Paundoor Coolies which had not been recently disturbed.

The first mound examined by Colonel Caldwell had, in the central depository, a roof of rude stone near twenty feet in length, twelve feet in width, and of unequal thickness, but generally exceeding one foot. On removing this cover, four equal compartments or square rooms appeared of about six feet in height, formed by the side stone supports, and cross partitions which supported the roof. Each room had an opening exteriorly one foot in width and eighteen inches in height, resembling the mouth of an oven. The tradition of the natives assigned to these apertures the places of doors or entrances for the "little men." Within each compartment were found vases of exceeding fine polished pottery, each standing on three legs, quite filled with an earthy substance apparently calcined, and shewing portions of bone which had been burnt. At a distance from the vases were strewed a variety of arms, as spears and swords of extraordinary form, and apparently of rude workmanship; but the metallic parts having been iron, it was so corroded that no intire instrument could be preserved, although their several forms were clearly shown by carefully removing the crust of earth with a small trowel. These instruments were entirely unknown to the modern natives, and some of them seemed like mattocks. In the large tumulus before alluded to, after cutting the superincumbent roof into four parts, the same division into four rooms appeared, and with similar outer openings to each. Here were deposited vases of

beautiful black shining or glazed pottery of about twelve inches in diameter; the manufacture of this ware being now unknown, and very superior to any native pottery made in this part of India. In these vessels square coins of silver were found, obviously worn by use; also two gold coins of the same size and character; and many remains of copper coins quite corroded, but of similar bulk and form. Cups also of four inches diameter. In each vessel the same calcined substance as found in the tripod vases. One extraordinary vessel of this fine pottery was inexplicable. It resembled an hour-glass, open at both ends, being eighteen inches in length and six inches diameter. On the floor of one chamber were twenty flat beads of a red colour, resembling cornelian, they retained the relative positions of a connected necklace, and had been united together by wires or threads.

The Hindoos point out more modern tumuli, which they assert to be the memorandums of military exploits among their ancestors. In one of these a massive stone had been left in its progress to form the roof of a depository, and the mode of raising it was an inclined plane of solid earth, inclosing the upright stones on which it was intended to be placed. Perhaps bearers of timber were used to facilitate the elevation of those massive rocks, and when properly fixed, the circumjacent earth might be cleared away. This circumstance may help to explain the mode of constructing those rude buildings, such as Stonehenge.

I leave the description of the Coins to your superior knowledge. If they should be anterior to the attested records of the Hindoos, they may prove to be the most ancient examples of metallic art.

Dear Sir,

Your much obliged servant,

ANTHONY CARLISLE.

II. *Observations on the Coins found by Colonel CALDWELL in the Tumuli described in the preceding Letter from Sir ANTHONY CARLISLE, Knt. By RICHARD PAYNE KNIGHT, Esq. V. P.*

Read 18th April 1822.

THE three irregularly square pieces of silver which accompany this Letter, weighing from forty-three to thirty-five grains each, in a dimension of about a quarter of a square inch, are not properly Coins, having no impressions in relief stricken from dies, but merely incuse marks, irregularly imprinted by small and very neat stamps worked by hand: nor do these marks appear to imitate or represent any thing, but to be mere arbitrary signs; though their being found with the relicks of the dead, in sepulchral urns, proves them to have had some sacred or symbolical meaning. The pieces themselves appear, from the irregular bulging in the edges, to have been beaten flat and stamped, after being divided into monetary portions; and they are worn and polished in a manner which proves them to have been long in use as a circulating medium. Both the circumstances of their discovery, and the simplicity of their fashion are such, that we may, perhaps, safely pronounce them to be the most ancient and primitive specimens of money extant; though it is in vain to offer any conjectures concerning their date, or to seek for any accounts of the nation by which they were fabricated and employed, all the native histories and traditions of India terminating in allegorical fable at a much later period. Even the coarse gold coins, found in the great peninsula, with an androgynous figure sitting on a lotus on one side, and a robust male figure standing with a bow in his hand on the other, though evidently imitated from those in silver of

6 *Observations on the Coins found by Colonel Caldwell in India.*

the Syrian and Parthian kings, and therefore little, if at all, anterior to the Christian era, are nevertheless beyond the reach of all historical or antiquarian knowledge possessed by its present inhabitants. The dies of these, as well as of others of impure gold, with different devices, which appear to be of the Boodists, are of rude work : but still they are dies, as deeply sunk as those of the Parthians, and equally leaving impressions on both sides ; whereas the pieces of silver in question are only stamped, as they might have been by individuals through whose hands they passed ; and as pieces cut out of rolled or beaten plates of the precious metals now are by the Chinese bankers. The tools nevertheless, employed in stamping them must have been very sharp and neat, and such as required much more skill in hardening and fashioning the operative metals, than the rude and massive structures in which they were found, warrant us to suppose in the people who raised them. Yet nothing at all resembling them has been found any where else ; and the symbolical devices, which caused them to be buried with the dead, must have belonged to the religion of the country ; for the fable of money being required to pay for their passage into another world was never, I believe, considered otherwise than as a poetical fable any where, nor ever known as such, to any but the Greek poets and their Imitators. The most entire and intelligible of these devices, and the only one repeated, is a radiated circle or disc, probably signifying the sun, the primary object of all primitive worship, not guided by Revelation : but in both instances the stamp has been so applied as to extend over the edge of the piece, and leave the circle imperfect. All the other marks are so arbitrary, unconnected, or effaced, that it is in vain to attempt any explanation or interpretation of them.

Money appears to have been unknown to the Greeks in the Homeric times ; the general scale of comparative value being graduated by particular numbers of horned cattle, and not by any definite portions of the precious metals ; the application of which to such purposes originated, according to Herodotus, with the Lydians ; whose country abounding in gold, might naturally have suggested the notion of making it the

universal medium of traffick ; and impressing upon definite masses of it the stamp of public authority, assuring both its weight and quality, and thus affording a portable and universally intelligible measure of relative value for every thing else. In this metal, great numbers are extant, all of the most primitive fabrick, and with every characteristick of original invention ; some of which may be of the early Lydian kings, though most of them have the known devices of different Greek cities ^a. None, however, have the smallest resemblance to these Indian pieces of silver, being all thick rudely shaped lumps, seeming to have taken their form from being dropped melted into water, and then rammed into the dies with one or more square, round, or oblong stamps, very deeply impressed, to shew that the metal was the same within as without, and obviate fraudulent plating, which seems to have commenced almost immediately after the first coinage of silver in the Grecian states ; though the less operose fraud of mixing and debasing the metals does not appear to have been known till after the Macedonian conquest. Neither does the refining of them appear to have been practised for the purpose of coinage in its early stages, all the examples extant being of different degrees of impurity, as they came from the mines ; and Herodotus expressly stating, that Darius, the son of Hystaspes, first struck money of the purest gold ; which practice both the Macedonian kings and Roman Emperors seem to have continued to the last, as far as their imperfect chemistry would allow, though both the Romans and Parthians, in the decline of their wealth and power, adulterated their silver so as to leave a very small proportion of the nominal metal. The gold, also, of the Indian coins of the Boodists above mentioned, is much adulterated, whilst the silver of the pieces in question appears to be very pure : which may afford another argument in favour of their high antiquity.

That an invention, however, so universally and individually beneficial as that of a general medium of barter and traffick between wants and

^a See Mus. Hunter. Tab. 66, fig. 1. et Sestini Stateri antichi.

superfluities, should have once existed, and been then abandoned, is most extraordinary ; and only to be accounted for by one of those exterminating revolutions, in which religious proscription consummated the devastation of military violence. That such revolutions have happened in the peninsula of India, there can be no doubt ; the traditions concerning the extermination of the Jairs, a nation of Boodists, by the Bramins, at a period beyond the reach of prophane history, being confirmed by the few remains of their sculpture, of which a specimen, a figure of Boodra, sitting cross-legged on his lotus throne, the whole only an inch high, was given by the late Sir John Macpherson to the Hon. Charles Greville ; and since by the Duke of Hamilton to Mr. Payne Knight ; most exquisitely wrought out of extremely thin plates of brass, imperceptibly joined, and having the features, limbs, and extremities finished with a degree of neatness, truth, and delicacy, worthy of the best ages of Grecian art, and far surpassing, not only what Indians, but even what Europeans of the present times can do. Like the Egyptian, indeed, the talents of these ancient Indian artists being confined to given subjects of unnatural form, could only display themselves in the details of particular parts, in which both have left specimens of high excellence ; while the liberty of the Greeks left all nature open to their choice ; and the sublime imagery of their early poets so exalted and expanded all around them, and presented it to their heated imaginations so augmented and embellished, that imitation learned to surpass reality. The Phenicians appear to have been equally free from all religious or political restraint ; but still having no Iliad nor Odyssey, nor probably a language capable of such compositions, their art, as far as we can judge by their coins, the only certain monuments of it, was confined to mere close and correct imitation. The intercourse of the Egyptians with both these nations was very early, and sufficiently intimate to have taught them the conveniencies and advantages of money ; yet none seems to have been ever coined by them under any of the dynasties of their native kings ; nor is it probable that the shekel of silver of the Jews was a coin, but merely a weight, like the talent of

gold in the Homeric poems; no Jewish coins having appeared anterior to those of the Maccabees. Some religious prejudice may have been the obstruction with both; hierarchies being naturally hostile to all innovation, and often extending their jealousy and aversion of it to matters the most unconnected with those of their proper and immediate care.

Some such religious prejudice may perhaps account for the seeming inconsistency between the rudeness of structure in the Indian tombs above described, and the perfection of the earthen vases, and neatness of the stamped money found in them. The Israelites were ordered to *construct their altars of stone, of unhewn masses only; as the application of a tool of metal would pollute them.*^b Similar notions seem to have prevailed among other neighbouring nations,^c and perhaps influenced the ancient inhabitants of the peninsula of India, to whom these monuments belonged. It is much to be regretted, that none of the earthen vases have accompanied the pieces of money; as both the drawings and description of them imply a skilful use of the potter's wheel in the fabric; and that is an instrument, of which the formation and employment, as well as the stamps used on the pieces of silver, must have been preceded by a degree of practical knowledge of mechanic art, which could not fail to produce both masonry and carpentry, the first means of administering to the social wants and comforts of man. The use, too, alone, of a portable and universal medium of exchange, such as money, supposes, independently of its fabrick, a stage of civilization sufficiently advanced to have produced a division or classing of productive occupations, so extended as to afford that variety of respective superfluities which would call for the intervention of such a medium, to supersede the difficulties and simplify the perplexities of reciprocal transfer in kind. That such a people should have been so operose and costly in the construction of their sepulchres, and yet have left no other

^b Exodus xx. 25. Joshua vii. 31.

^c Spences. de Leg. rit. vet. Hebræor. l. 11. c. vi. s. 11.

10 *Observations on the Coins found by Colonel Caldwell in India.*

traces or memorials of their having existed, and that too in a climate so well adapted to preserve such memorials, is scarcely to be accounted for, even with every allowance that can be made for the exterminating zeal and unwearied industry of religious devastation ; and it is probable that, if more extensive researches are made in a country so imperfectly explored, many other objects of sufficient interest to repay the labour of investigation, may be discovered. The peninsula of India seems to have been the earliest seat of civilization and science unenlightened by Revelation ; and though its inhabitants never made any progress at all comparable to that of the more favoured nations on the borders of the Mediterranean, their priority and originality must always render their antiquities interesting both to the philosopher and the historian.

R. P. KNIGHT.

- III. *Account of King Edward the Fourth's Second Invasion of England, in 1471, drawn up by one of his Followers; with the King's Letter to the Inhabitants of Bruges upon his success: translated from a French Manuscript in the Public Library at Ghent. Communicated by EDWARD JERNINGHAM, Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter to NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 13th April, 1820.

Bolton-Row, March 10, 1820.

DEAR SIR,

I BEG leave to communicate, through your hands, to the Society of Antiquaries, a fac-simile Copy of a curious Manuscript, preserved in the Public Library at Ghent.

The Manuscript appears to be an illuminated transcript of a Report, drawn up by one of the followers of King Edward the Fourth in his final expedition from Zeland, anno 1471, and forwarded to the Court of Charles the Bold Duke of Burgundy, through whose advice and aid the same had been principally planned and effected.

The Report is accompanied by a letter from Edward himself, dated the 29th of May, and addressed to the inhabitants of Bruges, informing them of the complete success with which his expedition to England had been crowned, and thanking them for their hospitable and generous entertainment of himself and friends whilst residing in exile in their city.

The Report is divided into four heads, or chapters.

CHAPTER I. relates the departure of Edward and his followers from Zeland; the tempestuous weather they experienced at sea; their landing in the river Humber; their march to York; the retreat of

the Earl of Warwick into Coventry; the siege of that town by King Edward; and the junction he effected with his brother Clarence at Warwick; the raising the siege of Coventry, and Edward's march to London, where he got possession of the Tower, and of the persons of Henry VI. and the Archbishop of York; the advance of the Earl of Warwick from Coventry, in the hope of surprising Edward during the Easter holydays in London; and finally the battle of Barnet, in which the Earl of Warwick was slain.

CHAPTER II. relates the news received by Edward, of the arrival in England of Queen Margaret with her son Prince Edward; the king's immediate departure from London; the approach of the two hostile armies in the neighbourhood of Bath and Bristol; and, finally, the battle of Tewksbury, in which Prince Edward is stated to have fallen.

CHAPTER III. relates the beheading, at Tewksbury, of the Duke of Somerset, the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, and of the other prisoners taken after the battle; the intelligence brought to the king of the insurrection of the Bastard of Fauconbergh in Kent; and the immediate march of the former towards London for the defence of that capital.

CHAPTER IV. relates the unsuccessful attack made by the Bastard of Fauconbergh upon London, previous to the king's arrival; his subsequent retreat, and seizure of the town of Sandwich with the shipping; and finally, the submission of the Bastard of Fauconbergh, with all his followers, on the 26th of May. Three days after this event, this Report appears to have been drawn up and forwarded to the Low Countries, accompanied by the king's letter dated the 29th before-mentioned; the Report closing with the most confident hope, that the submission of the Bastard of Fauconbergh, would be very shortly followed by a general pacification throughout the kingdom.

The Manuscript is on vellum, of a quarto size, and at the head of each of the four chapters is an highly finished illuminated Miniature.

Miniature 1, represents the battle of Barnet. The two armies, clad in armour, appear engaged in close combat, the Lancastrians bearing a large

red banner, with a border and rose embroidered in gold. EDWARD on a white charger, caparisoned with red cloth lined with blue, and semé with fleurs de lis; his vizor raised, and a gold crown on the top of his helmet; appears to have just pierced with a long red lance the breast-plate of his antagonist, intended no doubt for the Earl of Warwick.

In front two esquires are engaged hand to hand with swords; the Lancastrian is attempting to thrust the point of his weapon through the bars of his opponent's helmet, whilst another of Edward's squires is pushing him off with his lance; in the back ground, the open country appears between two high ridges of rock; on the summit of the right bank is a large castellated building. (See Plate I.)

Miniature 2, represents the battle of Tewksbury. Edward appears conspicuous on a brown horse, in complete armour, bearing on his shield the royal arms of France and England, with a crown on his helmet, and charging at the head of his horse; in front of the Lancastrians, a young knight with light-coloured hair, appears just beaten to the ground, his head uncovered, and the uplifted sword of a knight, mounted on a white charger richly caparisoned, just ready to strike it off. This probably was intended to represent the death of Prince Edward, by the hands of the Duke of Gloucester or Clarence: in front, the archers appear mutually engaged; the Yorkists, seemingly, with a plentiful supply of arrows at their feet. In the back ground, a town is seen with several steeples and spires, situated between two mounds, or barrows, covered with tufts of trees. (Plate II.)

Miniature 3, represents King Edward standing in armour, his shield emblazoned, without his helmet, and a gold crown on his head, witnessing the execution of the prisoners taken at Tewksbury. The executioner (a remarkable large man) appears upon a platform of wood raised with two steps; his axe uplifted, ready to strike off the head of the Duke of Somerset, who is bending over a block, clad in armour, with long gilt spurs, without his helmet, and a white bandage over his eyes; the other prisoners stand close to the platform, with mournful countenances, their hands tied before. John Lonstrother, the Prior of Saint

John of Jerusalem, stands foremost, dressed in a long black gown, with the white cross of his order (now Maltese) on his left breast. In the back ground is represented a distant view of the country, between two high banks; on the summit of that to the left, is a building with several steeples, surrounded by an embattled wall. (Plate III.)

Miniature 4, represents the attack made by Thomas Nevill, son to the Lord Thomas Fauconbergh, and commonly called the Bastard of Fauconbergh, upon London. The Bastard is represented himself on a white horse, his lance just broken to pieces by a knight, sallying out of one of the city gates, at the head of a troop of horse, and his men appear in consequence to be turning their horses round, and retreating. Scaling-ladders are placed against the walls, and men mounting with flaming torches in their hands; whilst a trumpeter posted over the city gate is blowing a blast. (Plate IV.)

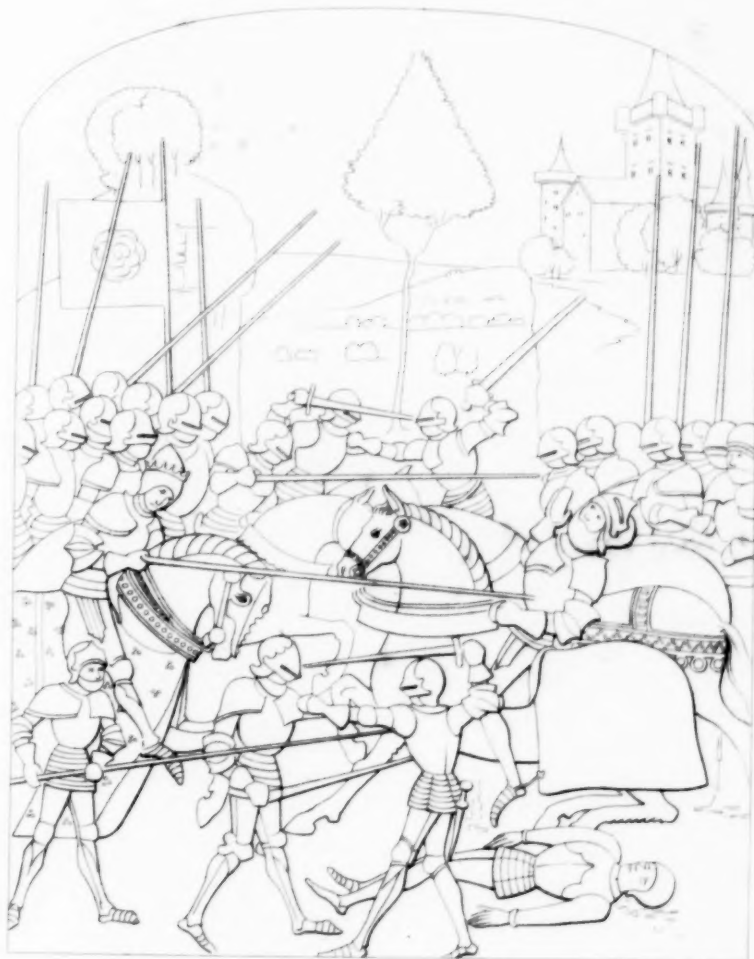
The Manuscript and Miniatures have been copied from the original by Lady Bedingfield, who obtained a particular permission for the purpose, from the trustees of the Public Library at Ghent, and it is in her name I beg to offer this communication to the Society.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

EDWARD JERNINGHAM.

TO NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq.
F. R. S. Secretary.

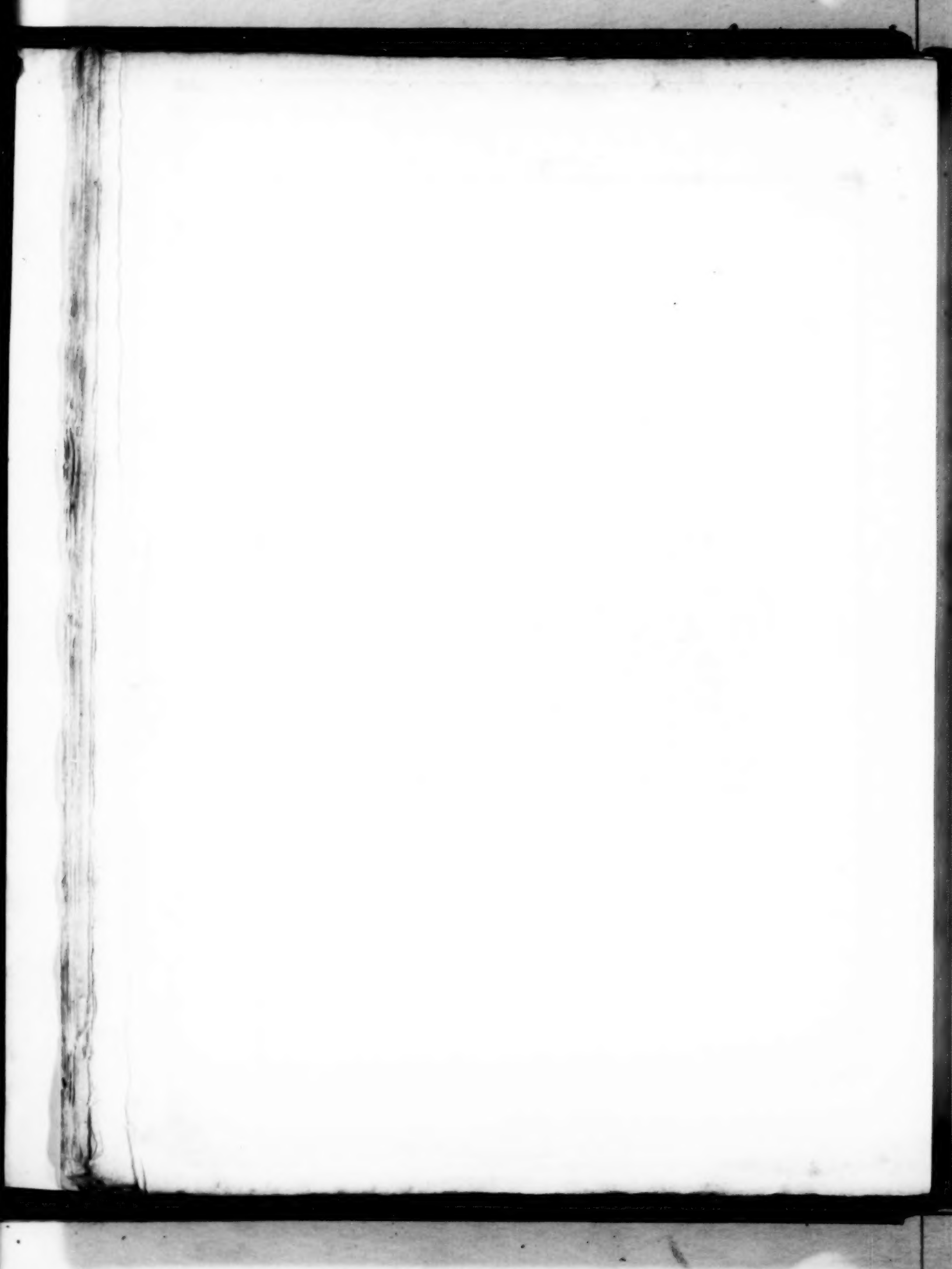


C. A. Stothard del.

J. B. Dwyer sc.

Battle of Barnet.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, January 1856.





C. A. Richard del.

J. Bacon sc.

Battle of Tewksbury

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, January 1786.

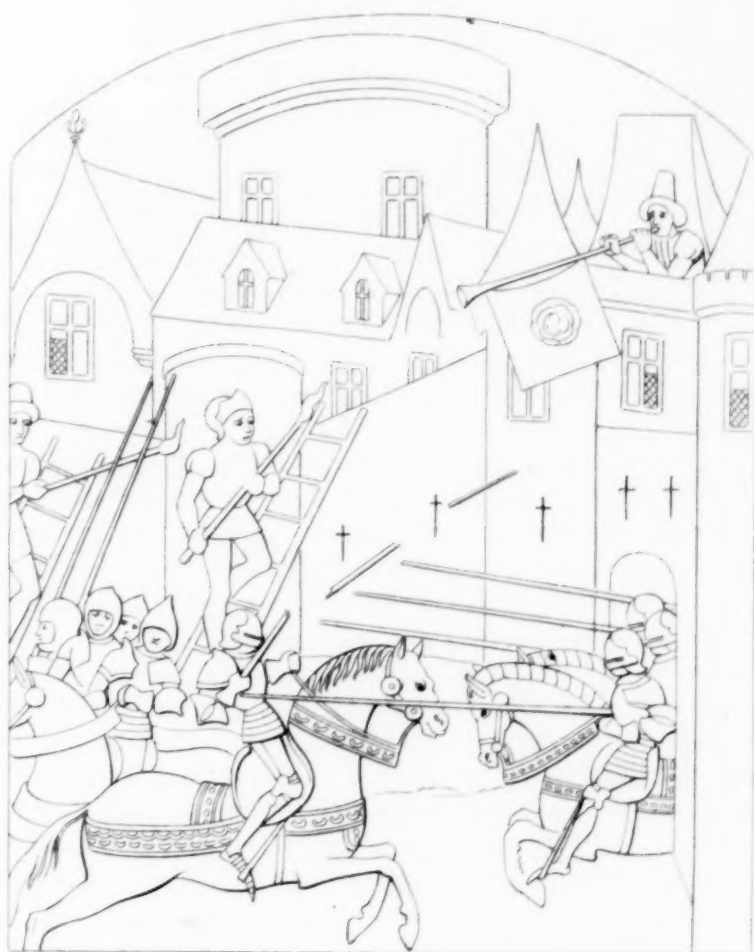


C. A. Stothard del.

J. H. B. sculp.

Execution of the Duke of Somerset

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, January 1836.



C.A. Stothard del.

J. Baire sc.

Attack of the Bastard of Fauconbergh on London.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London January 1846.

TRANSLATION.

CHAPTER I.

How King Edward departed from Zealand, and arrived in his Kingdom of England; of the great Battle he fought with the Earl of Warwick and his Adherents, and how the Earl of Warwick was slain, and his whole army dispersed.

FROM the time our Sovereign Lord Edward, by the Grace of God, King of England and Lord of Ireland, departed from the Province of Zealand, and embarked, the 10th day of March, on the seas, he experienced exceeding bad weather and heavy tempests, so that he reached his kingdom of England, with his followers, in great peril and danger, on the 14th day of the said month; and landing on the *northern coast*,^a they took from thence the road leading to the city of York, where they arrived on the 18th, and then proceeded by such forced marches, that they got to the river Trent, which is about the centre of the kingdom, on the 21st. Here they received intelligence that the Earl of Oxford was posted at a ford, and was assembling men, in order to guard the passage; but our sovereign lord advanced within so short a distance of the earl, that the latter presently took to flight; whereupon the king marched straight forward towards his grand rebel and traitor the Earl of Warwick, who by this time had taken the field with a powerful force, but he also being informed of the approach of our sovereign lord, retired with his men on the 27th day of the same month, within a strong closed city called Coventry; before which city, our sovereign lord, on the 29th of the said month, drew up his whole army in battle array.

In order, however, to preserve from destruction his own subjects, the inhabitants of this city, our sovereign lord sent a challenge to the Earl

^a At Ravenspurgh, on the Holderness side of the Humber.

of Warwick, to come out and determine their quarrel by battle in the open field ; but the earl declining the challenge for six days successively, the king drew off his army towards the town of Warwick, with a view to entice and encourage the earl to sally forth. In the mean time, the king took possession of the town of Warwick, in order to receive therein his brother the Duke of Clarence, who had arrived with a noble company of men tendering their submission and service, and before whom the king immediately appointed his banners to be displayed.

After this, news was received that the Duke of Exeter, and the Lord Beaumont were marching to the relief of the said arch rebel the Earl of Warwick ; to encounter these, the king sent forward, as far as the town of Leicester, a company of men, who with all expedition repulsed and put them to flight on the 3d day of April.

At length, however, when the king found there were no means of provoking his said arch rebel to come forth out of the city of Coventry, and that he could not lay siege to, and assault the same, without destroying his own subjects, the inhabitants thereof, in number 20,000, and for whom he felt the greatest commiseration ; and knowing also, that his adversary, Henry, was then within the city of London, with divers other rebels and traitors, there using and usurping his royal authority ; he left Coventry, and bending his course towards London, reached the latter on the 11th day of April. Here, he presently made himself master of the Tower of this city, and seized the person of the said Henry, as well as that of the Archbishop of York : both whom he retained in custody, with divers other rebels and traitors.

In the mean while, the Earl of Warwick, supposing that the said Tower and City of London would be stoutly defended against the king's attack, or, in all events, that the king would be engaged in solemnizing the feast of Easter in that city, and expecting therefore to come upon him unawares, he ventured forth out of the city of Coventry, and advanced forward hastily, with a numerous host.

The king, well advised of the earl's treacherous intent, and in order presently to encounter him, notwithstanding the solemnity of the sea-

son, set out with all his forces on the eve of Easter Sunday, the 13th of April, and marched that day as far as ten of our English miles. The whole of that night he remained under arms in the open fields, his army drawn up in the finest order of battle, until five o'clock in the morning, when he engaged with the rebels, who were commanded by the Duke of Exeter, the Marquis of Montague, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Oxford, and the Lord Beaumont, to the number of 30,000 combatants, according to their own reckoning.

In this battle were slain the Earl of Warwick, and the marquis his brother, with a great number of knights, squires, and others, who fighting stoutly, resisted the attacks of the king and his army during three hours, but King Edward at length remained in possession of the field, through the aid of Almighty God, and of the glorious martyr Saint George.

CHAPTER II.

How the Queen Margaret, and the Prince of Wales her son, arrived in England; how after their arrival they assembled a vast army; of the great battle King Edward fought with them, and how the Prince of Wales was therein slain, and great numbers with him routed.

AFTER these events had taken place, the king received intelligence on the 16th of this month, that Margaret the pretended queen, in virtue of her usurped claim, accompanied by her son Edward the pretended Prince of Wales, with their adherents, were arrived in the kingdom, having landed on the western coast, and were advancing to encounter him with all the force they could muster, and that, bending their march still more to the west, they were making for the city of Exeter, where, with the assistance of numerous partizans in Cornwall, Somersetshire, and Dorsetshire, and other counties adjacent, the Duke (of Somerset), aided by the Earl of Warwick, had been enabled to espouse openly the quarrel of King Henry.

The said Edward and Queen Margaret were in a short time joined by great numbers of the people; in consequence of which, on the 22d day of the same month, our sovereign lord resumed the field without delay, and moved forward with such rapidity, Edward and the queen advancing equally on their side, that he soon came to within eighteen miles of the place where they were posted, *viz.* in the city of Bath, and where, according to the information he received, they purposed to give him battle. Immediately on the receipt of this intelligence, the king drew up his army in the finest array, and remained under arms the whole of the night, in the hopes of fighting the said Edward and Margaret towards break of day; but Margaret and her son, when they had learned the king's resolution, and in what fine array his army was drawn up, changed their plan, and taking another route, marched with their whole force towards a strong city called Bristol, into which they were admitted through the aid and assistance of certain rebels, and were recruited by a supply of men, provisions, and money. Hereupon they resumed sufficient courage to sally forth out of the said city, and to offer the king battle as before; and on the 2d day of May, they chose and appointed a field for the combat, about nine miles from the town; as soon as this was made known to the king, he immediately advanced within two miles of Edward and Margaret; but they, as soon as the king's approach was proclaimed, broke up their camp, and marching during that night and the following day, being thirty-six miles, reached, with their whole army, the town of Tewksbury. Intelligence of this being brought to the king, he instantly pursued them with his whole force, and made so rapid an advance, that on the 3d of May he came within three miles of Tewksbury, and there lay encamped in the open fields: the following morning, the king moved forward in the finest order, and came before the town, where he found the rebels drawn up and marshalled in a wonderful strong position. The king hereupon recommending his cause and quarrel to our blessed Creator, attacked on the 4th day of May, and, through the aid of our blessed Creator, obtained a victory over his said rebels. In the battle, Edward, the brother-

in-law of the aforesaid Duke of Somerset, called Marquis of Dorset, Earl Bouchier, and the Lord Wenlock, with many other noble knights and squires, were slain ; and there were made prisoners, Edmund, stiled Duke of Somerset, the Prior of Saint John *, with divers other knights and squires.

CHAPTER III.

How the Duke of Somerset and the Prior of Saint John, with several other Knights and Squires, made prisoners at the Battle, were beheaded in the Town of Tewksbury.

THE battle being thus over, the king entered the town of Tewksbury, and therein caused to be beheaded, on the 6th day of the aforesaid month of May, the Duke of Somerset, the Prior of Saint John, together with several other knights and squires, and divers other gentlemen, who for a length of time had been the instigators of the rebellion.

These things being done, the king departed from thence the 7th day of the said month, and at the same time news was brought to him, that certain rebels in the north were beginning to foment insurrection and commotions among the people against him, in favour of King Henry ; whereupon he advanced towards them, and coming into his city of Coventry on the 11th day of the month, he there refreshed himself and his army ; as soon, however, as his northern rebels had learned his approach, they retreated, and dispersed their bands and companies ; some of them, viz. the Lord De Camis and others were taken, and some sent to, and used means to obtain the king's pardon : all the cities and towns, together with divers districts of country, submitted, and were secured under due obedience to the king : in fine, by the 13th of May, it was ascertained, that this rebellion, which had broken out in the

* John Lonstrother

north, was in no manner alarming, and that the whole of that district would very shortly be pacified. At this moment also, the king was informed, that the Bastard of Fauquenbergh^b, with divers soldiers and mariners belonging to Calais, having traitorously conspired against his royal majesty, had engaged a great body of the people in Kent to espouse the quarrel of King Henry, and on the 12th day of May, had come before the city of London, saying, they would have the said King Henry from out of the Tower, and would march forward and war with King Edward wheresoever they could find him, they being in number 18,000 men.

This intelligence having reached the king, he immediately sent a great portion of his army to reinforce and succour his city of London. They marched from Coventry on the 14th day of May, and he followed himself in person on the 16th of the same month.

The rebels, when they were informed that the king was making dispositions to come and attack them at the head of a great number of men, abandoned their design of crossing the river Thames, and of advancing to meet him.

CHAPTER IV.

How the Bastard of Fauconberghe, and his adherents, assaulted the City of London, to which they set fire in divers places. How those within the City sallied out upon a part, and put the remainder to flight.

THEN the Bastard of Fauconberghe and his adherents, on the 13th and 14th days of the said month of June, assaulted most furiously the City of London, with cannon and arrows, and set fire to several houses on London Bridge, and to two other posts. The Earl of Exeter, and other servants of the king, seeing this, and aided by the citizens, sallied

^b Thomas Nevill, son to the Lord Thomas Fauconbergh.

forth upon the rebels on the said 14th day, and forced them to abandon their enterprize by putting them to flight, and beating down more than 2000, of which the greater number were slaughtered or made prisoners. Hereupon the remainder of the rebels, on the 16th, 17th, and 18th of the said month, retreated to a hill four miles distant from the city, and there continued in great force during three or four days; but when they were informed of the king's approach, they broke up and retreated further towards the sea.

The king, continuing his march, arrived in his City of London on the 21st of May, accompanied by many great nobles, and the prime gentry of the kingdom, with other warlike personages, to the number of 30,000 horsemen. It is to be observed here, that during the period which elapsed between the battle fought at Tewksbury, and the king's arrival in London, Margaret, the pretended queen, with divers captains of the party of her son Edward, were made prisoners and placed in safe custody, in which they remained.

All these events having come to the knowledge of Henry, lately stiled king, but then a prisoner in the Tower of London, he took them so much to heart, that through displeasure and melancholy, he departed this life on the 24th of the said month of June.

The king having quitted London, marched with all his forces in pursuit of the rebels, who had broken up, and dispersed themselves in various parts, as well in Kent as in other counties; all excepting the Bastard of Fauconberghe, who keeping together a large body of mariners, had entered Sandwich, and had possessed himself of the command of the town, and of forty-seven ships; but no sooner were they informed of the king's approach, than they went forth to meet him, hoping to be received into favour, and admitted into his service; which request being granted, the town and vessels were forthwith yielded up to the king on the 26th of the said month. Thus then may be now seen, how, with the aid of God and our Lady, Saint George, and all the Saints, the final expedition and proper recovery of the just title and right of our Sovereign Lord the King, Edward the Fourth, to his kingdom of England,

is at length completed and terminated, within the space of eleven weeks ; during which period, through the grace of God, he has by his great good sense and excellent policy, undergone and escaped many eminent perils, dangers, and difficulties ; and by his noble and valorous conduct, has won two great battles, and dispersed divers great assemblages of rebels in various parts of his kingdom ; great numbers of whom, although as powerful and as wickedly disposed as possibly could be, were withal so terrified and overpowered by his chivalrous courage, that they were put into utter confusion. It clearly appears then, and is as firmly believed, that with the assistance of the Almighty (which has never been wanting to him from the very commencement to the present hour), our sovereign lord will, in a very short space of time, pacify the whole of his kingdom, so that peace and prosperity will increase from day to day, to the great honour and praise of God, to his own singular and famous renown, to the signal joy and consolation of his people, his friends, and valiant allies, and to the confusion of his enemies, and all evil-minded men.

Here follow the Names of those who were killed at the last Battle which took place at Tewksbury, the 14th of May 1471.

First ;

Edward, called Prince of Wales,	Sir John Delues,
Sir John of Somerset,	Sir William de Vauby,
The Lord of Weneloch,	Sir William Fildind,
Sir Edmund Hampden,	Sir Robert Wininguem,
Sir John Wellenor,	Sir Nycolas Herby, and several
Sir William Roos,	others, making a thousand.

Here follow the Names of those who were beheaded.

First ;

The Duke of Somerset,	Sir William Votary,
The Prior of St. John, called	Sir Gervase Clifton,
Sir John Longhenstod,	Henry Tresham,

John Delues,
Walter Courtney,
Loys Mills,
John Flory,
Robert Jackson,
John Sowen,

Sir Thomas Tresham,
Sir William Webingh,
Sir Hunerefry,
William Grynnsby, judged to
death, and pardoned.

Here follows the Copy of the Letter sent by King Edward to the Nobles and Burgo Masters, Sheriffs, and Council of Bruges.

“Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, and of France, and Lord of Ireland, to our very dear and special friends, the Nobles, Men, *Escouttelles*, Burgo Master, Sheriffs, and Council, of the Town of Bruges, and to each of them, health and happiness.

“Very dear and special friends. We thank you as much and as cordially as we can, for the good cheer and great curtesy, which from your benevolent affection it did please you to bestow on us, and demonstrate so graciously and profusely for the good and consolation of us and our people, during the time that we were in the said town ; that we consider ourselves greatly beholden to you, and that you shall know in effect how dearly we prize it, as we never can do sufficient for you and for the said town ; signifying to you, that it has pleased our blessed Creator, by his grace, to give us, since we left the said town and arrived in this our kingdom, such good and prosperous fortune, that we have obtained the victory over all our enemies and rebels, so that thereby we have peaceably retaken possession of our said kingdom, crown, and regalia, and are very duly obeyed, as by the bearer of these presents you can be more fully informed. For which we return and give very particular thanks and acknowledgment to our Creator, who, very dear and special friends, we pray may always have you in his holy keeping.

“Given under our seal, in our City of Canterbury, the 29th day of May.

(Signed)

EDWARD.”

IV. *Copy of a singular Petition to King Henry VI. preserved among the Records in the Tower of London. Communicated by JOHN BAYLEY, Esq. F. S. A.*

Read 23d January, 1823.

To the Kyng oure sov^rain lord.

R. H.

Bisechith ful mekely youre continuel orato^r & poure liege man Richard Hunt, How he to yow, that been right m^ciabile lord moved with pite, m^ccy, and grace, pitously compleyneth, beyng in grete disolation & hevyness of herte. For as moche as on Richard Peke, that is his sone in lawe, and hath wedded his wif is doghter, hath beholde al his lyve a true laborer & y^to an innocent man, and wel biloved among his neighbo^rs, til now late he is detecte of a cryme that he shuld take ij. mat^ras that is noght worth iij.s. oute of a vessaill in the wat^r, and may have y^e gode a geen, noght with stondyng, his mortall enemyes sue to have hym dede without that he have your ful noble grace, and he hath a wyf and iiij. childryn the eldest of v. zeer of age. Plese to your ful noble grace atte ye rev^ence of al myghty God and for passion that Crist suffred for al man kynde, to have compassion and pite on hym, for ye pity that Crist had on Marie Magdalein, so that he be noght myschefously put to deeth, and ze gracious and sov^rain lord shall have a gode oxe to youre lardre at the rev^ence of god, and for alle ye soules of alle your noble pgenito^rs, and he ev^e effectually to pray for your gode spede long lyve and pspite, y^t God for his grete godenesse and endelesse m^ccy, longe kepe & mainteyne to his pleasure. *In another hand is written,*

The King woll that this Bill passe without ony manⁿ fyne or fees that longeth to him.

V. *Observations on a Gold Ring with a Runic Inscription, in the possession of the Right Honourable the EARL OF ABERDEEN, Pres. S. A. In a Letter to his Lordship, from WILLIAM HAMPER, Esq. F. S. A.*

Read 6th March, 1823.

† F R A R I N E T A R I N R I F F X F F F F F F F

↑ E ↑

Deritend House, Birmingham, January 1st, 1823.

MY LORD,

THE Runic Inscription on your Lordship's very curious Gold Ring, which I have copied at the head of my letter, is composed with a mysterious abruptness, and arranged with a studied obscurity, well befitting its high thaumaturgical pretensions, as an amulet against fever and leprosy.

Without expressing a single doubt upon the subject of its occult virtues, I shall, however, so far presume, as to analyse the spell, and place its characters in due order; conceiving, from the rythm and alliteration, that they were intended by their author for a sententious couplet.

The first symbol + may be either a cross at the beginning of the inscription, in witness of the wearer's faith, or a mark at the end of the

inscription, as follows, with an accuracy far exceeding the above-named author, whose reveries shall be thrown into a note.*

✠ R I N N I P F T ✠ X I F L T F C F F F F F F R R R I N K M

The flower-like ornaments of division on this ring, furnish a clue of great importance in reading the other; which, I confess, in their absence, would have retained its mystic veil, in spite of my endeavours to remove it.

The use of talismanic rings appears to have been general and in great estimation amongst the ancients, as charms against diseases, personal danger, witchcraft, the evil eye, &c. and might possibly originate in the

* In Drake's "Eboracum, or the History and Antiquities of the City of York," published A. D. 1736, figure xxvi. on a miscellaneous plate at p. 101. is thus described in the Appendix, p. cii. "An inscription round the outer verge of a large and massy gold ring. This ring was found about two years ago on Bramham-moor, or near it; but where I cannot justly learn, for fear of a resumption by way of *treasure-trove*. It is quite plain with square edges; the letters are cut, raised, and the interstices filled up with lead, or a kind of enamel, which make it smooth and even. The inscription is certainly *Runic*, but to all the connoisseurs in those old and obsolete characters, who have seen it hitherto, unintelligible. The Reverend Mr. Serenius, a Swedish minister, and well skilled in the northern languages, took great pains to come at an explanation of this mystick ring, but in vain; being not able to make out any thing more than one word of the inscription, which he reads GLASTA—PONTO. This makes the learned divine conjecture, that it had some reference to the abbey of Glastenbury; and might have been the wedding ring of some abbot to that monastery; or, on his translation from thence, to the church of York. Upon looking backward into the account of our prelates, I can find none of them that came from Glastenbury; nor upon search into our catalogue of abbots there, can I find any of them who were Danes, or sent as missionaries into Norway. No doubt, but this ring must have been transported hither by some Dane or Norwegian; the characters it bears giving proof of the now, almost, lost language of those antient northern nations. This is all the interpretation I can learn, or all the conjecture I can make relating to this very antient curiosity; which is, at present, in the hands of Mr. T. Gill of York, who just preserved it from the crucible, and weighs, within a trifle, five guineas, or one ounce six penny-weights."

phylacteries, or preservative scrolls of the Jews; though it is easy to imagine that, in the earliest days of medicine, the operator after binding up a wound, would mutter "*thrilling words*" of incantation over it, which in process of time might be, as it were, *imbodied* and perpetuated in the form of an inscription, the ring itself, in some degree, representing a bandage. "*Digitis deos gestant*," is an observation of Pliny's,^b alluding to the figures of various deities borne on rings; and a ring, with the image of Mercury upon it, may be seen in the Abraxas of Macarius,^c which elucidates a passage in Lucian's dialogue of the Ship, where he introduces Timolaus, ardently wishing that Mercury would bestow upon him a certain number of rings; one to preserve the body invulnerable, free from disease, always in full health and strength; another, which like that of Gyges, might conceal his person, &c.

It would overload the present slight disquisition, to transcribe the numerous passages on the subject, which offer themselves in the classic authors, especially as they are gathered by the writers already referred to; but I cannot resist copying the *entertaining* account delivered by Josephus, the grave and learned Josephus, who seems to have been fully convinced of its veracity. After extolling the wisdom and acquirements of Solomon, and assuring us that God had enabled him to expel demons, by a method remaining "of great force," to the days of the Historian; "I have seen," he continues, "a certain man of my own country, whose name was Eleazar, releasing people that were demoniacal, in the presence of Vespasian, and his sons, and his captains, and the whole multitude of his soldiers. The manner of the case was this: he put A RING, that had a root of one of those sorts mentioned by Solomon, to the nostrils of the demoniac, after which he drew out the demon through his nostrils; and when the man fell down, immediately he adjured him to return into him no more, making still mention of

^b Hist. Nat. lib. i. c. 7.

^c 4to Antv. 1657, p. 61. Abundant information respecting rings may also be found in Licetus de Annulis, 4to. Utlini, 1645, and Kirchman de Annulis, 12mo. Slesv. 1657.

Solomon, and reciting the incantations which he composed. And when Eleazar would persuade and demonstrate to the spectators that he had such a power, he set a little way off a cup or bason full of water, and commanded the demon as he went out of the man, to overturn it, and thereby to let the spectators know that he had left the man; and when this was done, the skill and wisdom of Solomon was showed very manifestly."^d

Phallic rings are of this medico-talismanic class, and may be paralleled in modern times by the *ex voto* offerings manufactured by the people of Isernia in Italy, and sold at their annual fairs, so late as the year 1780.^e

But to return nearer home. The gold ring found in Coventry-park,^f bore symbols of the five wounds of Christ, as the "*medicina*" of its owner. Rings against the plague were inscribed IESVS-MARIA-IOSEPH, or IHS NAZARENVS REX IVDEORVM. Mr. Douce has a silver one with the latter inscription, in black letter, and another is mentioned in *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. i. p. 122.

The clergy of this neighbourhood are even now, occasionally, asked for sacramental silver to make rings of, for curing falling fits, and have been considered cruel in refusing it. I know not whether modern patients observe an ancient rule laid down for the use of a talismanic ring in complaints affecting only one side of the body, *viz.* to wear it on the corresponding hand; "*ut si in latere sinistro dolor fuerit, in manu sinistrâ habeatur annulus; aut in dextrâ, si dextrum latus dolebit.*"^g

In contrast with these instances of folly and superstition, I cannot but remember the motto, at once expressive of resignation and hope,

^d Whiston's *Josephus*, book viii. chap. 2.

^e Hoare's *Classical Tour*, p. 171.

^f Described in *Archæologia*, vol. xviii. p. 306, and the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxiii. p. 497, by my excellent friend Mr. Sharp, with an engraving in the last named publication.

^g Marcellus Empiricus, cap. xxix. cited by Kirchman, p. 245.

upon a massive thumb-ring in my own possession, formerly belonging to the Marquess of Donegal's museum at Fisherwick :

candu plera meior teta.

i. e. Quand Dieu plaira meilleur sera.

I have the honour to remain,

with great respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful and obliged

humble servant,

WILLIAM HAMPER.

The Right Hon. the **EARL OF ABERDEEN, K. T.**

&c. &c. &c.

P. S. The Gold Ring which is the subject of the preceding letter, was found in the year 1817, by a young man employed in levelling an old fence on Greymoor-hill in the hamlet of Kingmoor, situate about two miles and a half from Carlisle. The weight of the ring is 352 grains.

VI. *Account of the Seal of Geoffrey Bishop of Lincoln, natural son of King Henry the Second. In a Letter from HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary, to the Right Honourable the EARL OF ABERDEEN, President.*

Read 13th March 1823.



MY LORD,

BY the kindness of Mr. Philip Audinet, I am enabled to lay before your Lordship, and the Society, a Drawing of an impression from an unpublished Seal of Geoffrey, Bishop of Lincoln, the second of the natural sons of King Henry the Second by fair Rosamond. The original is appended to a grant of certain Churches to the Priory of Bulington, in Lincolnshire, remaining among the Harleian charters in the British Museum.

The impression of the Seal is on red wax, of an oval form. The Bishop, whose figure is represented as that of a boy, holds a sort of pastoral crutch in his right hand; he is dressed in a robe or gown with long sleeves, and is bare-headed. The inscription round, which wants a portion of each of the two first words, runs thus; SIGILLVM. GALFRIDI. CLERICI. REGIS. ANGLORVM. FILII.

The exact date of the birth of this Geoffrey I have not ascertained. Carte is certainly wrong in affixing it to the year 1151; three years before Henry's accession to the throne of England. All our historians agree that Geoffrey was preferred to the See of Lincoln in 1175, and Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote his life, and resided in his father's court, expressly says, "*cum adhuc quartum ætatis suæ vix lustrum impleisset, patris assensu unanimique fratrum concordia, vacante sede Lincolnensi, in ejusdem loci episcopatum est electus;*"^a which would place his birth at least as late as A. D. 1158.

Diceto, in his "*Ymagines Historiarum*," says he had a dispensation for holding this preferment "*tam ætatis quam nativitat.*"^b

His election was confirmed, in the year already mentioned, at the Ecclesiastical Council of Woodstock. Brompton says, that on account of his tender years, King Henry the Second would not suffer him to be consecrated; but sent him to Tours for education.^c He presided over the See of Lincoln seven years, during the whole of which time he continued bishop-elect only; and, as such, is designated in the instrument to which the present impression is appended. In 1182 he resigned his See, having been made Chancellor of England.^d In this office we find

^a Angl. Sacr. ii. 379.

^b Twysd. Script. X. col. 586.

^c "In eodem vero concilio de mandato Alexandri Papæ electio Ganfridi Lincolnensis electi confirmata est, sed dominus rex pater suus noluit ut ipse tunc consecraretur, quia ille infra annos ætatis adhuc existens, nescivit tanti oneris et honoris regere dignitatem, et ideo misit eum rex Turonum, ut scholas ibi exerceret et disceret, donec dignus esset ad tantum onus suscipiendum."—Brompt. sub an. 1175.

^d "Electioni sponte renunciavit apud Merlebergam in Epiphaniâ Domini. Qui prius a patre suo fratre suo, rege consentiente, fuerat sollempnitate rinstitutus Angliæ cancellarius."—Rad. de Diceto, ut supr. col. 613.

him named in the will of King Henry the Second, at the making of which at Waltham he appears to have been present.*

In the reign of Richard the First, in 1191, he was advanced to the archbishoprick of York; but the latter part of his life, in John's reign, was clouded with disaster. Wealth and power made him refractory. His preferment and its profits were seized; and he died an exile in 1213.

The circumstance of an illegitimate son boasting himself as REGIS ANGLORUM FILIUS upon an official seal, and that an episcopal one, may perhaps be thought singular; but the pride of royal descent under such circumstances was not confined to Geoffrey Bishop of Lincoln: we have a stronger instance of it recorded in another son of Henry the Second. Stowe says, under the year 1213, that Morgan provost of Beverley, brother to King John, was elected Bishop of Durham: but he coming to Rome to be consecrated, returned again without it, for that he was *a bastard*, and King Henry, father to King John, had begotten him of the wife of one Radulph Bloeth; yet would the Pope have dispensed with him, if he would have called himself the son of the knight, and not of THE KING. But he, using the advice of one William Lane, his clerke, answered, "that for no worldly promotion he would *deny the KING's BLOOD*."

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful humble servant,

HENRY ELLIS.

* — "præsentibus episcopis R. Wintoniensi et Johanne Norwicensi, et Gaufrido Cancellario filio meo." — &c.

VII. *Extract from the "Liber Memorandorum Camerariorum Receptæ Scaccarii," concerning Jewels pledged in the 17th of Henry VI. to Cardinal Beaufort: by JOHN CALEY, Esq. F. R. S. & S. A. In a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.*

Read 10th April 1823.

Gray's Inn, April 8, 1823.

DEAR SIR,

AMONG the books under my custody in the Chapter House, Westminster, is one bearing the title of "*Liber Memorandorum Camerariorum Receptæ Scaccarij*," commencing with the 39th year of Edward the Third, and concluding 35th Henry the Eighth.

The nature of this book may in some measure be judged from its title. It is ornamented in many places with drawings in ink on the margins of the leaves, having, for the most part, reference to the subject of the entries, but they in some instances seem merely put for ornament.

The memoranda in the Book chiefly relate to the delivery into the Treasury of the Receipt of Exchequer, of Treaties, Charters, and other documents, to be placed there for safe custody, but beside these, they contain inolments of Patents, schedules of Jewels and Plate, and many other entries not reducible to any particular head.

In the course of my examination of this curious MS. I found several lists of Royal Jewels pledged for sums of money, and notes of their return on repayment of the loan. One of these of the reign of Henry the Sixth I have selected, thinking it not unworthy of being read to

the Society of Antiquaries, and if you concur with me in this idea, I will thank you to lay it before them.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

JOHN CALEY.

To HENRY ELLIS, Esq Secretary.

LIB. MEMORAND. CAMERAR. RECEPTÆ SCACCARIJ, fo. 92.

This maketh mynde y^t y^e xxx day of Marche the yeer of y^e regne of Kyng Herry the Sext the xvij^e, witnesseth y^t Rauf Lord Cromwell Tresorer of Ingland, and y^e Chambleyns of y^e Eschequer, by vertu of a pryve seal directed unto y^e seyd Tresorer and Chambleyns remaynyng in y^e filace amonge other warantes in Mighelmesse v^e me, y^e xvij yeer aforeseid, in p^rsence of Robt Rolleston warderobber and John Merton keper of y^e jewelx, have deliv^red to y^e right wurshipfull and rev^rent Fader in God Herry Cardynalt of Ingland and Bissho^p of Wynchestre, for vijM. marke of money borwed of hym, thise jewelx next folowyng, after y^e fourme & tenur of the Kynges tres patentz ther upon made, beryng date y^e xxx day of Marche y^e xvij yeer abovesaid, the whiche vijM. marke shal wel & truly be repayed unto y^e seid Cardynal, his execut^ors or assignez, at y^e feste of Estre y^t shall be in y^e M.iiijC.xl. yere of our Lord, and in faute of repaiement of y^e seid vijM. mark, hyt shalbe lawfull to y^e seid cardynal, hys execut^ors & assignes, to have to hys owne use or selle y^e said jewelx, as hym best semeth and lyketh.

First, a Pusan of gold called y^e riche coler, conteynyng xvi culpons or peces, upon y^e whiche beth viij antelopes, garnysshed wth xx grete ples; and upon y^e same coler beth v baleys, wherof iiij are of entaille, square and y^e v. ys vi quartered; and upon y^e same coler beth ij grete ples joynyng unto y^e baleys; also upon y^e same coler beth viij crownes

of gold eche of hem enameled w^t a reson of *un saunz pluiz*, and upon y^e same crownes beth ij grete dyamandes square and poynted; also, upon y^e same coler beth x ouches, eche of hem w^t double floures of gold garnysshed, and upon eche of y^e same ouches ys a grete baleys, and vj grete ples, of whiche balys vij beth of entailt square, and iij of hem beth rounde and ragged; also upon y^e same coler ys another litil ouch w^t double floures of gold garnysshed w^t a balys of entailt square, and v ples; also ther ys in a litil bagge of canvas w^t y^e same coler a grete longe ple, and ix other rounde ples; also ther beth in y^e same bagge xiiij litil floures of gold, weyng in all lx unces & di' quartr' of troy, y^e pris MMDCCC.li.

Also a Swerd of gold, called y^e Swerd of Spayne, garnysshed w^t v grete balys, vj grete saphurs, iij. ^{xxix.} grete ples upon the skaberge; and y^e hilte ys garnysshed w^t iij balys, ij saphurs, xvj grete ples; and y^e pomell of y^e same ys garnysshed w^t j baleys, j saphur, x ples; weyng in all x mark^e and an half, and half an unce of troye, y^e prys

CCC.xxxiiij.li. vis. viij.d.

Also a Tablet of gold, of y^e passion of Crist, in y^e manner of a boke, garnysshed w^t xl diamonde, xx balys, xx saphurs, w^tynne whiche tablet are xl troches, eche troche conteynyng iij ples; and w^towte y^e same tablet are xlvij troches, eche troche conteynyng iij ples; and in y^e same tablet ys a rubee, and xxxv garnardes; whiche tablet weyeth lx unces of troye, the prys Cxli.

Also a Tablet of Seynt George, of gold, garnysshed w^t a rubee, viij dyamandes and in y^t oon ptie ys an aungel holdyng an helme garnysshed w^t a rubee and litil ples, and in that other ptie ys a pusell knelyng w^t a lambe, garnysshed w^t a rubee; and y^e tablet al aboute ys garnysshed wth xxv balys, xxv saphurs, iij emeraudes, lv grete ples, & iij. ^{xxix.} ples of another sorte, and a grete company of other ples, weyng lxxix unces & di' the pris Ciiij. ^{xxiiij.}li.

Also a Pusan of gold called Iklyngton coler, garnysshed w^t iij rubees, iij grete saphurs, xxxij grete ples, & liij other ples, the pris CCCli.

Also ij Salers of gold, whereof y^t oon ys a man and y^t other a woman,

holdyng y^e salers in her hondes, and y^e man ys garnysshed w^t vij rubees and vij troches, ev^y troche of iij ples, and upon y^e topet ys a saphur, and y^e fote of y^e same man ys garnysshed w^t vj rubees, vj saphurs, & xlvij ples; and y^e woman holdyng another saler, garnysshed w^t vij rubees and vij troches, ev^y troche, w^t iij ples, and upon y^e topet ys a saphur, and y^e fote ys garnysshed w^t vj rubees, vj saphers, & xlviii ples, weyng all to gider iij. ^{xx}xiiij. unces, the prys of all Cxlii.

Also ij Pottes of gold, weyng xxxiiij unces & di', y^e pris of ev^y unce xxiijs. iiijd. S'ma xxxixli. xxd.

Also a Chalys & ij Cruettes of gold, weyng togider xxix unc', the pris of ev^y unc' xxiijs. iiijd. S'ma xxxiiijli. xvis. viiid.

Also a Tablet of gold of y^e Salutacion of our Lady, garnysshed w^t v balys, v saphers, & xxv grete ples, weyng xxxv unc', y^e p's . . . lxli.

Also an Image of Seynt George beyng upon a grene tarage, w^t a damasell knelyng, garnysshed w^t xiiij balys, viij saphers, xvi troches, ev^y troche conteynyng iij ples, weyng lj unces & di', the pris

lxviijli. xiijs. iiijd.

Also a pair Basyns of silv^y & ov^y gilt, }
chaced w^t double roses, and pounsed, y^e
bursell of keremery weyng xxvj viij unc'

Also a grete Almes Disshe of sylv^y &
ov^y gilt, made in man^r of a shippe, full of
men of arms, feyghtyng upon the shippe
syde, weyng in all lxviij ix unc' of troye.

Also ij grete Chargeo's, vj lasse Chargeo's,
xl Disshes of dyv^ys sortes, and xxij
Sausers gilt, pois cliij j unce }

The so^me totall of y^e weygt
of the seid basyns, almes,
dishes, and vessell cometh
to ccxlj vj unces, the prys
of ev^y j xxxiijs. iiijd. S'm^a
CCCCijli. xs.

Also a standyng Tablet of gold w^t a pece of *tunica inconsutil*. gar-
nysshed w^t vj balys, vj saphers, xij grete ples, & xij other lasse ples, w^t
an image of oure lady, whyte enameled in y^e toppe, and on ev^y syde an
aungell, weyng xxviij unc' iij quartr', pris ev^y unce xxiijs. iiijd.

S'ma xxxiiijli. xs. xd.

Also a Standyng Cuppe of gold garnysshed w^t xlv ples, and upon ye

topet ys a sapher ; and an ewer of gold garnysshed w^t xxix ples, weyng all to gider lxxvj unces of troye, pris of ev^y unc' xxiijs. iiij*d*. S^a lxxvij*li*.

Also a flat Tablet of gold, w^t a pece of *tunica inconsutil* garnysshed w^t xxv grete ples weyng lxi unce, pris of ev^y unce xxiiis. iiij*d*. S^m^a lxxj*li*. iijs. and iiij*d*. and y^e pris of ye perrey xiiij*li*. xs. xd. the hole some of y^e tablet cometh to iiij.^{xx} iiij*li*. xiijs. ij*d*.

All y^e which Jewels above rehersed, whiche wer in y^e keping of y^e seyd Cardynal y^e xxx day of Janeuer, the xix yeer of y^e seyd kyng, by y^e handes of Will^m Port, were delyvered ageyne unto y^e seyd Tresorer & Chambleyns, and bothe Endentures of y^e delyv^aunce oute of y^e Kynges jewelx aforeseyd cancellyd.

VIII. *Account of Antiquities found at Hamden Hill, with fragments of British Chariots: by Sir RICHARD COLT HOARE, Bart. F. R. S. & S. A. In a Letter to NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.*

Read 15th May 1823.

Stourhead, April 1823.

SIR,

AS every new discovery relating to British Antiquity must prove interesting to your Society, I beg leave to send you an account of some discoveries which were made within these few years on Hamden Hill; and which I should have transmitted to the Society long ago, had I not hoped that some more able Antiquary would have given you notice of them.

Hamden Hill is situated near the village of Stoke-under-Hamden, and at a short distance from the great Foss road which passes from Bath to the sea-coast. It lies at a short distance from Montacute, which derived its name of *Mons acutus*, probably from two conical hills within the demesnes, and where there was formerly a Priory of Black Cluniac Monks, and of which a handsome gateway still remains. The site of this Priory was granted at the dissolution (according to Tanner), 33 Henry VIII. to Sir Thomas Wyatt, and 16 Elizabeth to Robert Earl of Leicester; but the Historian of Somerset says, that it was granted to Sir William Petre; sold by him to Mr. Robert Freke, and purchased afterwards by the family of Phelips, who have resided there from that period to the present day.

But before I send you an account of the interesting discoveries which have been lately made on Hamden Hill, and which are the chief object of this short Memoir, I must be permitted to say a few words respecting

the noble mansion of *Montacute*, which well deserves our notice. It owes its origin to Sir Edward Phelips, knight, who was Serjeant to Queen Elizabeth, and who commenced the building in 1580, and finished it in 1601; since which time it has been the constant residence of the family of Phelips. This mansion affords a fine specimen, both in exterior and interior, of the Elizabethan style of architecture; but the two fronts differ, and do not quite accord; the one towards the north having once belonged to the family of Horsey, of Clifton, in Dorsetshire; the other towards the south having been erected by Sir Edward Phelips.

I know of few places which, within a short distance, comprehend so many objects worthy of attention. The noble and extensive earthen work on Hamden Hill; the Roman and British remains within its area; the great Foss road; the Priory gateway; and the mansion of *Montacute*.

In the eyes of the Antiquary, the *first* may probably appear the most interesting, owing to the very singular discoveries which have been made on it; and of which I send you drawings, which will convey a more accurate explanation than any verbal description.

Hamden Hill is celebrated for its fine quarries, and produces stone of a sufficient length to furnish gate-posts. The earthen works, which surround the entire hill, are the most extensive I have ever met with, being in circumference three miles; and the area comprehends above two hundred acres. Its shape is very irregular, especially towards the north, at the extreme angle of which, we may still observe some Roman remains in a very small circular earth-work, resembling an amphitheatre in miniature, and not much larger than an English cock-pit. Not far from it are some curious relics of antiquity, and such as perhaps do not exist in our island. They are low stones fixed in the ground, at certain intervals, and perforated; and are supposed to have originally served as picquets for the cavalry; and some years ago there were stone cisterns found, at which the Romans are supposed to have watered their cavalry.

Pursuing the western circumvallation of the hill, we come to the principal seat of the stone quarries, where, a few years ago, singular remains were found by the labourers, who, in pursuing their quarry, came to a chink, or, as they call it, a *gulley* in the rock, in which were many human bones, skulls, lance and spear-heads, with articles of brass and iron, together with many fragments of *chariot* wheels, one of which was nearly perfect, as will be seen by the annexed drawing.*

That *Chariots* were in frequent use amongst the Britons we are well assured by Cæsar, when he first invaded our Island. From his valuable Commentaries (Book iv.) we learn, that when the Britons were aware of the design of the Romans landing on their coast, "they sent their cavalry and *chariots* (which they frequently made use of in battle) before them, and following with the rest of their forces, endeavoured to oppose the enemy's landing."

During his *second* invasion of Britain, he again mentions the cavalry and *chariots*, and at a subsequent period, adds, "that Cassibelanus, unable to keep the field, disbanded his forces, retaining only *four thousand chariots*."

He also informs us of the mode in which the Britons fought with their chariots :

"Their way of fighting with the *chariots* is this: First, they drive their *chariots* on all sides, and throw their darts; insomuch that by the very terror of the horses and noise of the wheels, they often break the ranks of the enemy. When they have forced their way into the midst of the cavalry, they quit their *chariots*, and fight on foot. Meantime the drivers retire a little from the combat, and place themselves in such a manner as to favour the retreat of their countrymen, should they be overpowered by the enemy. Thus, in action, they perform the part both of nimble horsemen and stable infantry; and by continual exercise and use, have arrived at that expertness, that in the most steep and difficult places, they can stop their horses upon full stretch, turn them

* See Plate V.

which way they please, run along the pole, rest on the harness, and throw themselves back into their chariots with incredible dexterity." ^b

By specimens of the articles found within the crevices of this quarry (and of which I send you correct Drawings ^c), we have strong reason to conclude, that, in early times, some great battle had taken place on this hill; for we find the fragments of *chariot* wheels, lance and arrow heads of iron, and human bones, amongst which I observed a scull with a barbed arrow transfixed, and I was assured that it was found in that position. I have ever entertained an opinion, that the ancient *Chariots* were slight in their texture; and the wheel of one found here in almost an *entire* state, seems to corroborate that idea, as it scarcely exceeds the dimensions of a grinder's wheel. I am at a loss to account for some of the articles, particularly in the second Drawing, ^d which are composed apparently of bell metal, and are unlike any I have met with during my antiquarian researches.

It has been a long established custom amongst many early and distinguished authors, to ascribe to the Romans many of our British earthen works, but such a conjecture appears to me erroneous; for the Romans depended on the strength of their legions and their superior skill in war, not on those huge and extensive ramparts which so frequently accompany the encampments on our hills.

Within the very extensive area of Hamden Hill, we may observe a very small space occupied by the Romans; and another example occurs in a fine camp on *Hod Hill* near Blandford, where one corner only of the area has been occupied by the Romans. There is also at Clifton, near Bristol, the vestige of a small Roman work within the more ancient one of the Britons, and I could adduce other examples within our island.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

RICHARD COLT HOARE.

^b Duncan's *Cæsar*.

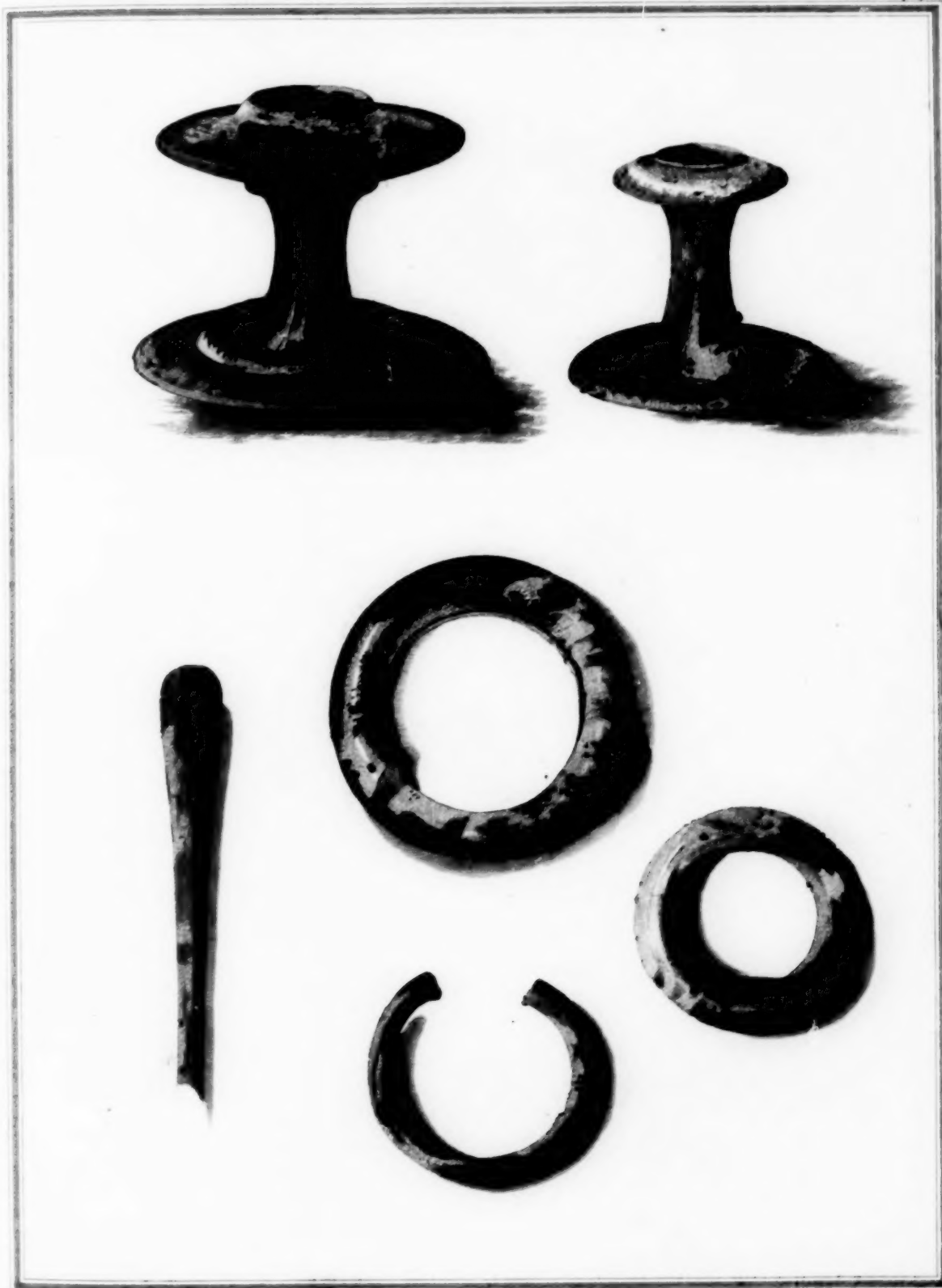
^c See Plates V. VI. and VII.

^d See Plate VI.



Antiquities found at Hamden Hill.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, January 1st 1861.



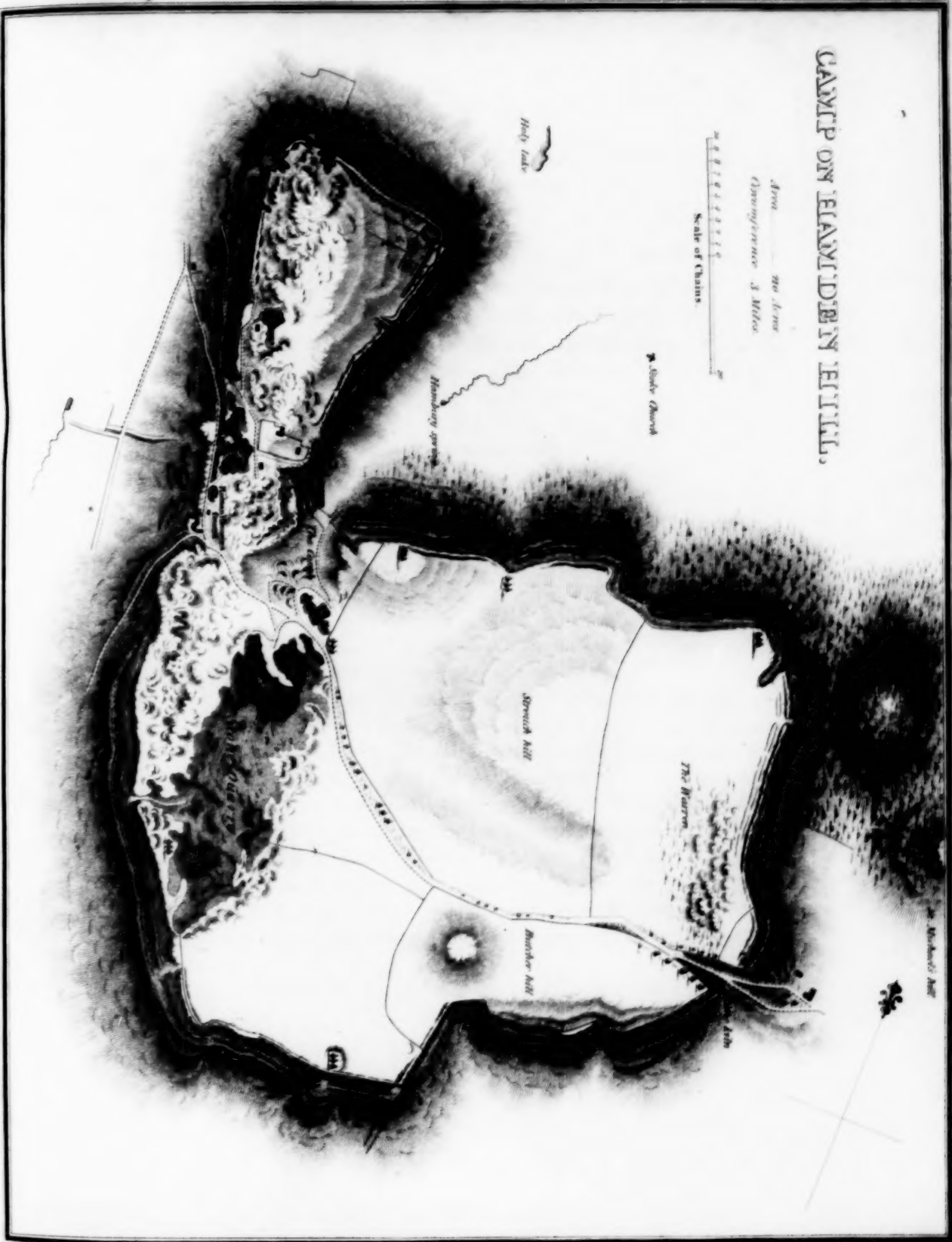
J. Cooper del.

J. P. B. sc.

Antiquities found at Hamden Hill.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, January 1896.

CAMP ON ELMSTEDDEN HILL.



T. D. 1840

J. H. 1840

IX. *Poem, entitled the "SIEGE OF ROUEN:" written in the Reign of Henry the Fifth. Communicated in a Letter from the Rev. J. J. CONYBEARE, late Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.*

Read 27th November, 1823.

Bath Easton, June 27, 1823.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE Poem, of which I inclose a faithful Transcript and a hasty abstract, is contained in N^o. 124 of the Bodley MSS. at Oxford. It is fairly written upon parchment, in a hand apparently very few years later than the date of the event which it commemorates. Some leaves have unfortunately been torn away at the conclusion.

As it gives a very detailed, and (if we may judge from internal evidence) a very accurate account of one, certainly not among the least important of those military operations which secured to Henry the Fifth the conquest of France, I have thought that an Abstract of it, by way of Introduction, might not be altogether unacceptable to the Society.

If it has not any pretensions to poetical merit beyond those which are usually found in the productions of our early Minstrels, it is at all events less tedious as well as more circumstantial than the unintelligible Latinity of Thomas de Elmham; the only contemporary writer of note, from whom our historians have drawn their narrative of Henry's campaigns.

The Author commences, in the true minstrel style, with a prayer for

the happiness of those who have the patience to listen to his tale; the better to secure their notice, he boasts that

“ A more worthier siege was never none sette
Since that Troy and Jerusalem were first ygette.”

The popularity which the tale of Troy obtained during the Middle as well as Classical Ages, is amply known; that of Jerusalem had also furnished a copious theme for the minstrels. The Bodleian Library contains one Romance of considerable length on this subject; and two copies probably of the same Poem, are mentioned by Roquefort.*

But to proceed with our Bard. “ All the better,” he says,

“ tell it I may,
For with my liege thereat I lay;
And thereto I took right good devise,
Like as my wit would me suffice.”

The Duke of Exeter was first employed to reconnoitre and summon the garrison, who indignantly rejected his proposal, and to shew that they were bent on making a resolute defence, immediately burnt down the whole of their suburbs. “ A full cursed deed (says the poet) and synfully done;” for they thus destroyed at once eight parish churches, and the Abbey of St. Gervais. Their further preparations for resistance are described with all the circumstantiality of an eye-witness. The king “sette the Siege” the Sunday before Lammas, and having taken up his own lodgings at the east end of the city, in a mansion belonging to the Carthusians, assigned each of his generals a station near one or other of the principal gates, from which the besieged made constant sallies. The leaders mentioned are the Dukes of Clarence and Exeter, the Earl Marshal, the Lords Haryngdon and Talbot, and Sir William Haryngdon. The king's next step was to complete the blockade by water. This was effected by throwing a large iron chain across the Seine, while the freedom of its navigation was secured for the English

* Glossaire, tom. ii. p. 776.

by dispatching Warwick to Caudebec. A bridge was also thrown over the river for the purpose of ensuring an uninterrupted communication between the different English detachments. The host was now completed by the return of Warwick from his successful negotiation, and by the addition of Gloucester, Suffolk, and Burgoyne.

“ And then the power of Killmain
Was come within the mouth of Seine,
Up at Harfleet he landed then
With fifteen hundred of his men.

* * * *

Well they were arrayed of war wyse
Like as the country hath her guise.”

The French captains are next enumerated, and the amount of their force estimated at more than eighty thousand, the population of the city (including this garrison) exceeded four hundred thousand. These, by their frequent sallies, added to the vigour and dexterity with which their artillery was plied, much annoyed the besiegers. The spirits moreover of the garrison were much elevated by reports that “the Burgundy” was on his march to raise the siege, with a hundred thousand men (our author has no distaste for large numbers). The king availed himself of their expectation to practise “a *point of war*,” by which he hoped to produce a sortie of the whole garrison. He caused one corps of his army to march out of a wood with the Burgundian colours and ensigns, and a second to make a shew as if opposing their advance. The stratagem however failed, and the siege continued without decisive advantage to either party until near Christmas. By this time famine began to make havock within the walls. Its effects, both civil and moral, are described with much truth and force. This produced the cruel expedient of forcing out from the several gates the poorer and more unwarlike part of the population. These unhappy creatures were not suffered to pass through the English ranks, and therefore remained dying with cold and hunger in the town ditch. Such scanty relief as

the soldiers of the besieging army could spare, appears to have been occasionally administered to the nearest ; and on the festival of Christmas-day, Henry, with the reluctant acquiescence of the garrison, supplied the whole with abundant refreshments of meat and drink. It is pleasing to see the horrors of warfare softened in ever so small a measure by religious feeling, but one cannot help reflecting that a fuller operation of that feeling would have induced Henry to extend his compassion to somewhat beyond a mere ostentatious exercise of benevolence which could only serve to prolong the misery of its objects. The only reason assigned by the minstrel for their not being allowed to pass the English lines is, "lest they should see our watch." The true one, perhaps, was least they should convey any communications from the garrison to the French monarch. The besieged yet held out until New Year's-eve. By this time

"Hunger had broken the stone wall,"

and they resolved to treat. After attempting, without success, to attract the notice of the commanders stationed at the principal gates, they at last found means, through Umfreville, to make their communications to Clarence, who, at their earnest suit, gladly undertook the charitable work of making them known, and interceding with his sovereign :

"For he was manfull while war did laste,
And mercifull when war was paste."

A negotiation takes place, which ends in the admission of twelve delegates to Henry's presence. They request free passage for the sufferers in the trenches, and permission to hold correspondence with the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy. This Henry refuses, alleging that they themselves were the offending party in the affair of the poor outcasts ; that France and Burgundy, if they wished to find him, full well knew where he was, and on what business ; and lastly, that the city was his own, and that its inhabitants owed no allegiance to any other

prince. Henry's aspect and behaviour during this conference are not ill described :

" Still stood the king all that while
With countenance sad—he would not smile.
But while they in presence before him were,
He was full lordly in his cheer,
Neither too mild, neither too strange,
But in a mien withouten change ;
His countenance did he never bate,
But kept him still in one state."

No easier terms being attainable, their spokesman proposes the surrender of the city and garrison. Henry grants a truce for arranging the terms ; promises "to *take advise*" for the relief of the sufferers in the trenches, and dismisses the envoys full of gratitude and admiration of his person, his discretion, and his princehood :

" For he is merciful in fight,
And asketh nothing but that is right."

With their return to the city, the Poem (which is *imperfect*) abruptly terminates.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Sincerely and obediently yours,

J. J. CONYBEARE.

TO HENRY ELLIS, Esq. &c. &c. &c.

P. S My residence at a distance from any of our larger Libraries precludes my attempting the addition of notes either to the Transcript or Abstract.

SEGE OF ROAN.

God that deyede uppon the Rode Tre,
 And bouzht us alle with hys blode so fre,
 Untyll hys blysse he hem brynge
 That wyll lystene to my talkynge.
 For ofte tymys men talken of here travayle,
 Bothe of sawtys,^b and also of batayle,
 They have yn romance, and also ymade yn ryme,
 Off thatt y^t hathe be done byffore thys tyme.
 But nowe y wylle to yowe telle yn present,
 To my talkynge an ze wulle take tente,
 How that kynge Herry the fyfth owre lege
 Wyth ryalte by sette there a sege,
 As byfore Rone that reche cyte
 Fore that he lovyde as hys own volante.
 A more worthyer sege was never none sette
 Sythe that Troy and Jerusalem was fyrste ygette,
 Nother so myche pepyll was never ere sene,
 Nother syche another sege sette, as I wene.
 Lystenethe nowe unto me a lytylle space
 And y wylle yowe telle howe that hyt was.
 And alle the better telle hyt y may,
 For wyth my Lege thereate y lay,
 And ther to I toke ryhte zode devyse,
 Lyke as my wyte wolde me suffyse.

^b assaults.

Ffor when that Powntelarge^c was wonne,
And overe Sagne the entrynge was bygonne,
The Duke of Exsetyr, that lorde so hende,
To Rone our kynge gan hym sende,
And herawdys with hym unto Cyte,
Ffor to loke and they wolde 3elden be ;
And also for to see the grownde
That was about that Cete so rownde,
And howe they my3te beste ley there a sege,
Yffe they woulde not obey unto our lege :
And when the duke of grete renowne
Was thus ycome before the towne,
He splayde his baners full grete plentè,
And herawdys unto that Cete then sente he,
And warned them upon pain of deth eke
That they be to oure Kynge ry3t meke,
And nou3t withstande hym of hys ry3t,
Butte delyvere that Cete sone on hys sy3t.
Also he dyd hem to wytte wythouten abade,^d
How the kynge wolde no further till he hyt had ;
Butt or he went ferther fro that place,
He wolde hyt wyne thorow Goddys grace.
Therto the Frenschmen 3afe none answer,
Butte bade hem forthe on here way to fare,
And made a menyngge wyth her honde,^e
Ffor we scholde there no whyle stonde :
Ffor gunnys they schotte wyth full grete envy,
And made their werre full spytously,
And owte there come kny3ttys full kene
On horsback & yn armor full schene ;

^c Pont large.^d Delay or denial.^e And signified to us by their gestures that we should remain there no longer.

And there mowstryde^f the dewke agayne
 And meny of his men were take & yslayne.
 But when thys was done, without abode,
 To Powntelarge agayne he rode,
 He tolde the Kynge of that Cete,
 Howe hyt stode, and on what degre.
 Butte to my talkynge an 3e take hede
 I may 3owe tell of a full curssyde dede,
 And how synfully the Frenschemen dyde thare
 Ore that owre kynge come hem byfore ;
 Ffor all the subarbys of that fayre towne,
 Chyrchys & howsys they drowe adowne,
 For at the porte of Synt Yllarys they dyde schende^g
 And a parysche chyrche they downe dyde rende,
 Of Synt Yllary was that same,
 Ffor therafter the Porte bare the name.
 And at the Port Causes^h downe they drewe
 A chyrche that was of Synt Andrewe ;
 And also an Abbey that was of Synt Gervays,
 Ffor there the Dewke of Clarence longyde was ;
 And at the Porte de Pownde downe they bete,
 A chyrche of our Ladye swete,
 And another of Synt Kateryne that mayde meke,
 And of Synt Saviour another eke ;
 Also Synt Mathuys they drew downe anone,
 And lefte there stondyng stycke nother stone ;
 And also at Marchyle they did downe myne
 Of Synt Myzhell a chyrche full fyne ;
 And of Synt Powle another also
 They mynede downe a lyttell ther fro ;

^f Mustered his force.^g They came out from the Port of St. Hilaire.^h Port Chaussee.

The hegges of here gardyns and her treys
They drewe hem home every pesse,
Buschys, brerys, and bowys they brent,
They made hyt bare as evyr was bent ;
And ȝytte there was a fulle prude aray
Rownde about that Cyte gay ;
Welle was hyt ordeyned for the werre
Wyth all the dyffence that myȝt dere,
For the wallys were fulle warryable,
And the dykys depe and defensabyll ;
The dycke that was the wall wythoute
The londe syde there alle aboute,
Hyt was depe and thereto fulle wyde,
Wyth a trenche suwyng on everyⁱ syde.
That trenche was made wyth a depe dessende,
And that was made the dyche to deffende,
And that no man come hem to nere
In here donger lest they dede were ;
Ffor whoso come that trenche wythinne
Harmles he myȝt nouȝt owte wynne ;
And alle that dyche thorowe oute by deneⁱ
Pytfalldes hyt was evyr more bytwene,
And every pytfalldes of a spere of heyth,
Ffor no man therin scholde stond to fyȝt in fethe :
And also for to make hem clere
That none enemys abowte hem were :
And fro the pytfalldes up to the walle
Hyt was fulle heyȝe and stowte wythalle ;
Also fulle of caltrappys hyt was sette,
As meschys beth made wythinne a nette,
And wythyn the towne afore the walle,
Cowntyrmurgdes hyt was wythalle,

ⁱ altogether.

Wythe erthe also thycke and also brode
 As a carte myȝt go there one wyth a lode.
 That poynt they ordeyned in here werre
 Ffor the gunnys scholde do hem no derre : ^k
 But trewly ȝytte hade they with them also
 Of other soteltys ^l meny other mo.
 For soth, and also mote they thryve,
 To that Cyte longyth portys but fyve ;
 But of towrys abowte that fayre Cyte
 Meny a score wel y wote there be,
 And every tower from other ys
 But the space of syxe rodde y wysse,
 And yn every tower thre gunys lay,
 For to schete by dyvers way ;
 And amyde the walle every towre by twene,
 Alle that fayre Cyte abowte by dene,
 A stronge fowlere ^m there was leyde lowe,
 Evyn by the erthe that he myȝt throwe ;
 And also lawnsetys were leyde on hey,
 Ffor to schete bothe ferre an ney ;
 And bytwene every towre was leyde alofte,
 Eyghte smale gunnys for to schete ofte ;
 And at every ward there was sette
 An engyn other els a tryppgette, ⁿ
 And at som warde there was sette mo,
 Synt Yllary ys was one of tho.
 And thus they made here ordynance
 Wyth huge deffence and strong substance.
 Of alle thys defence leve we talkynge,
 And speke we of Henry owre kyng.

^k Mischief. ^l Subtleties, contrivances to annoy the enemy. ^m A species of cannon.

ⁿ A species of balista used for throwing large stones. See Trebuchet in Roquefort's
 Dict. de la Langue Romane.

The Fryday before Lammas day
Owre kynge remevyde on ryche araye,
Unto that Cyte wyth wel grete pryde,
And loggyde hym a lytel ther besyde :
And on the Saturday he synede^o the grounde
To the chyveteynys abowte that cyte rounde :
On the Monday owre Kynge a krye lete make,
That everye man scholde hys grounde take ;
And at the este ende of that Cyte,
Wyth inne an howse of the Chartuarie,
There loggyde he hym owre kynge anone,
And wyth hym lordelynges meny one :
Off all warschyppe he berys the belle,
Hys honowre may no tonge tell,
But when alle princys are to acownte,
Sete kynge Herry principally in the frownte.
And at the ende then towarde the Weste,
The Dewke of Clarence toke there hys reste,
Fore at an abbey there he gan lende^p
That was beten downe and sore schende,^q
At the Porte Causes that gate byfore,
And kepte inne the Frenschemen wyth grete power :
There wanne he warschippe and grete honowre,
Off pryncehode he myzte be called a flowre,
For when alle prynces are ymette,
Next to the beste lete Clarence be sette.
And on the tother syde heme betwene
Sette Exseter that knyzt so kene ;
Ffor at the Porte Devyse he laye,
Where, as the Frensche men came owte everye daye,

^o Assigned to the chieftains their respective stations.^p Lodge, remain.^q Defaced, destroyed.

He bete hem inne wyth manfulle brownte,
And wanne hym wurschyppe as he was wonte :
But of alle princes manhode for to reporte
Set Exseter as for one of the beste surcote.
Bytwene hym and Clarence thanne,
Lay the Erle Marchalle a manfulle man ;
He loggyde hym nexte the casteli gate,
And kepte hyt bothe erly and late :
And so forthe in that same way
The Lord Haryngdon then he lay :
And Talbote fro Domfronte when he come,
He loggyd hym next that worthy gome.
And than of Haryndon Syr Wyllyam
When he was dede hys retinewe he name.
And the Erle of Urmonde then lay bye
Nexte Clarence wyt a fulle fayre maynye :
And Cornewale that comely kny3te,
He lay wyt Clarence bothe day and ny3te ;
And meny other kny3tys in a frownte
That are nou3t in my mynde for to a cownte.
And fro Exsetre towarde the kynge,
The Lorde Rose and Wylby was lyggynge ;
And also wyt hem the Lorde Fyhewe,
For he was holde agode kny3t and a trewe ;
And also Syr Wyllyam Porter, then lay he
By fore the Porte of Synt Hyllare ;
Ther as fulle spytefulle werr' ev' more was,
For ev' they come owte at that same place,
But ev' he drofe hem inne agayne,
Manfully wyt grete my3t and mayne,
And than hym worschyppe ther' alle wayys,
Fulle mykylle was that kny3t for to prayse.

And whyle that Synt Kat'ynes was un 3olde,
Of Mortayne that Erle bolde
He lay the abbey and the towne by twuene
And wroug3t to the Frensche men wo and tene :
Fulle mykylle wurschyppe ther' he wan,
Whyle that he levyde and was a man.
And the Erle of Salysbry in that tyde
He lay uppon the tother syde,
For when thys vyage was by gunne
Fulle mekylle wurschyppe to hym ther' come :
Also a comely kny3t Syr Johnn de Gray,
On the mownte Synt Mychyl that time he lay,
He kepte a warde was under the hylle,
Honowre and wurschyppe come hym tylle.
And then Carowe, that baron bolde,
Aboven he lay and so he wolde :
He kepte a warde as be that syde,
And ther' for' hys wurschyppe walkyd fulle wyde.
And then Janyco lay him above,
A wurthy squyer for to prove.

And on the tother' syde of Sayne
Lay Huntyngdon the towne agayne,
He kepte hem inne wyt manfulle werre
And mykylle wurschyppe wan he ther' :
Also Nevyle that comely kny3te,
And Umfurwylle that lorde so ly3te,
And also Arundelle Syr' Rycharde,
Wyt Huntyngdon they lay in warde ;
And the Lorde Ferys with hem also,
Wyt Huntyngdon they laye alle tho,
And at the Porte de Pownde in ryal a ray,
And wan hem wurschyppe every day.

And towarde the Pownte large of Sayne,
 Owre kynge lete make a grete chayne,
 And thorowe strong pyls dyd hyt aray,
 Ffore no schyppys scholde passe that way :
 And over the chayne a brygge he made,
 Ffor to serve bothe hors and ladde,
 So that every man myzt tulle other fare
 In hasty tyme yf that hyt nede were.
 And when that Warwyke fro Donifronte come,
 Than tulle owre kynge the waye he nome,
 But he lyve comawndede hym owre Lege,
 For to go Caudybeke ^r and sette ther a sege.
 And when he come the towne before,
 They bygan to trete wythout eny more ;
 And as Rone dyde so thay wolde done,
 And grantede hyt in compocysyone, }
 And selyde hyt uppe on thys condissione,
 That in the water of Sayne wythouten lette
 Owre schyppis to passe forth wyth here frette. ^s
 Then passyd owre schyppys forth ^t in fere,
 And keste their anckers Rone fulle nere :
 Also thycke in Sayne as they myzte stonde,
 And so were they bysegged by water and by londe.
 And whun that Warwyk that ende had made,
 To Rone that lorde hym rode,
 Bytwene Synt Kateryns and the kynge,
 There he ordeyned hys owne logynge.
 Whyle the abbey in tretys was
 And was zelden thorowe Goddys grace.
 And then wyth inne a lytell whyle
 He logede hym at the Porte Martwyle,

^r Caudebec.
 molested up the Seine.

^s They agreed that our ships with their freight should sail un-
^t Together.

There as fulle spytefulle werre evermore was,
And ever they came oute at that same place,
But ever he drofe hem inne agayne,
Manfully wyth myzt and mayne.
And Salysbry was synede to ryde,
And 3yte he returnede and dyde abyde,
Tor wyth Glowsetre he dyde lende,
Tyll tyme the Sege was brouzte to ende.
And then Glowsetre that worthy gome,
For the sege of Cherborowe when he come,
Ryzte even byfore the Porte Synt Hyllary,
Manfully he logede hym there an hey.
As for caste of stone or schotte of quarrell
He dred hym therof never a delle ;
But wan hym wurschippe as thorow hys werre,
And ley hys enemys mekylle more nere
Than every other lorde that there was
By forty rodde and more in space.
But when alle pryncys ben of tolde,
Sette Glowsetre for one of the moste bolde.
Also of Suthfolke that Erle bryzt,
And Barzeyne that comely knyzte,
Wyth Glowseter alle bothe they laye,
And wan hem wurschyppe every day.
And then the poure of Kyllmayne
Was come wythinne the mouth of Sayne ;
Uppe at Harflete he lonyde then
Wyt fyftene hondrede of hys men ;
Ferre wel they were arayede of werre wyse,
Lyke as the contrey hath here gyse :
Fulle faste he hyede hym to that sege,
And welle come he was untill our lege.

But then hyt was seyde that the Frensche kynge,
 And the Burgayns made here entrynge
 Upon the north side of our oste,
 Bycawse that there was plague moste.
 Our kynge assynede the poure then
 Bothe to hym and to alle hys men,
 Ffor to logge hym under the wode syde,
 An for to kepe the ways wyde.
 As by the forest of Lyons schowte
 And for to kepe the Frensche men owte.
 Thus wor they loggede under the wode,
 Ther made they wache and ordynance gode.
 Wythouten owre oste thre legys large
 So ferre to logge hyt was hys charge,
 The knyȝt thereto dyde sone assente,
 And manfully thyther-worde he wente.
 Ffore and the Frenschemen come by that way
 The furste brownte they thouȝte affray,^u
 Ffulle mekylle wurschyppe the knyȝt wan there,
 And so he dyde in place elles where.
 Thus was our Sege wyth ryal renowne
 That fair Cete by sette all abowten.^{*}
 Of that faire Cete I wull yow no more telle,
 But of the capteyns I wull you spelle.
 Mowne-Syr^y de Gy, the gode butlere.
 He was chefe capteyn of all in fere:
 Bothe of the castel and the towne,
 He was a man of grete renowne.
 And Mowne-Syr de Termagowne in that space,
 Captayne of the Porte Causès he was.

^u Does this signify "The first attack they thought of making?"

^{*} So the MS. The rhyme requires it to be pronounced "abowne."

^y Monsieur.

And Mowne-Syr de Roche also
Of the Porte Bewysone he was capteyne tho.
And Mowne-Syr Antony a werryour wyȝte,
He was levetenawnte under that knyȝte.
And Hery Camfewe he was captayne
Of the Porte de Pownte of Sayne.
And Johan de Matreways that nobylle man
Of the Porte of the Castelle he was captan.
And Mowne-Syr Pemewes then was he
Captayne of the Porte Synt Yllare.
And the Bastard of Tyne in that whyle
Captayne he was at the Porte Martwyle.
And graūte Jakys, a werryour wyse,
He was a captayne and also a pryse.
As of the Cannys that were wythowte
And of alle Cety rownde aboute.
And every of these Captaynes had
Ten thowsande of men and mo for to lede.
But when they wolde arayse uppe their coñiente,^z
Many an hundred men myȝte there ysee.
Men nombred of hem that were withinne,
Ffurste when owre Sege gan to beginne,
Unto four hundred thewsande and ten,
Off wymmen, off chyl dren, and also off men :
Off peple that was prowde store,
A kynge to lay a Sege tofore.
And therto they war fulle hardy in dede,
Bothe on fote, and also on stede,
And the prowdest men that ever y knewe,
And mony poyntes of werre they wolde shewe.

^z Commonalty.

But when they wolde come oute comenly,
 They came nott owte alle on a party,
 Nother at two gates, nor at thre, but at alle
 Sodaynly they wolde oute falle :
 And at every parcellle of them wolde be
 A ten thousand, also mote I the, ^a
 Fulle ryally arayde at the beste,
 And therto perte and wonder preste.
 Hyt was grete lykyng hem for to lede,
 But for to counter ham was grete drede ;
 Nought only as for defence of ham alle, ^b
 For moche of the werre came fro the walle,
 As shotte off guns and quarelys bothe,
 Ne sawe y never ere for sothe
 Sonner that wolde come owte and make afray,
 And walde be schotte, y dare wele saye,
 An hundred of gones, fro walle and towr,
 Within the mowntans ^c off an howre :
 Nor of quarrelles no tonge myghte sounde
 That wolde be schotte in a lytele stonde.
 Ever they wolde come to and fro,
 And meny of ham was slayn tho.
 And other whyle wyth spere and schelde
 That wolde ryde owte into the felde,
 And than owre Kynge a cry lette make
 That every man trewly to wake.
 And than owre kynge a dyke lete make,
 And sete hyt fulle off scharpe poyntyd stake,

^a So may I thrive.

^b It was dreadful to encounter them, not merely on the score of their own bravery in defending themselves, but because at the same time the ordnance from the town was always playing upon us.

^c The amount, the space.

And heggyd hyt about for prickers owte,
All that fayre Cete rounde abowte.
Syre Robert Babthorpe in that space
Counte roller untylle owre kynge he was :
Bothe hegge and dyke he ordeyned that,
And mekyl worschepe thereat he gat.
And than thay wolde come owte on fote,
For on horsse backe hyt was no bote :
But bothe on the water and on the londe
Owre men mette hem evre at the hande ;
But mony tymes owre men were sclayne,
For they wolde rynne the walles agayne.
It was but grace to scape thowes quycke,^d
For gones and quarrelles wente so thycke,
Trybget, sprynglas,^e and also engyne,
They wrouzt owre men fulle mekyl payne :
And namly to Glowsetre that lorde so dere,
For he was logyd hem so nere.
Also there come tydynges newe and newe,
That the Burgoyns wolde come and hem reskewe ;
Swiche tydyngs come that Cete untylle,
Here belles they ronge wonder schylle :^f
But they ronge non after the Seche was sette,
Nor none unto the tyme that hyt was gette.
Than come tydynges howe they were nere,
Than sayde owre kynge wyth mery chere,
“ Ffelowes, be mery nowe everychone,
“ For we schalle fyzte sone anone.”

^d If a man escaped thence with his life, it was only by the special favour of Heaven.

^e Espringale.

^f If this be not a mistake of the transcriber for “schrylle,” it may perhaps signify
“wondrous skilfully.”

Than tydynges come how hyt was not so,
 And agayne to Parys they were ago.
 And than withinne a few days,
 Hyt was tolde thay were at Pownteys.
 And how ther were of hem four hundred thowsand
 Off fyghtyng men the duke folowand.
 Owre kynge commanded in hys kry,
 That every man yhameysed sholde ly.
 Withoute the borders off the hoste,
 A dyche was made of grete coste ;
 They pyght hyt wyth stakes hors to perche, ^s
 And pykes theron both sharpe and fers,
 And gonnes thay gan evermore to bende,
 And tho ware layd in many an ende. ^h
 The counterrollere that werke he oversay,
 A worthy kny3t he was and a besy.
 And than wythinne a lytel whyle
 Hyt was tolde how they ware withinne twenty mile :
 Thys tale was tolde on the Thursday,
 That they wolde redly come on the Fryday ;
 And also in that Cete was sayde the same,
 And theroff had owre kynge an awme ;
 But on the Fryday, withouten abade,
 To the Erle of Huntynghdon owre kynge rade,
 And ther he ordeyned hys devyse, ⁱ
 A poynte of werre and that a prise.
 He arayde a warde to batayle bowne
 And her backys turnyd toward the towne,
 An in herearaye ryghte as thay stode,
 Another batayle came owte off a wode,

^s Probably a mistake for perche (pierce). ^h They were laid in many directions.

ⁱ He laid his stratagem, a ruse de guerre, and that a noble one.

That mostred togeder with baners fulle sure,
Off the Burgoyne armes somen they were.
We made thes tho batayle for to mete
And as thay had fowghten so thay dede lete^k
For to make the towne to come owte ;
But they durst not, they were in dowte ;
And supposed that hyt was but a treyne,
And were aferde for to be slayne.
And after that they warred wonder sore,
And oute they ran as thay dede before,
Manfully with power fulle strong,
And bade upon the Burgeyns wondyr long,
Tylle that hyt drew toward Crystemas ;
Be that tyme her weteyle was scars,
For brede and drynke and alle of vetayle
In that Cete began to fayle,
Save water they hadde ynowe tho,
And vynegre also to putte therto.
And also here bred was nere hand gone,
And flesche, save horsflesche, hadde they none :
They ete also bothe dogges and cattes,
And also bothe myse and rattes,
And also an hors quarter lene other fat,
And a hundrede schyllynges hyt was worth at ;
And also a hors hede at halfe a pownde,
And a dogge for ten schylynge of mony sounde :
For fourty pens thay solde a ratte,
And for two nobels thay solde a catte :
And for sex pens they solde a mowse,
Ffull few was lefte in any howse.

^k These two parties made as if they were fighting, in order to draw the garrison into a belief that the expected succours had arrived, and consequently induce them to make a sortie.

And for helpe so mekyll brede as a hande
Was worthe a francke of that lande ;
And yet but lytell they myȝt fynde,
And that was made in suche a kynde,
Nother of mele, nother of grotes,
But off bran and of brokyn otes,
Also lekys and nepys in fere,
That was to ham a mete full dere ;
And ȝyt was a leke at a schyllynge
Were hym myȝt have therof a pyllyng :
An egge was at nine pens, and an appel at ten,
Suche marchandyse was among them then :
But ther was mony a carfulle herte
Because the merket was so smerte,
They cared for no spense of good,
But wo they ware for lake off fode,
Whereon they myght be ware,
For thay were so fulle of care.
And than they ete bothe rotys and rynde,
And dewe of the grasse that they myȝt fynde,
And than to deye they gan to begynne,
Alle that was the Cete withinne,
Thay deyede fulle faste every daye,
But none of ham in the grownde laye ;
Theras was joye and pryde before,
Than was ther sorwe and wepynge sore :
And theras was mete, drynke, and songe,
Than was ther hunger and wayling stronge :
And yf that a chylde scholde be dede,
The moder wolde gyve hyt no brede,
Sche wolde gyve hyt no part that tyde,
But fro the barne sche wolde hyt hyde,

And that the chylde schulde hyt not see,
But ete hyt hyrself in prevyte :
Ne the chylde to the mother none would geve,
For hytself wolde therwyth leve :
Alle love and kyndenes was gone asyde,
When eche fro other here mete wolde hyde,
For none of hem scholde other see,
But ete hyt hemself in prevytè :
For hongere passeth bothe kynde and love,
Be the same peple y may hyt preve.
And yet on the walles thay made hyt stowte,
For owre men schulde not wyte that were withoute.
Meny one stale away mete for to cache,
And ever as they were taken with our wache
They tolde howe hyt was in here myscheve,
And 3et we nothyng hem leve,
That they sholde stonde in suche a state,
Because the werre dede not abate.
But than within a lytel space
The poure peple of that same place
At every gate thay were putte owte,
Meny a hundred on a rowte.
Hyt was grete petè hem for to se,
Howe wemen come knelyng on here kne,
And here chyldren also in here armes,
For to save hem fro harmes ;
And olde men come knelyng hem by,
And there they made a dellfulle cry,
And alle thay cryed at onys than,
" Have mercy on us 3e Englysch men."
Owre men gaff ham sum off here brede,
Thow thay to us ware now so quede.

Harme to hem we dede none,
 But made hem azen to the diche gon,
 And ther we kept them alle abache,
 Because they shulde not se our wache:
 Many on sayde thay wolde levere be sclayne
 Than turne to the Cete of Rone agen.
 Thay wente forthe wyth a strong mormeracyone,
 And ever thay cursed here owne nacyon:
 For the Cete wolde not lete ham inne,
 Therfor thay dede fulle grete synne:
 For many one deyed ther fore colde
 That myghte fulle welle here lyffe have holde,
 Thys was in the tyme of Chrystemasse.
 I maye yow telle of a full fayre cas,
 As off grete mekenes of owre goode kyng,
 And also of mekenes a grete tokenynge.
 Owre kyng sente into Rone on Chrystemas daye
 Hys herawdes inne a ryche aray,
 And seyde, because of this hy feste,
 Bothe to the meste and to the leste,
 Withinne the Cete, and also withowte,
 To telle that be scante of vetayles alle aboute,
 Alle thay to have mete and drynke therto
 And again save condyte to come and to go.
 They sayde, "Gremarcy," alle lyghtely,
 As thay hadde set lytel prise therby.
 And unnese¹ thay wolde grawnte eny grace
 To the powre peple that owt put was,
 Save to two prestes and no mo hem with
 For to brynge mete thay grawnted therwith.
 "But an ther come with yow and mo,
 "Trewly we wylle schote yow to."

¹ Scarcely.

Alle on a rewe the pore peple was sette,
The prestes come and brouȝte hem mete,
Thay ete, and dronke, and were fulle fayne,
And thonked owre kynge wyth alle here mayne.
And as thay satte here mete to fonge,
Thus thay talkyd ham amonge.
" O myghtefulle Jhesu," thay sayde thanne,
" Off tender harte is the Englysche menne :
" For see howe thys exselent kynge
" That we have be evere aȝen stondynge,
" And nevere wolde we abeye hym to,
" Nor no omage to hym wolde we nevere do,
" And yet he hathe on us more compasyonne
" Thanne hath owre owne cuntremenne.
" And therfore Lord Jhesu as thou art full of mercy,
" Graunte hem grace to wynne hys ryȝte in hey."
And thus the poure peple that tyme thay spake,
And fulle gode tente therto was take :
But when they hadde ȝeten and went here wey,
The trewys adrew and warre toke hys way ;
For ryȝt as the myght began to store,
So gan aȝen alle that ther wore. ^m
Than wache and warde hyt was fulle streyte,
Both nyȝt and day hem for to wayte ;
And to hold inne bothe grete and smalle,
But hungyr breked the harde stone walle.
All the capyteynes of that fayre Cete
Cownseyle toke that they wolde trete,
For thay most nede, thay lackyd mete,
Therefore thay gan for-to trete,

^m Store and wore appear to be substituted by the caprice of the transcriber for "sterre and werre."

And upon Newe 3erys even at the nyghte
At every gate ther clepyd a kny3hte,
But there was no man that herde,
Withowten answer forth the thay yede,
Save upon Huntynghdonys syde,
Whan thay clepyd so inne that tyde,
As at the Porte de Pownte of Sayne,
Ther thay ware answer sone agayne.
A kny3ht hem axed what thay wolde,
And they answeyde, and sone they tolde,
“ We wolde have a kny3ht of owre lynage,
“ Or elles sum Lorde of Baronage.”
“ Forsothe,” he saye, “ Y am a kny3hte,”
And than thay axyd whatte hys name hy3te.
“ Myne name,” sayde he, “ ys Umfrevyle ;”
Then thonked thay Gode and the swete Seynt Gyle,
“ For ye are of Normandye comyn of the olde blode,
“ Helpe we hadde nowe an ende goode
“ Bytwene us and thys worthy kynge.”
He answered a3en, “ What ys 3owre wyllynge ?”
Thay sayde, “ Wythowte any more reporte,
“ We have bene at every porte,
“ Wheras thes prynces laye before,
“ And often tymes we clepyd there,
“ Furste for Clarence that lorde so exselente,
“ Ofte we clepyd or we thens wente ;
“ And for Glowseter that lorde so goode,
“ Ofte we clepyd and longe we stode ;
“ And for Exsetre also we were,
“ But none there was that us wolde here ;
“ And also for Warwyck that erle fre
“ We clepyd more thanne tymys thre.

“ And also for the Erle Marshalle we were,
“ But there was none that wolde us here.
“ And sen that we have clepyd thus,
“ For Goddes love helpe to excuse us,
“ And pray alls thes lordes, for Goddes sake
“ That Heven and erth and alle dede make,
“ And as they are dewkes of grete dygnyte,
“ And cheventaynes of alle chevalre,
“ That thay to the kynge wolde pray for us,
“ That we myȝt fynde hym to us gracyous.
“ And we wolde beseche ȝow also
“ To ȝowre kynge that we myȝte go,
“ And hym beseche (for Chrystes love Hevene Kyng
“ That in vi dayes made alle thyng,
“ Be hys wyt, and hys devyse,)
“ For over alle princes he may be prise,
“ That ȝowre kynge wolde, for hys hye princehed,
“ And also for hys grete manhede,
“ And for his knyȝtehede so exselent,
“ And to nother kynge so obedyent,
“ That reyngethe here on erthe be ryȝte,
“ Save only unto God Almyȝte.
“ For withinne hymselfe he ys an emperoure,
“ And a kyng ryell, and a conquerowre :
“ That ȝowre kynge wolde off hys grete grace,
“ Grawnte us lyffe and also space :
“ And not wythstondyng owre offers,
“ But that we myȝte come to hys presens,
“ Twelve of us in one assent,
“ The kynge for to telle of owre entente.
“ And, wyth the myȝt of God so fre,
“ May we hym to come onys to se,

" We wole hym tele wythowte distaunce
 " That schal turn hym to grete plesaunce."
 " To thys," quod Umfurwyle, " Y wyll assent."
 He toke hys leve and forth he wente
 Unto Clarence that duke so dere,
 And tolde hym that mater alle in fere.
 He thonkyd God and Mary eke
 For here enemyes were brouȝt so meke;
 And sayde that he wolde wyth ryȝt gode wyll
 Speke for ham the kyng untill.
 And sone that charyte he undertoke,
 And meknes nothyng he forsoke.
 He was a prince for to commende,
 Fulle few suche lordes now we fynde,
 For he was manfulle whyle werre dede last,
 And mercyfulle when werre was past.
 Manhede, mekenes, bothe wyt and grace,
 And alle was conteyned in lytell space :
 Hym wanted nothyng that a lorde scholde have.
 Almyȝty God mote hys sowle save !
 And Umfyrwyle hys leve hente,
 And on hys message he ys forth wente,
 To Glowsetre tho he gan to go,
 And to the Dewke of Exsetre also :
 He tolde ham tydynges howe hyt was,
 Thay thonkyd God of hys swete grace,
 And sayde, thay wolde, as for Godys sake,
 A goode ende helpe to make.
 Lo ! howe thes lordynges of grete mekeness.
 God save ham fro alle wyckydnes !
 And thow thay suffered nevere so smerte,
 Zyt were thay mercyfulle inne here herte.

And than Umfurwyle hys leve he hente,
And on hys message he ys forthe wente,
Unto the erles alle be name,
And there he tolde to ham the same.
Lo! howe thes lordynges of grete chevalre
Howe sone that thay felle into charyte.
And therfore, Lorde Jhesu, for thy holy grace,
Sende ham gode spede in every place!
And on the Newe 3eres daye inne the mornynge
Than Umfurwyle come unto the kynge,
And alle that matter to hym he seyde,
And for that Cete fulle sone he prayde.
Owre kynge sayde, be hys cownsayle wyse,
And be hys own wytte fulle mekylle of pryse,
" I grawnte that Cete some of here wylle,
" That twelve of ham schall come me tylle."
Offe alle hys lordynges everychone
Agayne that worde sayde nevere one.
Lo, that prynce worthy of pryncypalle,
Of alle erthly kynges he bereth the belle.
For, lo, he preveth hymselfe manfulle,
And also a prynce fulle mercyfulle.
For tho that had hym oft ameved,
And so gretly hym agreved,
And put hym to so grete a coste,
And of hys men meny one loste,
And withstode hym of hys owne ryhte,
And now are fallen unto hys myghte,
At hys owne wylle hym to greve,
Gyf he wolde put hym to eny myscheve;
And than hym sylfe to lyst so lowe,
And of here wylle to wyte and knowe.

And than the kynge to grounde^a hem tretè,
 That was nothe mercy and charyte,
 Whan thay had hym so gretly agylte,
 And of hys men meny one spylte ;
 And than the kynge to grawnte hym grace
 A mercyfulle meknes methynketh hyt was.
 Goddes own chylde, I wote, he ys,
 For he dyd the good agen the mysse.^o
 And therfor, Lorde, for thy holy passyon,
 Have the sowle of Kynge Harry in thy region !
 And whanne the kynge had grawnted as I have tolde.
 Than sayden Umferwyle that knyghte so bold,
 " My lege," he said, " when sall thys be ?"
 " To morwe," said the kynge, " lot me hem se."
 And Umferwyle hys leve sone hente,
 And on hys message he forthe wente,
 And when that he come unto the gate,
 The statys of Rone he founde thereatte.
 He sayd, " Y have be wyth my kynge,
 " And he have grawnte alle your axynge.
 " To morwe betymes loke ye be sare
 " For twelve of yow must to hym fare :
 " And sea that ye schall to hym go,
 " My counsell I geve that ye so do.
 " To morwe than schal ye se
 " The worthyest prynce of Crystyante.
 " But wyth suche a lorde ye never ere spake.
 " Ne non a worde so sone wole take :
 " Thenke in yowr herte before yowre tonge,
 " Leste that youre wordes be not to longe :

^a Grant.^o returned good for evil.

" Speke but fewe and wel hem sette,
" To that prynce whan ye are mette.
" For a worde wrang oute of warde
" Myȝt brynge yow alle in cas fulle harde.
" Therefore in yowre wordes that ye be wyse,
" And saye no thyng wythoute a good wyse."
They hym thonkyd fulle curtaysly,
And said to hym, " Syr, gramercy,
" For your gode counsel that you us teche
" Or we come to that prynces speche."
Umferwyle toke hys leve and wente hys waye.
Onto the Sondag after Newe ȝere daye :
And on the tother day be pryme
Umferwyle come forth in that tyme,
And of the kynges squyers veramente
That tyme wyth hym were forthe ysente,
And ȝemen of the crowne also,
That were asyned wyth hym to go.
They went unto Seynt Yllarys gate,
And twelve men came forthe therat,
Ffoure Knyȝtes, and foure Clerkes,
And fowre Burges wyse men of werkes,
And alle they were clothed in blacke,
Comely of chere, and fayre of schappe.
And when they come to the house of Charturè,
Than owre Kyng atte the masse was he.
Within the kyng alle they did lende,^p
Tylle tyme the masse was atte an ende.
Forthe come owre kyng wythoute lette
As he had knelyd in hys closette,
Wyth lordly chere and cheveten lyche,
He was in cowntenense wel lordlyche,

^p Wait for.

Wythe a semland⁹ chere right sadde :
 Hym to see men myght be gladde.
 But when the Fronsche men owre kyng gan se
 Downe they fylle upon here kne.
 Thay cleyped hym wythe fulle mylde speche,
 And a bylle to the kyng on gan reche.
 The kyng bade Exsetere loke on that bylle,
 And sum dele the kyng he turned hem tylle.
 But what thys bylle mente I herde saye,
 Of tretys thay besought hym be eny waye,
 Thay hym besoughte for Goddes sake
 That evene and erthe and alle dede make,
 Bothe est and weste, northe and sowthe,
 "That we myȝt speke wyth yow be mowthe."
 The Kyng bade, "Say on what ye wylle,
 They were fulle fayne and knelyd hym tylle.
 They seyde, "We yow beseche and praye,
 "For hys love that dyede on Gode Fridaye,
 "And for hys moder love so dere,
 "Grawnte to us charyte here :
 "And also off the pore peple that are withowte,
 "And in yowr dyges lyge dede alle abowte,
 "Have mercy and pete hem uppon,
 "And grawnte hem leve hom to gon."
 Styll stode the kyng alle that whyle,
 Wyth cowntenys sadde, he wolde not smyle,
 But wyles they in presens before hym were
 He was fulle lordly in hys chere.
 Nether to mylde, nether to strange,
 But in a mene withowten change.
 Hys cowntynance dyde he never bate,
 But kept hym styll in on state.

⁹ Semblant, comely.

And whanne the Kynge sayde hys answer,
He sayde to ham, " Who put ham there,
" As unto the dyke of that cete?
" I put ham nowȝt ther, and that knowe ye :
" Lat ham have that they sowȝht,
" For thay abode while they mowȝht.
" And as to yow, ye wette wel thys,
" Ye have offend me wyth mysse,
" And kepte me fro my nowne Cete
" The weche erytage ys ryht to me.
" And ye schulde a bene my trew lege men :"
And thay answeyd and sayde thanne,
" As for thys Cete, that we here kepe,
" We have a charge, and that a depe,
" We have a charge our soverayne lege,^r
" Hyt for to deffende from sawte and sege :
" And also we are hys legemen borne,
" And untylle hym we are ysworne,
" And off the Dewke of Burgoyne so free,
" A fulle stronge charge of hym have we :
" But wolde ye, off youre grete grace,
" Grawnte us lyffe and also space,
" Thatte sum of us myghte go
" To warne owre kynge off oure wo,
" And on owre feythe we to excuse,
" Many one of us wolde hym refuse;
" And to yow for to yelde up thys Cete,
" And meny one of us youre legemen to be."
The kynge sayde, " I do yowe owte off dowte.
" My Cete I wole not go withowte :
" And, as y sayde, ye knowe wel this,
" Ye have offended me wyth mysse,

^r They appear to mean " from our sovereign liege."

" And kepte me fro my nowne Cete,
 " The weche that ys myne erytache fre.
 " And as towchande yowre Frensche lege,
 " He wat wele that I holde thys sege,
 " And the Dewke of Burgoyne also,
 " Ffulle wel they hyt knowe bothe two.
 " Ffor alle whyle that I here have been,
 " Message of us hath go betwene :
 " But and ham lyke to come me nere,
 " Welle they wote to fynde me here.
 " And wote they wele, I wil not ons go
 " Withoute my ryhte, for frende ne ffoe.
 " Ffor wyle so longe before they hyt knew,
 " Message to sende nowe newe and newe,
 " Hyt war to ham no neweltie,
 " But repreve to us and superfluytè.
 " Suche message," sayde the kyng, " Wole y not sende,
 " Hyt ys no nede, for hyt ys competende."
 And whan the Kyng had gyfe that answe,
 Of that same matere they spake no mere.
 Save a Knyzt sayde, hyt was fayre to wynne
 Rone and the men that ar withinne.
 The Kyng sayde, " Rone ys myne owne lande.
 " I wole hyt have, hosoever hyt wythstonde ;
 " And the men withinne hem so to araye
 " That they of me schalle speke tylle domys day."
 Of that worde they were afrayde,
 Tho spake a Clerke, and thus he sayde,
 " My soveryne lorde, an ye wole take hede,
 " In storey hyt is wreten, and ther y hyt redde,
 " Howe that two chevetynes a daye hadde sette,
 " And with ther osten togeder they mette,

" And alle bothe arayde inne the felde,
" Rayde they ware, and batayle they helde.
" But the party that had the lasse men thenne,
" They broȝte to the byggere bred and wyne.
" In tokyng that they to hem shulde be
" Fulle of mercy and also of pete.
" And now we brynge you brede and wyne,
" And Rone that ys a Cete full fyne."
The kynge sayde, " Rone is my herytage,
" I wylle hyt wynne by ryȝh lynage :
" But fro hens forward I rede ye do,
" That mercy maye be grawnte yow to.
" But at the reverence of God Allmyȝte
" And off hys moder Mayden bryȝhte,
" Of trewys nowe I grawnte yowe space,
" And so may ye do to have grace."
" Goode Lorde," thay sayde, " for Saynte Charytè,
" Howe wole ye unto owre pepyll se ?
" That yn your dykes suffre grete peyne,
" And ther they lyggge as steked swyne.
" Have ye sum pete ham upon
" And grannte ham leve home to gon."
Owre kynge awnswered wyth wytte fulle wyse,
" Therof y wole take myn awyse,
" For as God me redyth, so wolleth on hem rewe,"
And wyth that worde the kynge sayde, " Adewe."
But alle the Frensche men in that wyle
Forthe they went wyth Syr Umferwyle,
And toward that Cete as thay yede
Thay spake of owre kynges worthy pryncehede.
Thay sayde, " He ys tylle owr devyse,
" Of alie yerthely kynges he bereth the pryse,

"Takyng rewarde unto hys chere,
"And to hys cowntynance that ys so clere,
"Also to hys persone and hys propiete,
"Bothe to hys fetures and hys bewtè,
"And to hys depe dyscression,
"That ys yn hys dysposycyone,
"And namly to hys passyng pryncchede,
"And also to hys grete manhede.
"For he ys mercyful in fyghte,
"And askyth nothyng but that ys ryght.
"Alle these are wertewes in hym beyng,
"To byleve wyth eny kyng.
"Now scholde hyt be but with grete honowre,
"For he ys a worthy conquerowre.
"Full well may we wit, withouten wene,
"That Godde hym loveth, and that ys sene."
And thus the Frenschemen of oure kyng
As thay on the way to Rone wente talkyng,
Of Umferwyle here leve have thay hente
And into the Cete they are forthe wente.

X. *Observations on the First Common Seal used by the Burgesses of Bristol. By the Rev. JAMES DALLAWAY, F.S.A. In a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 4th December 1823.

College of Arms, London, Nov. 29, 1823.

DEAR SIR,

I OBSERVE, that several communications respecting municipal Seals have been formerly made to the Society, and am consequently induced to address you upon the subject of *one*, which presents a fair claim to their notice.

The first municipal Seal now extant, which was used by the commonalty of the burgh of Bristol, is no less curious for the excellence of the engraving, as a work of art at the time of its execution, than the historical design, concerning which, I request to submit some Observations which have occurred upon a careful examination of it.

I have referred the adaptation of this design to a single event in the history of Bristol, of importance enough, as I now beg to suggest, to have been thus commemorated; when the privilege of using a Seal was first conceded to the burgesses, by King Edward the First, as lord of the castle, in the early part of his reign.

Upon an inspection of the more ancient Borough Seals, I believe that it will be found, that the device of a castle is peculiar, in a great degree, to those which were under the jurisdiction of a feudal lord, from whom they derived all their municipal privileges, and that the representation of a castle was retained upon those seals as evidence of their original dependance, long after their liberties were confirmed.

The seal under consideration, (Plate VIII. fig. 1.) is circular, having a diameter not exceeding three inches, cast in a composed metal, the basis of which is brass, and very skilfully intagliated or engraven. The Device is a Castle, having a high portal, or gateway, inserted between four towers rising from the banks of a river, and surrounded by a wall. The tower on the left hand is considerably larger than the others, intended to represent the keep. It has three tiers of circular arches; that on the right hand, does not exceed half the dimensions of the keep, upon the top of which is placed a warder blowing a trumpet: the other two are low and diminutive. Of the great gateway, the arch is circular, and the door of timber frame has ornamented hinges of iron, but there is nothing to mark a portcullis. I have given a more minute description, because I have good reason to think that a representation of the castle of Bristol, as extant when the seal was made, was purposely intended. The earliest Seal of the city of Norwich bears a similar resemblance to its contemporary castle. The legend is engraven in the Lombardic character, "SIGILLVM . COMMVNIS . BYRGENSIVM . BRISTOLLIE." But the obverse is the immediate subject of this disquisition. This is doubtless an equally exact representation of the other great gate of the ancient castle, which rose, flanked by towers, above the ditch into which the river Avon was admitted, and by which means, upon any disagreement with the burgesses, their maritime vessels might be seized and impounded. At the end of a wall is a lofty circular arch, having a high embattling or embrasure, upon which stands a man with his arm held out, and as if beckoning with his forefinger to a ship or large vessel rigged with a single mast and sail, and a pilot steering it with a rudder projected from the side,^a rather resem-

^a The most ancient rudder by which the ship was guided, in the time of the Romans is called by Virgil "*clavus*," (in distinction from "*remus*,") and was attached to the side of the ship.

"Ipse sedens *clavumque* regit, velisque ministrat."—Æn. l. x. 218.

And in the 9th plate of the Bayeux tapestry (published by the Society) the pilot holds the rudder in one hand, and the sail in the other. Upon the Trajan column, the *clavus* appears to have been likewise attached to the side of ships, and it is probable, that

bling a broad plank, than the rudder of later usage. A similar form may be traced in the earliest delineations of the Norman æra.

Legend: SECRETI . CLAVIS . SV̄ . PORT . NAVITA . NAVIS
 ^b PORT . CVSTODIT . PORT . VIGIL . INDICE . PDIT .

“Secreti clavis sum portus. Navita navis
Portam custodit. Portum vigil indice prodit.”

“I am the key of the secret port. The pilot steers the helm of the ship. The warder points out the port, with his fore-finger.” The arch-way and tower are intended to represent the secret port large enough to admit vessels of considerable size, as an inlet or slip, immediately communicating with the larger or common port of the town, and occasionally serving the purposes of protection or annoyance.

To whatever circumstance this device, evidently historical, may indisputably owe its origin, it was certainly the prototype of all the City Seals, however varied (as the building of the castle itself varied) in their mode of describing the circumstance; and likewise of the Arms of the City.

There are strong coincidences by which I am confirmed in an opinion, that the following event, which took place in 1275, gave occasion

this usage prevailed during the whole period of the Roman empire, and that it was transmitted by them to the conquered provinces. That the Normans adopted the form and place of the rudder from them, the Bayeux tapestry affords us several instances, with some variation, indeed, in its lower part. See plates i. ii. vi. vii. viii. ix. And in illuminations of a MS. of Henry Knighton. C. C. Coll. Oxon. D. 4. f. 5.

^b “Portam navis” is translated (*meo periculo*) at the steerage or helm of the ship, for I am unable to adduce any instance of its having been so used either in classic or monkish latinity. Such a pleonasm as “navita navis” can scarcely have been intended, and it was not the fact, that the pilot kept the gate (*of the castle*). The play upon the words “porta and portus” was too delightful to have been rejected by a rhyming monk; and he therefore used the former in a sense for which he had no authority. In the 14th century the *clavis* above mentioned, appears to have been superseded by a rudder affixed to the stern, more resembling those of modern usage, and as may be seen in one of the illuminations of the Froissart, in the British Museum, like one half of folding gates, turning upon a hinge.

for this representation. This seal was used jointly for public acts, and for deeds issued by individual burgesses.

The first mention I have seen of a common seal of the burgesses, is in the charter granted them by King Edward III. in the 47th year of his reign, 1373, for the choice of a sheriff. "Sub sigillo communi dictæ ville Bristol;" but this circumstance does not prove, that the common seal was then first made, but rather, that it had been previously extant.

I will now subjoin the historical fact, as related by the chroniclers of that age.

A large ship, which, by stress of weather, had been driven about, in the British channel, was discovered, when becalmed, (*expansis velis*) hovering at the mouth of the Avon, by some pilots (*cives* not *nautæ*). Walsingham says only four, who were in small boats. The ship excited the greatest astonishment both from its size and furniture, and the certainty that persons of great consequence were on board. The *cives* (pilots) induced them by promises of safety, to enter the harbour of Bristol, for it was not possible, that they could have compelled them by actual force. Wykes, it is true, says *puppim ipsam cum totâ sarcinâ capientes, invitos perduxerunt, intrinsecus*," (into the creek and water-gate, of the castle,) that is, after they had perceived that they had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and that all opposition would be useless. But Speed, from T. Walsingham, says only, that they were surprized.

Almeric de Mountfort had taken his sister, the daughter of the great Simon Earl of Leicester, (slain at the battle of Evesham,) accompanied by certain ladies, knights, and priests, with an intention of landing her on the Welsh coasts, and giving her in marriage to Leoline, or Llewellyn, Prince of North Wales, who was then at war with King Edward the First. The treachery, or successful manœuvre, was the piloting of this ship, carrying, possibly, the marriage portion of the bride, with other splendid furniture, into the creek or *secret port* of the castle, instead of the *open port* of the town; and there surrender-

ing the prize, into the hands of the king himself, who, it may be inferred, was at that time keeping his court within his castle of Bristol.

The lady was treated with the courtesy, and the men with the savage barbarity, peculiar to that æra. Wykes relates, that these "*cives*" of Bristol gave "*prædam ipsam non ignobilem Domino Regi, triumphali lætitid;*" and it is borne out by these circumstances, that the device or delineation of this achievement was represented upon the common seal of this burgh and port, and a superscription was added in monkish Leonine verse, obscure in itself, excepting that it be allowed to allude to this historical fact in particular; and it was then, first of all, confirmed by the royal authority.

In Peter Langtoft's Chronicle,^c Almerike de Montfort is said to have been condemned by the parliament, held at Northampton. The whole family of Simon de Montfort had effected their escape into France. He gives an account of the transaction above alluded to, with a certain variation of some of its circumstances; but those are not less applicable to the device of this seal. A metaphrase may be more convenient for the present purpose; the original being subjoined in a note.^d

^c "Almerike ov Montfort deprived was þere
And þe tressure that he had in kepýng."

Edit. Hearne, p. 222.

^d "The next zere followand of Edward coronment;
Leulyn of Walsland, into France he sent
Ðe Montforts doughter to wedde, her frenbes all consent,
Almirike her ledde to schýp, now ere hir went
Now they sail and row to Wales to Lewellynes,
A burgeys of Bristowe chargyd was with wines
He overtoke þere schýp, wíþens hir were?
Hií said wíð King Philipp to Wales wold hir fare.
What sub þis burgeys? disturbed his wensíng,
Ðe may and hir hernesse did lede unto ðe kíng;
Ðe mayden Edward toke, als he was full courteis,
In safeti did hir loke, and thankid þe burgeys.
Whan Lewlyne hard say to warre sone he began,
For tene he wend to die, þat taken was his leman."

Edit. ut sup. v.

"In the year after King Edward's coronation, Llewellyn Prince of North Wales sent into France to offer marriage to the daughter of Simon de Montfort, to which proposal her friends consented. And as they were now sailing or rowing towards Wales, to Llewellyn, Almerick her brother having her under his protection, a certain burgess of Bristol, who was in a vessel laden with wines, overtook the ship and demanded who they were? they answered that they were going with King Philip into Wales. What did this burgess? He misdirected their voyage by a stratagem, and took the maid and all her wedding furniture to King Edward. The maid the king took, and confined her for security, treating her with courtesy, for he was himself very courteous. The burgess he thanked and rewarded. When Llewellyn was informed of this event he prepared for war, for he was vexed mortally, at the detention of his bride."

Trivetius, in his account of the place where Leoline's ship was first discovered and detained, is evidently mistaken. It was near a small island called Silley, on the Glamorganshire coast, and not the rock, better known by the same name at the land's-end Cornwall.^e

Elenor de Montfort was born in England and educated in France, married to Prince Leoline at Worcester, upon his pacification with Edward I. in 1278, "et anno sequenti mortua est."^f

Such is the historical fact upon which I would ground my opinion, that it supplied the subject of the obverse of the Great Seal of the Burgh of Bristol, which, from the circumstance of its castle having been both a garrison and a royal palace, was considered during the first Norman centuries as the metropolis of the West of England. The usage of the Lombardic character in all inscriptions for a great part of the thirteenth

^e "Comitissa de Leicester, vidua Simonis de Montfort, fill'am suam transmisit in Walliam Principi maritandam; qui suspectum iter habentes per Angliam immenso multi maris spatio, ad insulas Iduras (quæ terminos Cornubiæ respiciunt) devchuntur." p. 248. Sayer's Mem. of Bristol, vol. ii. p. 70.

^f Ex registro Abbat. de Kainsham.

and the first years of the fourteenth century,^a will fix the true æra of the seal under discussion, to 1275; when Edward the First, being resident in his castle of Bristow, and having there received so acceptable a prize "*triumphali lætitiâ*," it was very probable that he allowed an event, and the service so performed by the men of Bristow, to be commemorated upon their Common Seal as a royal boon or indulgence.

It is expressly said by Langtoft, that "*he ðankede þe burgeys*;" and it might have been by this recognition. The royal, baronial, ecclesiastical, and municipal seals of this æra, are most of them executed with extraordinary skill and care, as to architectural representation, though those of men are beyond proportion, in this, as well as in other instances.

As I have been politely favoured with impressions in wax, taken from the ancient Seals now preserved in the archives of the city, by E. Ludlow, Esq. the Town-clerk, I am greatly obliged to him for the present opportunity of submitting them to the inspection of the Society. A description of them shall be attempted, as a continuation of the former subject.

II. This seal, which bears the full face and bust of a king crowned, crossed by a lion passant at the breast, and with a castellet on either side, is known from the legend to have been first issued by Edward I. It is likewise in the Lombardic character; S. EDW. REG. ANG. AD. RECOGN. DEBITOR APD. BRISTOLL." That the two castles are affixed, is an undoubted evidence that the first Edward is meant, because they appear so placed upon his Great Seal, with reference to his Queen Elinor of Castile, as also upon several others. (See Plate VIII. fig. 2.)

III. This smaller seal, an impression from which is affixed to a deed in 1352, is inscribed: "*SIGILLVM. MAIORITATIS. VILLE. BRISTOLLIE.*" (See Plate VIII. fig. 3.) It is a variation from the original already described, retaining the design.^b The ship has so far entered into the water-gate

^a The last Great Seal of England, the legend of which is inscribed in the Lombardic character, is that of Edward the Third, first used upon his claim of the crown of France, in 1338.

^b In Vincent's Collection of Drawings from Seals (MSS. Coll. Arm. No. 88. p. 42) there is a later variety, in which the quarter for France has only the three fleurs-de-lys adopted

of the castle as to conceal its mast and sail. Upon the prow is displayed a pennon, large in proportion, bearing the arms of France and England quarterly, as they were first borne by King Edward III. and the Gothic letter **B** behind it. The water-gate only of the castle, not the keep as in the former instance, is represented, and there are two warders with trumpets instead of one. On the highest turret there is a beacon, and near it a vane, upon which is a fleur-de-lys. The castle is no longer delineated as a Norman fortress; but the towers, which are lofty and slender, attached to the angles, have deep machicolations as introduced in the middle centuries after the Conquest.

IV. Is a Seal of small dimensions. (See Plate VIII. fig. 4.) Within a circle, covered with fleur-de-lys, is a leopard's face open-mouthed, with the tongue depending, and very deeply engraven. Legend; "S. MAIOR. STAPVLE. BRIST." Bristol was one of the seven staple towns in England, confirmed by King Edward the Third, in 1354, 27th of his reign, by whom it was enacted, in each of these towns, a seal should be kept by a distinct officer, styled the Mayor of the Staple.

A question may arise, whether the architectural delineations of churches or castles engraven upon Seals are mere inventions, or in some instances accurate representations of buildings at the time they were made? I submit my opinion, that an analogy to the prevailing style was always intended. Conventual seals, upon which a church is the device, cannot perhaps be proved to represent accurately, that of the Convent to which they belong, as in the instance of that of St. Augustine, Bristol, yet the arches are circular, as were those of Fitz-harding's edifice. Upon a minute examination of the series of Royal Seals, from

by King Henry the Fifth, and the beacon is omitted. The legend is "Sigillum Majoritatis ville de Bristoll." It is affixed to the following deed. "Ego Thomas Halleway de Bristollia concessi tenementum, &c. Et quia sigillum meum quam plurimis est incognitum sigillum majoritatis ville Bristoll apposui. Dat. 10 Henrici 6ti 1432." Thomas Halleway was Mayor 1434, and founded a Chantry in the parish church of All Saints, with a competent endowment, in 1450.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Seals of the City of Bristol

the Conqueror to King Henry VII. it will be seen that the architecture or shrine work of the thrones upon which each monarch is sitting, is at first composed of simple round arches, and that they then follow the style of the Gothic architecture, even to its final exuberance, in niches and canopies. It may be said, that they did not describe the precise form of any contemporary building, but that they sufficiently demonstrate the style.

We have still an opportunity of comparing the Castle of Norwich with the representation of one upon the Seal of that city, and shall find them analogous, in all respects, if not exactly resemblant. This reasoning may be applied to the more ancient Bristol Seal, as far as it relates to the general form of its castle, and more particularly of the water-gateway above the Avon.

As perspective or proportion were equally beyond the powers or conception of the graphic artists of that æra, we must be satisfied with a general idea only of all they intended to represent, and conclude that they described to the extent of their talents the transaction before mentioned, omitting none of the chief circumstances which if not of national were of local importance, as belonging exclusively to the History of the City of Bristol.

I am, dear Sir, very respectfully yours,

JAMES DALLAWAY.

XI. *Sarcastic Verses, written by an Adherent to the House of Lancaster, in the last year of the Reign of Richard the Second, A. D. 1399. Communicated by WILLIAM HAMPER, Esq. F. S. A. in a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.*

Read 11th December, 1823.

Deritend House, Birmingham, Dec. 5, 1823.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE attention of the Society of Antiquaries having been lately drawn to the circumstances connected with the latter days of King Richard the Second, I conceive that the enclosed Verses, from a coeval manuscript in my possession, may be acceptable to them; and shall therefore beg you to introduce them at your leisure.

I remain yours,

very sincerely,

WILLIAM HAMPER.

TO HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S.
Sec. S. A. &c.

SARCASTIC VERSES,

Written by an Adherent to the House of Lancaster, in the last year of the reign of Richard the Second, A. D. 1399.

þ^o is a busch^a þ^t is forgrowe } or elles h^t wolle be wilde
 Crop hit well & hold h^t lowe }
 þ^e long gras þ^t is so grene^b } for growen h^t hath th' fellde
 H^t most be mowe & raked clene }
 þ^e grete bagge^c þ^t is so mykille } th' bothom is ny ouyt
 H^t schal be kettord & maked litell }
 H^t is so roton on ych a side } to set þ^o on a clout
 þ^o nul no stych w^t odr abyde }
 þorw þ^e busch a swan^d was sclayn } alas þ^t hit be tydde
 of þ^t sclawt^r fewe wer fayne }
 H^t was a eyrer good & able } Hit was a gentel bryde
 to his lord ryjt pfitable }
 þ^e grene gras þ^t was so long } þat worthy was & wyth
 H^t hath sclayn a stede^e strong }
 Wat kyng had þ^t stede on holde } als schulde he go to fyth
 To juste on hȳ he myjt be bold }
 A bereward^f fond a rag } he dude in gode entent
 of th'rag he made a bag }
 Thorwe þ^e bag þ^e bereward is taken } þus is þe berewarde schent
 All his beres han hȳ forsaken }

^a be a busch,—gras þ^t is so grene—þ^e grete bagge.] The three principal agents of Richard II. viz. Sir John Bushey, Sir Henry Greene, and Sir William Bagot.

^d A swan.] Ralph son of Hugh Earl of Stafford, slain by Lord John Holland, the king's half-brother. The Stafford crest is a swan.

^e A stede.] Richard Earl of Arundel, who was beheaded. The crest of Fitz-Alan Earl of Arundel being a horse.

^f A bereward.] Thomas Earl of Warwick, banished to the Isle of Man. A bear was the cognizance of the Beauchamp family.

þ^e swan is ded^g his make is woo } in to an uncod place
 Her eldes bryd^h his taken her fro }
 þ^e stedes coltⁱ is ronnon a way } h^t is a wond^r casse
 An eron^k hath taken h^y to his praye }
 þ^e berewardes sone^l is tend^r of age } askyng will þow^e tell
 He is put to mariage }
 þut he hoputh þorw myth & grace } & led hē at his wille
 W^t th' beres to make salas }
 A eron is up & toke his flyt } þus her' y all mē saye
 In the noth contr^m he is list }
 þ^e stede colt w^t h^y he brynges } to se hem þ^e to playe
 þese buth wond^r & y thinges }
 þe geesⁿ han mad a plement^o } mo then y con tell
 toward þ^e eron are þey went }
 þ^e pecokes^p þ^t buth so fayr in syst } þey thenk w^t h^y to duelle
 to h^y ben comie w^t all hur myst }
 Upon th' busch þe eron woll rest } to loke aft^r his pray
 Of all places it liketh h^y best }
 He wolle falle upon th' grene } þey will not well away
 Ther' he falleth h^t will be sene }
 þ^e bag is ful of roton corne } h^t wille stonde no stall
 So long ykep h^t is for lorne }
 þ^e pecokes & th' ges all so } schul be fed w^t all
 & odor fowles mony on mo }

^g þ^e swan is ded.] Hugh Earl of Stafford.

^h eldes bryd.] Edmund Earl of Stafford, eldest surviving son.

ⁱ þe stedes colt.] Thomas Earl of Arundel.

^k An eron.] Henry Duke of Lancaster, afterwards Henry IV. This cognizance of an heron is not noticed by the historians.

^l þe berewardes sone.] Richard Beauchamp, married to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Lord Berkeley, and under 19 years of age when Henry took the crown.

^m North contr'.] Ravenspur in Yorkshire, where Henry landed.

ⁿ þe gees.] The Commons.

^o A plement.] The Parliament called in King Richard's name, previous to his deposition.

^p þe pecokes.] The Lords.

þ^e busch is bare & waxus ser' } now stont h^t in no styde
 H^t may no leng^r leves bere }
 y wys y con no nod^r bote } & to th' tōn h^t lede
 But hewe hit downe crop & rote }
 th' long gras þ^t semeth grene } h^t is nō best mete
 H^t is roton all bydene }
 til þ^e roton be dynged ouȝt } hur liflode to gete
 Our lene bestes schul not rouȝt }
 Tho grete bage is so ytoron } hong h^t up to drye
 H^t nyl hold neyþ^o mele ne corne }
 Wen h^t is drye þen schalt þ^u se } a beg^o for to bye
 ȝyf h^t wil amended be }
 Now god þ^t mykell is of myȝt } ȝyf h^t be þy will
 Grant us grace to se þ^t syȝt }
 Our lene bestes to have reste } þ^t wer' in point to spylle.^q
 In place þ^t hem lyketh }

^q In point to spylle.] This expression occurs in Henry's declaratory speech on assuming the royal power. "The rewme was in point to be undone for default of governance, and undoyng of the gude lawes."—*Archæologia*, vol. XX. p. 201. note p.

*XI. *On the Voyage, and Place of Shipwreck, of Saint Paul,*
A. D. 62. By MAJOR RENNELL, F. R. S. &c.

Read 8th January, 1824.

THE Question concerning the place of Shipwreck of St. Paul (Acts, ch. xxvii.), and which had been, with great appearance of truth, referred, from the earliest times, to the Island of MALTA, might be thought too trite for discussion, had it not been disputed by some learned persons in latter times; on a supposition that the term ADRIA, as applied by St. Paul to the Sea in which the shipwreck took place, could only refer to the *Adriatic Gulf*, or that of *Venice*. It may therefore be proper to show, that this is an error of the modern Critics; since there can be no doubt that the term *Adria* was really applied more extensively; and that it included, besides the Gulf of Venice, a considerable portion of the Mediterranean Sea, lying in the direct course of St. Paul's voyage to Rome.

The learned Bochart, in his *Chanaan*, written about the middle of the seventeenth Century, had most satisfactorily shown, that Malta was the place of St. Paul's Shipwreck: and as far as is known to the author, the first person who disputed it was *Ignatio Giorgi*, a Benedictine of the Island of *Méléda*,^a on the coast of *Dalmatia*; who, in A. D. 1730, wrote a dissertation to prove that the Shipwreck of St. Paul happened at *that Island*, and not at Malta in the Mediterranean. The Argument turns almost solely on the application of the term *Adria*, to the Gulf of Venice alone.

About forty years afterwards, the learned Jacob Bryant followed the

^a Differently named by ancient Geographers, as, *Melita*, and *Melitene*.

steps of the *Dalmatian Ecclesiastic*, and attacked very closely the statement of Bochart; quoting him in detail, and afterwards affirming that he could produce "*certain evidence*" to prove that the Shipwreck took place at the *Dalmatian*, or *Illyrian* Melita. The amount of this evidence, however, proves little more, than that the ancient historians and geographers, down to the time of the elder Pliny, confine the term *Adria* to the Gulf of Venice. And in this particular, I agree with him: but then, Ptolemy, at seventy years only after Pliny, extends it to the Mediterranean, and mentions it repeatedly. I think it probable, that the term may not have been extended beyond the Gulf, in very early times; nor have been in general use in the time of Strabo; which may account for its not being used by him, and other geographers of his time; although they may still have been aware of its application in a limited way, possibly by mariners, and some others. But writers would naturally use the terms that were most familiar to the bulk of their readers.

Changes of names in Geography, take place very gradually; and almost imperceptibly. As an example of changes, one need not go beyond the Adriatic Gulf itself; which appears to have been at first named from *Adria* in the upper part, and from *Iönia* in the lower part. That, subsequently, the former name was extended to the *whole* Gulf: and that again in aftertimes, the name was still farther extended to the adjacent part of the Mediterranean Sea: and that, as will appear probable in the sequel, prior to the voyage of St. Paul.

The above being the general state of the question, the Author has judged it proper to endeavour to remove the doubt raised by so great an authority as the learned Jacob Bryant, respecting the truth of an opinion, handed down to us, probably from the date of the writing of the Acts of the Apostles: and this he does, under a perfect conviction of its truth, derived from a deliberate examination and consideration of the authorities at large. He regards the circumstances of the navigation, related by St. Paul, as being in themselves perfectly conclusive, in respect of the

position of *Melita*: but as the term *Adria* appears to have been the *stumbling block*, it becomes necessary, in the first place, to set forth the authorities in detail, for the position of that Sea.

Ptolemy distinguishes the *Gulf* from the *Sea* of *Adria*;^b the former as bordering on the *eastern* side of Italy, the other on the southern side of the same country; and also on the eastern coast of Sicily; the western and southern coasts of the Peloponnesus; and the western coast of Crete. Accordingly, his Adriatic *GULF* is that at present denominated from the city of *Venice*, as heretofore from that of *Adria*:^c and his Adriatic *SEA* was the northern part of the middle bason of the Mediterranean Sea.

The extent of the Adriatic *Sea* southward, beyond the Gulf of the same name, is ascertained by the four following passages, in the third book of Ptolemy's Geography.

In his chapter entitled the position of Italy, he says, "Italy terminates towards the south, in the shore of the Adriatic Sea."^d

Again, in his chapter entitled the position of Sicily, he says, "Sicily is bounded on the east by the Adriatic Sea:"^e and he afterwards enumerates the principal places washed by this sea, on the eastern coast of Sicily; from the southern promontory *Pachynum*, to *Messana* on the Strait.^f

And again in the chapter entitled the position of Peloponnesus, he says, "the Peloponnesus is bounded on the west and south by the Adriatic Sea."^g

^b The Gulf is mentioned in lib. iii. art. Italy, pp. 146, 150, 152; and the Sea, art. Sicily, Pelop, and Crete, pp. 169, 171, 216, and 221. edit. Basil, 1533.

^c *Atria*, *Adria*, or *Hadria*, was an ancient city in Italy, founded by the *Tuscans*, on a small river, thirty or more miles to the southward of *Venice*. The name *Adria* still exists in a town on its site.

^d Ἡ Ἰταλία περιχρταται ἀπὸ δι μισσημβρίας τῇ τοῦ Ἀδρίου παραλίῳ. Ptol. lib. iii. p. 146, edit. Basil, 1533.

^e Ἡ Σικιλία περιχρταται ἀπὸ δι ανατολῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀδρίου πτελαγους. Id. p. 169.

^f Id. p. 171.

^g Ἡ δι Πελοποννησος οριζρταται ἀπὸ δυσηων καὶ μισσημβρίας τῷ Ἀδριατικῷ πτελαγῳ. Id. p. 216.

And finally, in his chapter explaining the position of Crete, he says, "Crete is bounded on the west by the Adriatic Sea."^h

He defines the southern limit of this Sea in two points only: that is, at the southern Cape of Sicily (*Pachynum*, or *Passaro*), and at the southern side of Crete, or Candia: but the general boundary must be regarded as an imaginary line drawn through the open sea, between those points. And beyond it, southward, was the African Sea on the side of Sicily, and the Lybian Sea on that of Crete.

Ptolemy is said to have written about A. D. 140; which was seventy to eighty years after the voyage of St. Paul; one hundred to one hundred and ten after the time of Strabo.

The notice in the Theodosian Tables is very simple, but is perfectly satisfactory. It consists of the words *Hadriaticum Pelagus*, written between the southern extremity of Italy and the Island of Crete, so as to extend to the words *Ægium Mare* on the east.ⁱ This, of course, agrees with the ideas expressed by Ptolemy, respecting the extent of the Adriatic Sea to the southward and southeastward.

This Document is said to be of the date of the reign of the Emperor Theodosius, or between A. D. 380 and 395. It was, most certainly, after the foundation of Constantinople (A. D. 328).

To the above authorities may be added (unless a similar doubt arises on the voyage of Josephus, as on that of St. Paul) an article of *presumptive* evidence, in favour of a much earlier application of the term *Adria*, to the Seas of Sicily and Crete. Josephus relates, in the account of his life, (sect. 3.) that as he was passing through the Adriatic, in his way from Judea towards Rome, the ship sank in the midst of that sea: and as himself, and a great many others, saved themselves by swimming till the following morning, this circumstance implies the absence of stormy weather.^k This happened in A. D. 63, the year after the shipwreck of St. Paul.

^h Ἡ Κρήτη περιεσφίγγεται ἀπὸ δυσμῶν παρὰ τοῦ Ἀδριατικοῦ πηλαγού. Id. p. 221.—These passages were extracted and translated by Dr. Gillies.

ⁱ Segments V. and VI.

^k The words of the historian are, "The vessel, filling with water, sank in the midst of

Had the term *Adria* been extended to the Mediterranean Sea, by one party alone, it might have passed for a mistake: but appearing in two separate Works, which are entirely unconnected and dissimilar; and, moreover, the fact being several times *repeated* in one of them (Ptolemy), proves that the term was really applied to that portion of the Mediterranean, as early as the time of Ptolemy at least; which is reckoned to have been from seventy to eighty years posterior to the voyage of St. Paul. And although no earlier date can be verified *from records*, yet the authorities on which Ptolemy founded his system, must necessarily have been *earlier*, and possibly may have been *much earlier*. And then it becomes a question, at what period of the above interval, was the term *Adria* first applied to the sea between Sicily and Crete: or had it not been applied during the *whole* interval, or even prior to it? And hence the report of Josephus must be allowed to afford a degree of presumptive evidence, at least, of the use of the term during his time: and whatsoever is applicable to the case of Josephus, is, of course,

the Adriatic (βαπτίζοντας τον πλοίου κατα μιστον της Αδριας). Of the passengers, who were in all about six hundred, eighty, in the number of whom was Josephus, saved themselves by swimming all night long (δι' ὅλης της νυκτος ησυχάζοντες), till in the morning they were providentially taken on board by a *Cyrenian* ship, which landed them at *Puteoli* (near Naples). It is to be observed, that both Latin and English translators render μιστον της Αδριας, "in the midst of the Adriatic Gulf." * This, however, is done, in conformity with pre-conceived errors; and without any warrant from the original. For Αδριας, without an adjunct, means the *Adriatic Sea*; and can here mean nothing else. For there is no mention of any storm, that drove the vessel in which Josephus sailed into the Adriatic Gulf (far to the north of her proper course), and the saving of eighty men, by swimming all night long, precludes the possibility of any such supposition. They were taken on board, therefore, by the *Cyrenian* vessel, in the Adriatic Sea, and landed at *Puteoli*; which, considering their great numbers, and the distance, would not, probably, have been the case, had they been picked up, in the Gulf of Venice.—*Dr. Gillies.*

* "In medio Sinus Adriatici," Hudson. Joseph. p. 905. And L'Estrange, "In the Adriatic Gulf," p. 994.

equally so to that of St. Paul; as both voyages were made nearly at the same time;¹ and between the same places; viz. Judea and Rome.

Considering, moreover, the *form* of the Adriatic Sea, and its position in respect of the *Gulf* of the same name, it does not appear extraordinary that it should have been regarded as an extension of it; since the two, collectively, form, in effect, the canal of separation between Italy and Greece, in the first instance; as well as between the eastern and western provinces of the Roman Empire at large: and which, its subjects were in the constant habit of crossing, from all points.

It may possibly be objected, that *Malta* itself does not lie within the limits of the Sea of *Adria*, according to the strict sense of Ptolemy's description, which only extends it, along the eastern side of Sicily; and not beyond it: whereas Malta lies about 60 miles beyond a line drawn from the southern Cape of Sicily to that of Crete. But this, taken practically, is scarcely an objection; since the ship of St. Paul must doubtless have been within the aforesaid limits during a part of the storm. It may also be said, that where the boundary of a Sea is an imaginary line, drawn through the open sea, a range must be allowed to the judgment, in determining any position in respect of that line. St. Paul most probably supposed, that from the time when they left Crete they were within the limits of the Adriatic Sea; as knowing that the ordinary course from Crete to Sicily, in the way towards Rome, lay through the Adriatic Sea. A person who should report his having been tossed about in the chops of the British Channel, or in the Bay of Biscay, would not be cavilled at because it afterwards appeared, that at the time spoken of the ship was twenty leagues beyond the imaginary lines drawn between the Capes, which respectively form the entrances of those seas.

It may then be supposed, that the position of the *Adria*, mentioned

¹ Josephus came to Rome, after completing his 26th year; and died, thirty years afterwards, aged 56, A. D. 93. He therefore came to Rome A. D. 63. St. Paul's shipwreck happened A. D. 62: and after wintering at *Melita*, the Apostle departed from that island for Rome early in 63.—*Dr. Gillies.*

in the Acts, was well known in ancient times; and that it occupied the space between Sicily and Greece; Italy and Crete: that the opinion handed down to us was founded on that knowledge; and which left no doubt that *Malta* was the place of the Shipwreck of St. Paul.

But even placing the *name* *Adria* out of the question, the tendency, and consistency of the whole narrative of St. Paul, considered with respect to the geography, the wind, and other circumstances, are such as to afford conviction that Malta was the place of Shipwreck.

No difference of opinion can well arise concerning the early part of the Voyage; which was from *Cæsarea* of *Palestine*, by the coasts of *Phœnicia*, *Cyprus*, *Lycia*, and *Cnidus*, (that is, through the *Canal* of *Rhodes*,) to *Crete*: and then, coasting its southern side to the Island of *Clauda* (now the *Gozza* of *Candia*).

It was at a considerable distance *short* of the Island of *Clauda*, and whilst on their way towards the Port of *Phenice* (meaning to *winter* there), that they were assailed by "the tempestuous wind, called *Euroclydon*;" which is the *Levanter* of modern times: and here the disputed part of the Voyage commences.^m

Previously to entering on an examination of St. Paul's Narrative, it may be proper to say a word concerning the *Levanter*; having been favoured with some valuable observations on it by a friend who had been employed in the service of his Majesty, in the eastern bason of the Mediterranean, and in the Archipelago, during a considerable length of time.ⁿ

"The strong easterly Wind which sweeps along the Mediterranean during the *WINTER*; and which is well known to mariners under the name of the *Black Levanter*, seems to vary only a *point* or *two* on either side of E. by S.^o in any part of its progress, and to be but little affected in cross-

^m The learned, it appears, are not agreed concerning the *composition* of the term *Euroclydon*; although they entertain no doubt respecting its *meaning*: namely, that it was a *tempestuous east wind*: in effect, the same which is familiarly termed *Levanter*.

ⁿ Captain Francis Beaufort, R. N. F. R. S. &c.

^o That is, about *East, true*: consequently the variations of the *Levanter* would be from E. N. E. to E. S. E. *true* (or according to the heavens).

ing the openings of the Archipelago, the Adriatic, or the Gulf of Lyons: though *within* the Archipelago it generally blows from the North-east. The Easterly winds are, I believe, by far the most prevalent in the Eastern bason throughout that period; and blow for a considerable time: frequently *lulling*, or even changing for half a day; and then freshening up again with new vigour.

“ In the SUMMER months, the winds are very capricious, all over the Mediterranean: but in the Archipelago, there is a peculiar wind, called the *Mel-Tem*, which blows from between the North-east and North; and with great violence, for even a fortnight at a time. Nothing can *beat up* against it, unless by stretching into the deep Gulfs of Asia Minor; as it is accompanied by a strong current to the Southward; which absolutely lowers the levels of the Gulfs of Smyrna and Samos, a couple of feet.”

On one occasion only, the same gentleman had an opportunity of observing the direction of the *Mel-Tem*, at the South-west corner of the Archipelago. He says, “ Passing *Cerigo* with the *Mel-Tem*, it blew from N. N. E. by compass: that is, true N. by E. or N. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.”

The Narrative (Acts xxvii. ver. 14. *et seq.*) after saying that “ there arose a tempestuous wind called *Euroclydon*,” proceeds, ver. 15, “ and when the ship was caught, and could not bear up into the wind, we let her drive: (ver. 16.) and running under a certain Island, called *Clauda*, we had much work to come by the boat: which, when they had taken up, they used helps, undergirding^p the ship; (ver. 17.) and fearing lest they should fall into the quicksands, strake sail, and so were driven. And we being exceedingly tossed with a tempest, the next day they lightened the ship: and the third day, we cast out with our own hands, the tackling of the ship. And when neither Sun nor Stars in many days

^p I conclude by the term *undergirding* is meant the act of *frapping* a ship, as it is technically called, when her frame is very much weakened by decay, or accident, and there appears to be a danger of its opening. It is performed by binding the body of the ship tightly round, with several turns of a cable or hawser.

The author has known it practised on a British line of battle ship when at sea, on her passage from India to the Cape of Good Hope, about A. D. 1763.

appeared, and no small tempest lay on us, all hope that we should be saved, was then taken away." And verse 27, "But when the fourteenth night was come, as we were driven up and down in *Adria*, about midnight the shipmen deemed that they drew near to some Country; and sounded, and found it twenty fathoms: and when they had gone a little further they sounded again, and found it fifteen fathoms."

On the next morning the Ship was wrecked, but all escaped safe to land; which they *then* learnt was the Island called *Melita*.

Before I proceed to offer my remarks on the Narrative, it will be proper to state, that the following readings of the 15th and 17th verses of the above chapter, on which so much depends, have been most kindly furnished to me by a friend.^q This version, in my opinion, completely removes the ambiguities which occur in the Bible translation of those verses. And first, of the 15th verse; in which it is said, that "*when the ship was caught, and could not bear up into the wind, we let her drive,*"—by substituting, that "*the ship being caught (viz. in the tempest), and unable to resist it,^r we gave way, and were carried before the wind.*" And again (ver. 17.), instead of "*fearing lest they should fall into the quicksands, they strake sail, and so were driven:*" he substitutes, "*and fearing (viz. the mariners) lest they should fall into the SYRTIC REGION, they struck sail, and were thus carried:*" that is, of course, under their naked masts.

Hence it appears that the Ship, when first assailed by the storm, was unable from its violence to present her side to it, which her proper course towards the Strait of Messina required; since that would have been about *West-north-west*, whilst the wind may be supposed to have been from the *Northward of East*; and consequently striking obliquely on the *starboard* or *right* side of the ship. For it will appear by the above account of the *Levanter* winds, in page 98, that whilst they blew from the *East* in the *Mediterranean* at large, they blew from the *North-*

^q Dr. Gillies.

^r More literally, "*the ship was unable to look the wind in the face.*" We say in England, "*the wind's eye.*"—Dr. Gillies.

east in the *Archipelago*: as also, that during the summer months there prevails in the same sea (the *Archipelago*) "a peculiar wind, called the *Mel-Tem*; which blows from the *North-east* and *North*, and with great violence, for even a fortnight at a time."

It can hardly be doubted, that this rushing North-east wind from the *Archipelago*, must, on its junction with the general East wind which blows at the same time from the Eastern bason of the Mediterranean, have the effect of producing a wind, from between the East and North-east, in the quarter opposite to the opening of the *Archipelago* (although the general wind may afterwards recover *nearly* its original direction): and it was in this quarter, namely, opposite to the Western part of *Crete*, that the Storm first assailed the ship of St. Paul; and immediately after the autumnal equinox.*

The circumstance of the wind bearing with *too great a force* on the side of the Ship, when her prow was pointed towards the Strait of Messina, is, therefore, what may be understood by her not being able to "*bear up into the wind*," or rather, being unable to resist the tempest, when it operated on her *side*, she gave way, and was compelled to turn her stern to the wind and *to run before it*, under a very reduced sail: or under circumstances, which seamen call *scudding*.† But as this course, which must consequently have been somewhat to the *Southward of West*, and therefore pointing obliquely towards the quarter of the *Greater Syrtis*, and its dreaded *quicksands*; and the stormy weather still continuing (as indeed it did for many days afterwards); and their rate of sailing under such circumstances (that is *scudding*) being necessarily rapid; they subsequently "*struck sail, and were driven*:" that is, they were reduced to the *naked masts*; or to what

* "The Fast was now already past." (Acts xxvii. 9.) The fast alluded to, was that of *Atonement* (Levit. xxiii. 27.), on the 10th day of the month *Tisri*; answering to part of September and part of October. Perhaps, about the last week in September.

† *Scudding*—"the movement by which a Ship is carried precipitately before a tempest." *Falconer's Marine Dictionary*.

Seamen call, *under bare Poles*; the only means by which they could lessen their rate of motion towards the danger.

This appears to me to be the true explanation of their fears concerning the quicksands: and as the very term *SYRTIC REGION* is expressed, one is at a loss to understand why any doubt should have arisen concerning *what quicksands* were intended!

The terrors of the ancient Navigators, on occasion of their approach to the quicksands of the Greater Syrtis, is well known. And although it may now be well understood, from the improved state of the present hydrography, that the voyagers must have been at that time at a very safe distance from the perils of the *Syrtis*, yet the uncertainty of their position, after they had been driven by the storm to the westward; together with their probable distrust of their charts; might impress their minds with apprehensions of *running into danger*, if they continued *scudding*.^u

But if the same kind of Gale which was experienced by the Ship of St. Paul, and which rendered it dangerous to spread any sail, or to attempt to keep up to the wind; was to happen to a good ship in the present improved state of navigation; it is probable that it would be made use of as a *fair wind*: for such it was, in point of direction, for

^u By the recent observations of Captain Smyth of his Majesty's ship Adventure, it is found that the shores of the Greater Syrtis are quite changed in their nature, since the date of ancient history. So greatly, as to have rendered the ancient accounts doubtful, had they not been attested by numerous and great authorities.

Its shores now consist, generally, of a firm sandy soil, instead of the ancient quicksands; no traces of which remain. This must be accounted for, by the operation of the surge of the sea, in northerly and north-westerly storms, during a course of eighteen centuries; which has thrown up, and spread the sand, over the lands contiguous to the margin; so as to raise the surface, beyond the reach of the ordinary level of the sea; and thus preventing it from being *dissolved* or *melted*, into quicksand, as formerly. The winds of the Desert may also have contributed towards it. The different state of the *Goodwin Sand*, at high and low water, respectively, affords a practical illustration of the above. "At low water, it is so firm as to be with difficulty penetrated with a pointed piece of wood; but towards high water, it will not bear the weight of a man." *Mr. Smeaton's Report*.

the ship's course from *Crete* to the Strait of *Messina*; through which lay the route to Rome. For we are not to compare the powers of ancient ships to sustain storms with those of modern ones; although some of the former were necessarily very large, as the ship of St. Paul had, beside a cargo, two hundred and seventy-six persons on board; and some of the ancient ships of war carried more than four hundred men.

Fourteen days elapsed (if I have rightly understood the time) after the commencement of the Storm, before the arrival of the ship at *Melita*; during which interval no particulars are given, after the *third* day; save that *the storm continued with great violence during many days* subsequent to that *third day*; and also of their having been "*driven up and down in Adria.*" By these expressions, one may understand that they had been driven by the violence and long continuance of the Storm out of their proper course; and from their "*not having seen either Sun or Stars for many days,*" to have lost all idea of their local position: for on their arrival at *Melita*, they were ignorant what place it was. "*When it was day they knew not the land,*" (ver. 39.); nor, till *after* they had landed (chap. xxviii. ver. 1).

In point of candour it must be admitted, that, on a supposition that it was the Island of *Malta* (as the Author certainly concludes), it might appear extraordinary that it should not have been recognised by some of the crew of the ship, which belonged to *Alexandria** (xxvii. ver. 6.), as it may be supposed that *Malta* was well known to the navigators of that port. This, however, I cannot pretend to account for. Possibly, as they fell in with the Island in the night, and by accident, it might have been at a part different from that which they had been accustomed

* It may be proper to remind the reader, that although they first embarked at *Cæsarea*, in *Palestine*, in a ship of *Adramyttium*; yet that they quitted her at *Myra*, in *Lycia*, in order to pursue their voyage to Rome in a ship of *Alexandria*, which they found there; and in which they were subsequently wrecked. When St. Paul embarked at *Cæsarea*, he says, that they meant "to sail by the coasts of Asia," (that is, *Asia Minor*,) the Ship, perhaps, being on her return to *Adramyttium*. Probably the centurion could find no ship at *Cæsarea* that was bound to Italy: and therefore took his chance of finding one by the way.

to see. Moreover, the Narrative shews that they were very close to the shore at day break (xxvii. ver. 39.): perhaps too close to allow of such a *general view* of the land as might enable them to recognise it. *Rain* also is mentioned at the time of landing; which might have rendered the weather too *thick* to allow of a distinct view of the land.

The Narrative leaves us in ignorance respecting *the direction of the Wind* after the time when the *Euroclydon* is first mentioned. But as the Levanters are said to continue sometimes a fortnight, it appears most probable that the storm in question blew generally from the Eastward. Perhaps it may be thought by some to savour too much of begging the question, to say that the *prevalent direction and long continuance* of the Levanters afford a presumptive evidence that Malta was the place in question, since it lies nearly West from Crete; and consequently in the line of *drift*, occasioned by the Levanters. But, notwithstanding, it does appear to me to be amongst the circumstances that point out Malta for the *Melita* of the Apostle.

One particular, however, we are well assured of—that nothing but a long continued storm from the *Southward* could have driven a ship within the time specified, 350 to 400 British miles to the Northward: for so far is the *Dalmatian Melita* from the proper route of a ship between Crete and the Strait of Messina.^y Nor was it likely to have taken place without seeing land by the way; or having some token of an approach to it, considering that they must, in such a case, have been carried through the Strait, between Italy and Greece.

Other circumstances, posterior to their arrival at *Melita*, render it equally probable that it was Malta.

They found in the port a ship of *Alexandria* bound for Rome (the *Castor* and *Pollux*) which had *wintered* there; and in which St. Paul was afterwards carried to Rome, touching by the way at *Syracuse*. Now the act of *wintering* was, in this case, nothing more than to avoid being at sea during the approaching (Autumnal) equinox; as the

^y The Romans, prior to the voyage of St. Paul, had ceased to confine their navigations to the vicinity of the land; and made direct courses across the open Sea. (See Pliny, lib. vi. c. 23.)

ancient Ships were *frail*, and the conduct of their crews cautious accordingly. Much light is thrown on the subject of *wintering*, in such cases, by the proceedings on board the ship of St. Paul at this very season.

That ship, as it has appeared, was on its way towards the Port of *Phenice*, in *Crete*, in order to *winter* (ver. 12, and 13.); and must have been near it, when caught by the stormy weather, which the navigators had expected, and were endeavouring to avoid. They had previously suffered much delay from light and contrary winds; and the season was far advanced. For St. Paul says (ver. 9.), "Now when much time was spent, and when sailing was now dangerous, because the *Fast* ^a was now already past," &c. Hence it may be concluded that, as both Ships were acting on the same system, it was the ordinary practice of the times; and that, on the approach of the expected stormy weather, they sought shelter in the nearest port; ^a for on this principle the ship of St. Paul had first entered the Port of the *Fair Havens* ^b in *Crete*; but quitted it, to go to *Phenice*, as a more secure anchorage; contrary to the advice of St. Paul (ver. 9, and 21).

To apply this to the ship *Castor and Pollux*, which had wintered at *Melita*, in the course of her voyage from Alexandria to Rome.—To suppose that a ship so circumstanced should have proceeded to the *Dalmatian* Islands, for the purpose of obtaining shelter during the season of the Equinox, involves, in my opinion, no small degree of absurdity. For the *Dalmatian Melita* is little less distant from a ship's track between *Crete* and the Strait of Messina than *Rome itself*; which was the final

^a See note ^a, p. 101.

^a A regular supply of Corn from Egypt, was of so much importance to the internal quiet and comfort of the city of Rome, that it is not improbable that regulations were made for insuring its safe arrival; and that they should have extended to the detail of the navigation. In no very remote times, the Dutch East India ships were regulated by their Company, in respect of the sails which they were to spread, on the passage, at certain seasons, and in particular latitudes.

^b This place is not known to me. It is said (ver. 8.) that *near it* was the city of *Lasea*. In the Theodosian Tables, *Lisia*, probably the same place, appears on the South side of *Crete*, 16 M. P. to the eastward of *Gortyna*.

destination of the Ship: so that she must have gone nearly as far out of her way, in order to obtain *casual* shelter, as she had to go to *Rome*, the place of her final destination: and would still have been *twice as far from it*, as when she left her proper track to seek a place of shelter. This circumstance, *alone*, seems sufficient to decide against the claim of the Dalmatian Melita. There were, moreover, Ports much nearer. Nor, on the other hand, is it probable that a ship bound from the Gulf of Venice to Rome, should have touched at *Syracuse* by the way; although probable enough, in the case of one from Malta.

It may also be observed, that "*the chief Man of the Island*," Publius by name, had possessions in the quarter where they were cast ashore, and treated them with great hospitality. By the name and quality of this person, one may readily conceive that he was the Roman *Pretor*. Such a person one would not expect to find in so unimportant an Island as the Dalmatian Melita; whereas Malta, from the excellence of its port, and its very critical geographical position in the Mediterranean, must always have been, in civilized times, a port of considerable importance to the possessors of its shores. And it may be asked, after all, has the Dalmatian Island a port, in which ships may winter?

On the whole then, in my estimation, the evidence on the side of Malta, far outweighs that on the other side: even if the argument rested on the circumstances of the Narrative *alone*; without any regard to the meaning or the application of the term *Adria*.^c

^c It has unfortunately happened that the ancient inhabitants of *Melita* (whether it be Malta, or otherwise,) have suffered in point of character, in the opinion of ordinary readers, by an improper translation of a term by which they are styled "*a barbarus people*;" but which, as applied by the Greeks and Romans, meant nothing more than *foreigners*, or people who differed in manners, customs, and language, from themselves: and by no means intending to express an uncivilized, or savage people. Moreover, these "*Barbarians*" are at the same time described as performing the kindest offices of hospitality to the shipwrecked persons: so that their actions contradict the character given at large. The Romans had in turn been reckoned *Barbarians* by the Greeks; as appears by the remark of Pyrrhus, when he viewed the Roman camp in the south of Italy, about three hundred and forty years prior to the time spoken of.



XII. *Observations on, with a Copy of, the Proceedings had in the Parliament of the Middle Temple, respecting a Petition of Sir John Davies to be restored to the Degree of Barrister, A. D. 1601 : In a Letter from the Right Honourable LORD STOWELL, F. S. A. to the EARL OF ABERDEEN, President.*

Read 29th January, 1824.

Grafton-street, January 25, 1824.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour of sending your Lordship a Copy of Proceedings had in the Parliament of the Middle Temple, (for so a formal Meeting of the Benchers of that House for its business, is denominated,) respecting a Petition of Sir John Davies, praying that he might be restored to his degree of Barrister, and the enjoyment of his seat and commons in that capacity, all which he had forfeited under a judgment of theirs of nearly four years standing, on account of a gross outrage committed in their Hall at the time of public dinner.

It is well known to all who are acquainted with the writings of Sir John Davies, or indeed with the general literary history of the times in which he lived, that he was a man of various and extraordinary talents; a poet, a lawyer, and a statesman; and highly distinguished in every one of these characters. But he was in danger of losing the benefit of all these talents (at least for any purpose of that personal distinction which his celebrated poem called the "Nosce teipsum," his "Historical Discourse on Ireland," and his general tracts on the Law of England, together with his filling the great offices of Attorney General and

Speaker of the Commons in Ireland, and his appointment to the office of Chief Justice of the King's Bench in England, afterward acquired for him in life,) in consequence of an outrage committed on the person of Mr. Richard Martin, Barrister, by giving him the bastinado. It is referred to in general terms by his biographers (who are not few in number, nor wanting in information), but it is more circumstantially detailed in these Proceedings, and must be admitted to have been an act of extreme violence towards the individual sufferer, as well as a most audacious breach of that decorum which was due to the assembled Society. For he is represented as coming into the Hall, with his hat on his head, and armed with a dagger, and attended by two persons armed with swords; and going up to the Barrister's table, where Martin was sitting quietly at dinner, he pulled out from under his gown a cudgel (commonly called a bastinado), and struck him over the head repeatedly, with such violence that the bastinado was shivered into many pieces. Then retiring to the bottom of the Hall, drew one of the swords belonging to his attendants, and flourished it repeatedly over his head, turning his face towards Martin, and then hurrying down the water-steps of the Temple, threw himself into a boat.

What provocation led to this outrage no where appears by any contemporary evidence. It is conjectured by Mr. George Chalmers that it was owing to the prevalence of Martin's colloquial wit over Sir John Davies at their Barrister's table, which he had not vivacity enough to encounter, nor temper enough to bear. Martin is certainly recorded to have been eminently gifted with talents of that kind, so much so, as to have highly recommended himself by them to the favour of King James the First, who, on account of such merits, obtained for him the Recordership of London. He was likewise a poet and a lawyer as well as Sir John, and was highly favoured with the friendship and esteem of Selden, and Ben Jonson (who dedicated a play to him), and other wits and literati of the age. And it is not unlikely that a rivalry which touched in so many points, might produce an accidental irritation, leading to this disgraceful transaction. Martin afterwards sat in Parliament

with Davies, and was not undistinguished there, but died at an early period of life, * and is buried under a stately monument of alabaster, erected in that part of the Temple church assigned to the use of the Middle Temple Society. It is singular enough that Martin had been expelled from the Society in February 1591, for a riot at the prohibited festival of the Lord of Misrule.

Sir John Davies himself, after this unfortunate exploit, returned to Oxford, where he had formerly taken a Degree, and spent between three and four years there in obscure retirement and useful diligence, till by the indulgence of the Society, who knew his parts and pardoned the infirmity of his temper, and by the forgiveness of the injured party, and the offices of powerful friends, he was reinstated by these Proceedings in his former station and prospects.

The Proceedings are, as usual in those times, entered in Latin (a Latin of a very fair law texture). The Petition and submission to Mr. Martin are in English.

I take the liberty of sending it, as not unlikely to afford your Lordship rather a curious specimen of the manners of the Times, and of the characters of eminent individuals; and I only add, that if your Lordship should think it can afford the Society over which you preside any gratification on that or any other account, it is much at your service to be so employed.

I have the honour to remain with great respect,

My Lord,

your Lordship's faithful and obedient servant,

STOWELL.

* It is mentioned by some of his contemporaries, that he died at an early period from disorders produced by his devotion to the pleasures of the table, likely enough to be incident to a man of wit and humour, and not the less so, it may be presumed, from his being "Recorder of London."

1597.

9^o die Februarii Anno prædicto.

Die et anno supradictis, quo tempore Magistri de Banco aliique hujus Societatis socii quiete in Aula publice prandebant, Johannes Davyes unus Magistrorum de Barra ejusdem Societatis, toga indutus galeroque tecto capite et pugione accinctus, (servo, alioque extraneo comitatus, quorum utrique erant ensibus armati,) in Aulam venit; veruntamen servus et extraneus prædicti ad infimam Aulæ partem remanebant, dum ipse ad focum accederet, et inde ad inferiorem partem secundæ mensæ Magistris designatæ procederet, et ibi Ricardum Martyn unum Sociorum ejusdem Societatis quiete inter alios prandentem (subito sub toga detrahens baculum quem vulgariter vocant *a Bastinado*,) ter quaterve tanto cum impetu super caput feriret, ut baculus prædictus tam violentibus ictibus in quamplures partes frangeretur.

Quo facto, idem Johannes Davyes confestim ad infimam Aulæ partem prosiliens, et gladium e famuli manu eripiens, Martini in conspectu et in eum versus, super caput suum proprium, quatiebat. Ac deinde in atrium Aulæ proxime adjacens per gradus discendens, gladium e vagina educens nudum iterum atque iterum ostentabat; quo facto, festinanter, ad aquarios Templi gradus properans se in cimbam contulit.

Ob quod insigne et incivile facinus, magna cum contemptu, et cum summa tocius Societatis offensione perpetratum, judicio et censura omnium Magistrorum de Banco, idem Johannes Davyes non solum omni Barræ dignitate et omnibus aliis privilegiis ad id munus spectantibus, et ab omni dicendi et consulendi auctoritate in jure potestate ubicunque deprivatur, verum etiam ab hoc Hospitio et Societate penitus excluditur et amovetur, nunquam in posterum restituendus.

1601.

Parliamentum tentum xxx^{mo} die Octobris, anno regni Dominae nostrae Elizabethae Reginae xliij^o.

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF JOHN DAVIES, GENT.

Maye yt please your Mastershipps.

Whereas at your Parliament holden for the government of the Howse the laste Terme, I preferred a Petition unto your Mastershipps to be restored to the Fellowship of the Howse, from which, for a disorder by me done about fower yeares sithence, I was by your Mastershippes order (not undeservidly) removed; which Petition your Mastershipps did with much favour accept and peruse; but, bycause yt was delivered after the consultation ended, your Mastershipps thought yt not meete at that tyme to enact or conclude any thinge thereuppon, but referred the consideracion thereof to your next Meetinge in Parliament; howe be yt your Mastershipps were then pleased that I shoulde in the meane tyme take my commons in the Howse, which I acknowledge as an especiall grace and favour; my humble Peticion therefore ys, that I maye revive my former Peticion unto your Mastershipps, and that at this tyme you wilbe pleased to forget my former indiscrecion, for which I have allreadye suffered much damage and disgrace, and to recreate and readmitt mee into the Societie, which I will houlde as an inestimable benyfitt, submitinge myself most willinglye to anye such further satisfaccion as shalbe prescribed unto mee by your Mastershipps censure.

Ex assensu omnium Magistrorum de Banco ad Parliamentum praedictum ordinatum existit quod postquam Magister Johannes Davis presterit ac perimpleverit talem submissionem et satisfactionem qualem ei prescribetur per Magistrum Pagytt, Magistrum Shirley, Magistrum Gybbes, et Magistrum Snygge, quatuor Magistrorum de Banco hujus Hospitii, quod tunc ex ipso facto restituetur in hanc Societatem ad gradum de Barra et ad suam antiquitatem. Quam quidem submissionem formatam et in scripto expressam per praedictos Magistrum Pagytt, Magistrum Shurley, Magistrum Gybbes, et Magistrum Snygge, prae-

dictus Magister Johannes Davis postea, scilicet in festo Omnium Sanctorum hoc eodem Termino, in omni humilitate publicavit et pronuntiavit ad abacum in Aula, immediate ante prandium, in presentia honorabilissimi Johannis Popham militis, capitalis Justiciarii Angliæ et unius de honoratissimo Privato Concilio Regiæ Majestatis, Willielmi Periam militis, capitalis Baronis Scaccarii, Edwardi Fenner unius Justiciariorum de Banco, Johannis Savile unius Baronum Scaccarii, Thomæ Harris servientis ad legem, Davidis Williams servientis ad legem, et Magistrorum de Banco et de Barra, et Sociorum hujus Hospicii, humiliter ac reverenter agnoscens culpam suam contra totam Societatem perpetratam, cujus quidem submissionis tenor sequitur in hæc verba Anglicana, *scilicet*:

Whereas in Hillary Terme last was three yeares, I John Davis came into this Hall (being carried with passion) did comitt a greate outrage by givinge the bastinado and otherwise at dinner tyme unto Mr. Richard Martyn, wherein I did much forgett the respect and duetye which I owed to this Societie, amongst whom I have had my chiefest education, and from whence I expect my best preferment: I doe nowe humblie confesse my sayde offence, and protest that I am unfaynedly sorry for yt, and have beene justly expelled the Societie, and being deservedly censured otherwise therefore; and doe desire the whole Fellowship to pardon myne offence uppon this my submission, proceeding from my hartye repentance, promisinge hereafter to conforme myself in duetye and obeydience as a socialle Fellowe of soe reverend a Fellowshipe.

Quibus sic perimpletis et prestitis ad satisfaccionem et approbacionem honorabilis presenciae et Societatis predictae, predictus Magister Johannes Davis convertit se ad prefatum Magistrum Martyn ad tunc ibi presentem, et injuriam illi factam confessus talem ac tantam esse ut ei non posset pro merito satisfacere, ab illo petiit veniam offensi et injuriæ predictae, et ut vellet acceptare submissionem suam prædictam pro satisfactione ejusdem delicti, sincerum amorem et affectum in omnibus bonis officiis erga illum in posterum promittens, quod etiam predictus Mr. Martyn acceptavit.

XIII. *On the word "MASS :"* By JOHN BRUCE, Esq. In a
Letter to THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F. R. S. Treasurer

Read 8th April, 1824.

King's Parade, Chelsea, April 6, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE derivation of the word "Mass" having lately been the subject of our conversation, I am induced to offer you the following Remarks upon it, from which I think it will appear that the word, as used to signify the service of the Roman Catholic Church, is wholly distinct, both in derivation and sense, from "mas" the adjunct to Christ, &c. in the words, "Christmas," "Candlemas," "Lammas," &c. In the former sense it seems to come from the Latin "Missa," and in the latter from the Anglo-Saxon "mæsse;" the one having been used in the early ages of the Church as a word of dismissal to the congregation, or a part of it, and the other signifying a feast or solemn festival.

The derivation of "Missa" is much contested. Claudius Sainctes (in the Preface to his Collection of ancient Liturgies) deduces it from the Hebrew "Missah," signifying an oblation or sacrifice, and quotes Deuteronomy, ch. xvi. ver. 10, where the word is used in that sense, "and thou shalt keep the feast of weeks unto the Lord thy God with a 'missah,' or free-will offering of thy hand." In opposition to which it is contended (vide Hospinian, Hist. Sacrament. lib. 2. cap. 9.) that Irenæus, Tertullian, Lactantius, and the other ancient Latin Fathers, who must in that case have received it from the Jews, are evidently ignorant of the term; and again, that all Latin words derived from the Hebrew, as "Messias," "Amen," &c. have come immediately from the Greeks, but that the word "Missa" is not used by them.

Another derivation of the word which is stated by Vossius to have been gathered from Evagrius, is the following: That it was the custom in the early ages to celebrate the sacrament of the Eucharist with bread and wine presented by the devout for that purpose; and in Constantinople these gifts (*missa*) were deposited in large jars or vessels that were placed at the doors of the churches, out of which such a quantity was taken as was sufficient for the number of communicants. I did not remember to have heard of this curious custom, and turned with eagerness to Evagrius to ascertain the fact; but after looking carefully through the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, I have not been able to discover the most distant allusion to it. The only mention of the Eucharist I found throughout the book, was in reference to the following practice, which according to the tenets of the Catholics must have been singularly profane, but which certainly furnishes no ground for the assertion of Vossius. Whenever, after the celebration of the Lord's Supper, there remained over untouched much of the "pure and immaculate body of Christ our Lord," so says Evagrius, it was an ancient custom at Constantinople to give it away to the school-boys, to be eaten by them; and the historian goes on to relate a miracle which was worked upon a Jew boy in consequence of having eaten of this consecrated bread, together with his Christian play-fellows. Vide Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. 4. c. 35.

Others have been of opinion that the Church Service was called "Missa," because of the prayers which are therein offered up (*missæ*) to the Almighty; but the best supported opinion is, that it is derived from "Ite, missa est," a phrase of dismissal used in the early ages of the Church. Even here, however, there is a difference of opinion, it being asserted on one side, that after the reading of the usual prayers for the day, when nothing remained but the celebration of the Lord's Supper, at which no Catechumens were allowed to be present, they were warned to depart by those words, "Ite, missa est," and this derivation is inserted in Cowell, Wachter's German Glossary, and other modern books, but upon what ancient authority I have not discovered. Isidorus, and after him Pontanus, Vossius, and Helvigius, relate, on the

contrary, that there were two dismissals, one of the catechumens, and the other of the members of the church. The dismissal of the former, which they agree took place before the celebration of the Eucharist, was in these words, "If there be any catechumen here, let him depart;" but after the Sacrament had been fully administered, the communicants were admonished that the service was concluded by the before-mentioned words, "Ite, missa est."

Pontanus (Orig. Francic.) reminds us, that the Christians appear to have derived this custom from the ancient Romans, with whom certain classes of persons were prohibited from being present at the celebration of their mysteries; and we learn from the notes to the Delphin "*Festus de verborum*," that this extended only to those sacrifices called "*Resolutaria*," to which it was not permitted to come "*nisi solutis nodis*;" and upon such occasions a lictor used to proclaim, "*Hostis, vinc-tus, mulier, virgo, exesto*."

Without attempting to decide between these rival etymologies, I would remark, that the service of the Roman church has been termed "*The Mass*," for many centuries, and that the name has been adopted as universally as the Religion. If then "*Christmas*," "*Michaelmas*," &c. mean the "*the Mass of Christ*," "*the Mass of Michael*," &c. how does it happen that such words, or words similar, are not to be found in every language in which the service of the Church is called the Mass? Is it not singular, that although the original word "*Missa*," "*the Mass*," has been adopted in many languages, the words springing from it are to be found in one only? For, I believe, the English is the only language in which these compound words exist. I do not lay great stress upon this circumstance, but at any event it is somewhat singular, and sufficient to put us upon the enquiry whether these words are not derived from some word existing only in the English, and I think upon reflection there can be little doubt that it is so.

The Seasons or Days of the year appointed by the Church for particular observance, may be divided into two sorts, "*Fasts*" and "*Feasts*," both of which were set apart for sacred purposes, and upon both of

which Mass was celebrated. If then Christmas and the rest of those words merely import, that at such a time Mass was said for such a purpose, why do we not hear of "Ash-Wednesday-mas," or "Good-Friday-mas," since those days were as much devoted to religious purposes as the anniversary of the Nativity, or any other time? But this is not the case; "mas" is to be found annexed to the ecclesiastical days of feasting, but not, as far as I have been able to learn, to any of the fasts. The adjunct "mas" then may reasonably be presumed to have some connexion with "Feast," since it has been so pointedly joined to feast-days only; and this is rendered more evident from the fact, that in all legal writings, and wherever correctness of expression is studied, we read of "the feast of the Nativity," "the feast of St. Martin," or of "St. Michael," but never of "the feast of Christmas," "the feast of Martinmas, or of Michaelmas." Such expressions seem avoided, as evident tautology, which in fact they would be, if my notion be correct, that the adjunct "mas" is the Anglo-Saxon "*mæsse*," which signifies a feast or festival. There is ample evidence that the modern "mas" was formerly spelt "*mæsse*," for we find "*hlaf mæsse*" for Lammas, "*Martinus-mæsse*" for Martin-mas, and "*cilda-mæsse-dæge*" for Childermas-day, or the feast of Innocents; nor does it appear to me to be any objection that the word "*mæsse*" signifies the Church-service, since the double meaning is very clearly ascertained. It was used by the Anglo-Saxons, not only to signify the ecclesiastical ritual, but a feast or festival also; and although we have adopted the French sense of Mass, "a body, a lump," the original words have descended to us through a series of nearly a thousand years with only a slight orthographical variation. The same has occurred in the German "Mass," signifying not only a feast but the Church service also.

If you think the above worthy of the attention of the Society of Antiquaries, you will oblige me by presenting it.

I am, my dear Sir, yours most truly,

JOHN BRUCE.

TO THOMAS AMYOT, Esq.

XIV. *Explanation of a Runic Inscription upon a Jasper Ring:*
By WILLIAM HAMPER, Esq. F. S. A. In a Letter addressed
to FRANCIS DOUCE, Esq. F. S. A.

Read 13th May, 1824.

Deritend House, Birmingham, Nov. 18, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE Runic Inscription on Mr. Cumberland's Jasper Ring, which you have submitted to my consideration, is less difficult in its characters and construction than either that on Lord Aberdeen's Ring, or on any other relique of the same class which you and I have hitherto had the pleasure of discussing.

It appears to be a *Dano-Saxon Amulet against the Plague*; and the writer of the Spell has chosen the same alphabet of Runes which we find engraved in Tabula II. of Hickes's Thesaurus, from the Cottonian Manuscript Domitian, A. IX. fo. 10.

I will only further observe, that there is a devotional earnestness in the triplet (for such it is), which marks a better taste and feeling than are usually to be met with in Cabalistic Rhymes; and shall now subjoin a copy of the Inscription, accompanied with a version in Anglo-Saxon, Latin, and the corresponding dialect of our Mother Tongue.

If you think right to exhibit the Ring to the Society of Antiquaries, you are quite at liberty to send this interpretation with it.

* MR M RI NY M F T

ERYRI . VF . MOL .

M RL NRI T F T

YRI . VRI . WOL .

P M L T M E F T M T F T

WLES . TE . POTE . NOL .

Æræra of moldan;
Ara upe polan,
hpiler ðe pytte nolb.

Eleva nos e pulvere;
Remitte nostram pestem,
Puteo nolente.

Raise us from dust we pray to thee;
From Pestilence, O! set us free,
Although the Grave unwilling be.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Your obliged and faithful friend,

FRANCIS DOUCE, Esq. F. S. A.
&c. &c. &c.

WILLIAM HAMPER.

**XV. *Dissertation on the Runic Jasper Ring belonging to
GEORGE CUMBERLAND, Esq. of Bristol: By FRANCIS
DOUCE, Esq. F. S. A.***

Read 13th May, 1824.

THE explanation of the Inscription on Mr. Cumberland's Runic Ring, which has been presented to the Society by its truly learned Member Mr. Hamper, is, in all respects, so lucid and satisfactory that not a shadow of doubt could have fallen on its accuracy and propriety; but it will be no small gratification to that gentleman to learn, that previously to the application which he received on the subject, a copy of the inscription on the Ring had been conveyed to Professor Finn Magnuren, of the Scandinavian Society at Copenhagen; a person who is said to be extremely well skilled in the knowledge of the ancient Northern languages, and that this gentleman has reduced the inscription to precisely the same words, the parties differing only in one letter, where the advantage is evidently on the side of Mr. Hamper. The gratification must indeed be mutual to these learned investigators.

Mr. Hamper has had the good fortune to find a clue to the words of the Inscription in the alphabet of Runes that he refers to in the Cotton Library of Manuscripts, and but for the circumstance of the Danish Professor's unacquaintance with the above-mentioned letter, one might have concluded that he had likewise made use of the Cottonian alphabet. This remark will be immediately appreciated by those who are aware of the endless variety in the Runic Alphabets, and the perseverance that is necessary to discover the meaning of many an inscription

that is conveyed by them. It is, indeed, to use Mr. Hamper's own emphatic language, "a lottery with a thousand blanks to one prize."

The great advantage we derive from Mr. Hamper's research, consists in his having ascertained the language of the Inscription; but it ought not to be concealed, that the Danish Professor had not been altogether uninformed on that subject. These are his words: "*Cui linguæ hæcce verba adscribenda jam non decernere audeo, quamvis duo priores lineæ Dano-Saxonice idiomati cognatæ appareant. Relatio de mensurâ, colore, origine, inventione, et fatis hujus annuli nobis præterea deest, quam igitur desideramus. Hæc acceptâ plura forte de Inscriptionis sensu vel significatione commentari licebit.*"

The modest conclusion of this extract left hopes of a further elucidation of the Ring in general, which it might now perhaps be rather difficult to realize; and therefore, as Mr. Hamper has gone no further than to pronounce the Ring an amulet against the plague, it is the purpose of the present communication to attempt the filling up the chasm, by submitting some Remarks on the materials of which the Ring is composed, and on the use, design, and application of this kind of Amulet in various times and places.

It appears that Rings have been made use of as Charms and Talismans in remote ages, and among many different nations, and it would be endless to collect the numerous instances of this practice that have been transmitted to us. Their potency was directed against fascination of every kind, but more particularly that of the evil eye; against the influence of demons, and of witches in exciting conjugal debility; against the power of the flames; * against wounds in battle, and, indeed, against danger of every kind: yet it was not simply in the rings themselves that the supposed virtue existed, but in the materials of which they were composed; in some particular precious stone that was set in them; in some device or inscription on the stone, or in some magical letters engraven on the circumference of the ring.

* Heliodor. Ethiop. lib. viii.

But our more immediate concern is with those Amulet Rings that were used *for medical purposes*. The ancient physicians and empyrics were much addicted to the process of attempting to cure numerous diseases by charms of various kinds; and this practice was very much in fashion among the medical Professors of the Middle and Lower Roman Empire, in whose works we trace the most ridiculous recipes on this occasion. Marcellus, a physician who lived in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, directs the patient who is afflicted with a pain in the side, to wear a ring of pure gold, inscribed with some Greek letters, on a Thursday, at the decrease of the moon; it is to be worn on the right hand if the pain be on the left side, and vice versâ. Trallian, another physician, living in the fourth century, cures the colic and all bilious complaints by means of an octangular ring of iron, on which eight words are to be engraven, commanding the bile to take possession of a lark. A magick diagram is to be added, which he has not failed to preserve for the certain advantage of his readers. He tells us that he had had great experience in this remedy, and had considered it as extremely foolish to omit recording so valuable a treasure; but he particularly injoins the keeping it a secret from the profane vulgar, according to an admonition of Hippocrates, that sacred things are for sacred persons only. The same wiseacre, in order to cure the stone, directs the wearing a copper ring with the figures of a lion, a crescent, and a star, to be placed on the fourth finger; and for the colic in general, a ring with Hercules strangling the Nemæan lion.^b Many of these rings are preserved in public and private cabinets of antiques, and a Roman ring, probably of this kind, was found some years since at Caerleon, with the last mentioned subject engraven on it.^c Epilepsy was to be cured by wearing a ring in which a portion of an elk's hoof was to be inclosed; and the hoof of an ass worn in the same way, had, for some obvious reasons, the reputation of preventing conjugal debility. It is quite un-

^b Tralliani Opera, edit. 1560, 18mo, pp. 606, 607.

^c Archæologia, vol. v. p. 71, with an engraving.

necessary to dilate on the subject of Cramp-rings formerly used in this country, accompanied with a solemn religious service, as it must be familiarly known to the members of this Society. Joannes Nicolaus, a German Professor, has most unceremoniously ascribed the power of all these medical charms to the influence of the Devil, who, he says, by these means has attracted many thousands of human beings into his infernal dominions.^d

Michaelis, a physician at Leipsic, had a ring made of the tooth of a sea-horse with which he pretended to cure diseases of every kind.* Rings of lead mixed with quicksilver were used against head-aches and syphilis, and even the chains of criminals and iron used in the construction of gibbets, were applied to the removal of various complaints.

The sacred names of IESVS. MARIA. and IOSEPH were inscribed on rings and worn as preservatives against the plague. Rings simply made of gold were supposed to cure Saint Antony's fire, but if inscribed with magical words their power was irresistible.

The gold rings with Runic letters, found at Kingmoor and Bramham, and which have already been laid before the Society, were devoted to healing the last named disorder. Numerous varieties of medicated rings have been with equal labour and credulity collected together and described by Fortunio Liceti, a Genoese physician of the seventeenth century, whose work on Rings in general, notwithstanding some invidious and ill-founded remarks that have been made concerning it by those who have pillaged his materials, is the completest, and in all respects the best of its kind.

Hippocrates, in treating of the decency of dress to be observed by physicians, enjoins the use of rings. Whether these were to be medicated in any way so as to aid the doctor or his patient in cases of infectious diseases, must be left to the more able conjectures of those to whom this Paper is addressed. If such a precautionary mode of practice was observed by the ancient physicians, it seems to have given rise

^d De Siglis, cap. xiv.

^e Wolfius de Amuletis, p. 209.

to the now obsolete custom, for the Doctor to enter his patient's apartment with his nose applied to the top of a gold-headed cane which contained within it some aromatic or antiseptic preparation.

Liceti has ascribed the modern want of virtue in medicated rings to their comparative smallness of size, contending that the larger the ring, or the gem contained in it, the greater the medical power, especially with those persons whose flesh is of a tender and penetrable nature. He likewise, and far more reasonably, allows much for the force of the wearer's imagination, and for his reliance on the certainty of relief. The mind of this poor man was so completely absorbed in his subject, that he actually enters on an argument to prove that the Philistines, when they were smitten with hæmorrhoids for touching the Ark of Israel, wore rings on their fingers with the images of the disease engraven on them, by way of expiation; rejecting the very plain text for this idle comment.

In the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, to a threat on the part of the sycophant, the just man replies, that he cares nothing for him, as he has got a ring which he bought of a person, whom the scholiast on the passage conceives to have been an apothecary who sold medicated rings against the influence of demons, serpents, &c. Carion, the servant, sarcastically observes, that this ring will not prevail against the bite of a sycophant.^f

Josephus has recorded his having witnessed the healing of many demoniacs by one Eleazar, a Jew, in the presence of the Emperor Vespasian, by the application of a medicated ring to the nostrils of the parties; and that on this Jew's reciting several verses connected with the name of Solomon, the devils were extracted through the noses of the parties. If the historian had been acquainted with the powerful effects that have so frequently resulted from the force of imagination, he would scarcely have laid any stress on the virtue of the ring; § but as we know that the text of this valuable writer has been most unfairly dealt with and vitiated by numerous corruptions and interpolations, it is not improba-

^f *Plut. Act. iv. Sc. 3.*

[§] *Antiq. lib. viii. c. 2.*

ble that this story for which Josephus is made responsible, is nothing more than an allusion to the celebrated magic Ring of Solomon, said to have been found in the belly of a fish, and concerning which a great many idle fictions have been created by the Arabian writers.^b

In Lucian's *Philopseudes*, that excellent dialogue in ridicule of ghosts and magic, one of the interlocutors states, that since an Arabian had presented him with a ring made of iron taken from the gallows, together with a charm constructed of certain hard words, he had ceased to be afraid of the Demoniacs who had been healed by a Syrian in Palestine; and in another dialogue, called the *Ship or Wish*, a man is introduced who desires that Mercury should bestow a ring on him for the purpose of insuring perpetual health and preservation from every kind of danger. These rings were to be worn on the fourth or medical finger, under a notion, which is said to be of Egyptian origin, that it had a nerve connected with the heart,ⁱ although Macrobius assigns a better reason, namely, the superior convenience of this finger for wearing rings and protecting them from accidents. Nor was the practice of wearing rings or amulets unknown to the Arabians, many being found with inscriptions in the Arabic language.

We are in the next place to advert to the material or substance of which our Runic ring is composed, and to the virtues ascribable to it in that respect.

In the difficulty there seems to be of ascertaining with precision the great varieties of the Jasper, that species to which this ring belongs may be safely classed among the Agate Jaspers. Of the different kinds of this gem upwards of thirty appear to be known to our modern naturalists and lapidaries, and even seventeen sorts had been enumerated by Isidore of Seville.^k Pliny tells us, that all the Oriental nations preferred

^b More concerning this ring, transferred in regular succession from Jared, the father of Enoch, to Solomon, may be seen in Licetus, cap. 22, and in D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* pp. 478, 819, folio edition. The Arabians have a book called *Salcuthat*, expressly on the subject of magic rings.

ⁱ Aul. Gellius, lib. x. cap. 10.

^k Lib. xvi. cap. 7.

the emerald jasper for amulets. If we could trust the old medical writers and naturalists, it should appear that the jasper took the lead of all the other precious stones in its supposed healing property, and that it was really an infallible panacea. It cured fevers and dropsies, promoted parturition, stopped hæmorrhages, and baffled the general effects of witchcraft. Its power was strengthened when combined with silver in preference to gold.¹ Even Galen has recommended a ring with jasper set in it, and engraved with the figure of a man wearing a bunch of herbs round his neck.^m

In that most humorous of all middle age Satires, *the History of Reynard the Fox*, but the wit and superior value of which cannot be found in the modern editions, the knavish hero of the work, in his admirable description of the treasure that he pretends to have discovered for the sole benefit of his royal master and mistress, has these words: "I shall name thyse jewellys, and thenne maye ye saye that I have a grete losse. Oon of them was a rynge of fyne gold, and within the rynge next the fynge were wreton lettres enameld wyth sable and asure, and there were three Hebrew names therein, y coude not myself rede ne spelle them, for I understond not that language, but mayster Abryon of Tryers, he is a wyse man, he understondeth wel al maner of langages and the virtue of al maner of herbes. And yet he byleveth not on God, he is a Jewe, the wysest in conynge, and specyally he knoweth the virtue of stones. I shewed him thys ryng, he sayd that they were the thre names that Seth brought out of Paradys when he brought to his fader Adam the oyle of mercy. And whosomever bereth on hym thyse thre names he shall never be hurte by thondre, ne by lyghtning, ne no wytchcraft shall have power over hym, ne be tempted to doo synne; and also he shall never take harme by colde, though he laye three wynter's long nyghtes in the felde, though it snowed, stormed, or froze never soo sore, so grete myght have thyse wordes." The stone set in the ring and its wonderful properties are then enumerated with all

¹ Boccius de Gemmis, p. 76. Marbodæus de Gemmis. Camill. Leonard. de lapid. cap. 7.

^m Licetus de Annulis, p. 79.

the force of Reynard's cajoling language, and he concludes with these words; "I thought in myself that I was not able ne worthy to bere it, and therefore I sent it to my dere lord the kyng, for I knew hym for the mooste noble that now lyveth: and also all our welfare and worship lyeth on him, and for he shold be kepte fro al drede, nede, and ungeluck."

The property on which the greatest stress has been laid in the various accounts of the Jasper is, that of insuring chastity and continence to the wearer. In this respect the emerald jasper was regarded as pre-eminent. Its repugnance to illegitimate incontinence was supposed to be so great, that on such occasions it would burst into pieces if in contact with the sinning parties,ⁿ and, like Shakspeare's Imogen, it even inhibited, in the case of a king of Hungary, the "lawful pleasures" of the wedded state. The dignified and other ecclesiastics of former times, fettered as they were by vows of continence, were often obliged to resort to this sovereign antidote, and to wear rings that inclosed the emerald;^o nor will the necessity of this practice be doubted by any one who is intimately acquainted with the confessions of Saint Augustin, or those truly delectable volumes the "Golden Legend," and the "lyves of holie faders," usually called "Vitas Patrum." The simple credulity of our ancestors in this respect may justly excite the smile of pity or contempt, but are we of modern times entirely exempt from these and

ⁿ De Boodt, *Hist. Gemmarum*, cap. 53. In a very scarce and elegant poem by T. Cutwode, intitled "*Caltha Poetarum, or the Humble Bee*," 1599, 4to. the goddess Diana is introduced modestly clothing and attiring the heroine of the piece; and, among other offices,

She ties a necklace underneath her chin
Of jasper, diamond, and of topasie:
And with an emerald hangs she on a ring
That keeps just reckoning of our chastitie:
That breaks when Virgins go to venerie.
And therefore ladies, it behoves you well
To walk full warily, when stones will tell.

^o Licetus de *Annulis*, pp. 77, 93.

many other prejudices of equal absurdity? Have we not witnessed the duration of metallic tractors and of animal magnetism as applied to purposes of a very opposite nature to the supposed virtues of the jasper emerald? Is the wicked wit that was sported about the use of camphor bags as conservators of chastity in the case of an unfortunate lady besieged with the pressing attentions and enticing efforts of two rival lovers, altogether banished from our memories; and do not these instances demonstrate that medical charms are not yet entirely abolished among us? The "*camphora per nares castrat odore mares*" still rings in our ears, and may yet have, in a more sober sense, its medical votaries, though not within the limits of the College. The celebrated Cardan, who in his days was looked up to as an able philosopher and experienced physician, has laid much stress on the before mentioned properties of camphor, and has been severely condemned for losing his time on this occasion, as well as for his credulity in charms in general; but in this respect he did not stand alone, for these idle remedies appear to have been resorted to by most of the old physicians, and by none more than the renowned Bartholin of Copenhagen.^p

Before we dismiss the subject of the supposed medical properties of the Jasper, it may be proper to observe that many of the Gnostic or Basilidian gems, evidently used for magical and talismanic purposes, were of Jasper. Jasper rings are said to be made at Wesingburg to be used as marriage tokens, and the materials of which they are made are supplied from the shores of the lake Wetter in Sweden.^q It is presumed that this jasper is not of the emerald kind, or at least that its virtues are not so hostile to the immediate object of matrimony as in ancient times.

The inscription on the Ring has been sufficiently and most satisfactorily disposed of by Mr. Hamper, but it may be necessary to submit a

^p Cardanus de Subtilitate, lib. v. Scaliger contra Cardan: exercit. civ. 8. Goriæi Dactylothea, p. 13. The properties of camphor are most learnedly discussed in Wolfius de Amuletis, cap. ii. sect. 1.

^q Hooke's Experiments. By Derham, 1726, 12mo, p. 252.

few Remarks on the Runic letters, and more particularly on the use that was made of them for medical and magical purposes. Previously to that enquiry into the nature and origin of Runes which engaged the attention of the learned brothers John and Olaus Magnus, they seem to have been almost wholly neglected, and to have remained in equal obscurity with the hieroglyphics of Egypt; and even after the repeated discussions and controversies that have since taken place concerning them, they are still, to a great extent, involved in Cimmerian darkness. They have been deduced from the Hebrew, from the Greek, and from the Gothic alphabets, and the objections to all these derivations seem to be equally valid. Numerous and apparently ingenious arguments have exercised, to very little purpose, the pens of the learned, chiefly among the Northern nations of Europe; but few, if any of them, have paid due attention, and it is here thrown out for future consideration, to the intimate resemblance of the Runic letters to those in the old Pelasgian, Etruscan, Samnite, and Oscan alphabets, or to those that are found on the ancient medals of Spain, and which we know to have existed under Julius Cæsar, and to have terminated soon after the reign of Augustus.^r The feeble attempts that have been made on the part of Rudbeck, Wormius, and Perinskiold, to explain, by means of the Northern Runes, these old Spanish medals, that by the Spaniards themselves are emphatically termed *desconocidas*, must necessarily have failed when it is considered that the ancient language or languages of Spain are wholly lost; and it seems likewise to have been forgotten by the above writers that different languages may be expressed by the same letters. Confounding chronology, they have supposed that the Goths, when in possession of Spain, introduced their language and their alphabet; but, however the Spanish language may, in common with the Italian, have undergone certain changes by intermixture with that of

^r These letters have, indeed, been slightly noticed for their resemblance to the Runes, but at the same time very ignorantly confounded with the Gothic or Ulphilan character, which the Goths long afterwards partially introduced into Spain.

the Goths, it is very certain that the latter people never introduced the Runic letters into Spain or into Italy: they had indeed a different set of characters of their own, and even then they appear to have adopted the Roman letters, and permitted the use of them during their possession of the above countries. The five alphabets that have been just specified are, most probably, to be classed among the oldest in the world; a conjecture that is supported by the extreme simplicity of their construction, and the facility of engraving them on various materials, rather than writing them, according to the modern sense of the term. They seem to have flowed from one common source.

The first introduction of the Runic letters into the North is wholly unknown; yet it seems to be pretty generally agreed that Odin was the inventor of the magick Runes about the time of the Christian æra, but the others had been previously used. He is hence called *Runhofdi* or *Rune-head*,* though some have contended that he owed this appellation merely to his great skill in these characters. Snorro Sturlæson appears to be the sole authority worthy of attention with respect to Odin's connexion with the Runes, as we must not on this occasion place our reliance on that great oracle of the North, Rudbeck; for what credit is due to a writer who finds all the Runic letters in the Caduceus of Mercury, and contends that Adam's paradise was placed in Sweden? He modestly tells us, that to be properly understood he must be read over twenty times; but it is presumed that whenever he happens to be intelligible, and there is a vast deal in him that does honour to his learning and discernment, a single reading may suffice.

The magic Runes, and those of an occult nature, were occasionally employed for sepulchral purposes, and are not now intelligible,

* Serenius, in the preface to his English and Swedish Dictionary, p. 19. *Ihre de Runarum patria*, 1770, 4to, p. 11. We are to presume that it is not the God Odin, but the mortal hero who is meant on this occasion; though many nations have manifested a desire to regard their letters as of divine origin in general, or of ascribing the invention of them to some particular Deities, as the Egyptians to Thoth, the Greeks to Mercury, the Romans to Carmenta, the Hindoos to Bramah, and the Chinese to Fo.

though most of the funereal inscriptions that do remain are easily to be decyphered by those who are acquainted with the Islandic language. When the Christian religion was introduced into the Northern parts of Europe, the ecclesiastics contrived to bring the Roman or Lombardic alphabet into general use, but the Runes still remained with the common people for the purpose of inscribing their sepulchral monuments and their wooden almanacks, and, for the latter, are still used by them. Runes are likewise to be found occasionally on Christian monuments, of which the places in our own country that were more immediately inhabited by the Danes have supplied several instances, and other applications of them by our Danish and Anglo-Saxon ancestors are too well known to our own Antiquaries to require any particular notice of them in this place. A struggle for the Celtic or Gothic origin of the Runic letters might occupy as much useless discussion as has been already wasted in the controversies concerning the Celts and Goths in general; and the use of characters nearly resembling the Runic by the modern Welsh Bards might perhaps supply the Cambrian Antiquaries with arguments for their having been known to the Druids, especially as Cæsar has informed us, that they adapted the Greek letters to sacred and secret purposes.^t

The Runes formerly made use of for magical and supernatural purposes were known by the general appellation of *Ram-runes*, that is strong or bitter Runes. They were of different kinds, and may be classed as follows: 1. *Malrunes*, to be used in considering and revenging injuries. They were to be inscribed on the pillars, seats, &c. of all inclosed places where trials were held and judgment pronounced.^u 2. *Sig-runes*. Their property was to render those who used them skilful and crafty, so as to obtain the victory in all controversies, for which

^t Verelii Runographia, passim. Thomæ Bartholini Antiquitat. Danic. lib. iii. cap. 2.

^u This term is sometimes applied to the common Runes, from *mal* or *maal*, which signifies speech. They are variously spoken of, and with much doubt and uncertainty, the definitions of them being extremely different; but they seem to be the compound letters, and those of a more difficult nature.

purpose they were to be marked on the party's gloves, the hilt of his sword, on his war trumpet, &c. and the sacred name of Thor to be twice invoked. 3. *Lim-runes*. To be marked on the bark or leaves of trees that inclined to the South. Their use, to cure diseases. 4. *Brun-runes*, or fountain-runes, to insure safety at sea to men and property. They were to be placed on the stern or rudder of the vessel. 5. *Hug-runes*, or *Hog-runes*, that is, Runes of the mind: to be inscribed on the breast and secret parts, and then the party excelled his companions in mental vigour. 6. *Biarg-runes*. These, with the assistance of the Fates, were to obtain safe parturition, and generally to protect lying-in women. 7. *Swart-runes*, or necromantic letters, used in practising the *black art*. 8. *Willu-runes*, cryptic, sepulchral, or deceitful letters. 9. *Klap-runes*, not written, but made by the simple motion of the fingers, or some other instrument. 10. *Troll-runes*, or Devil-letters, used for divination and enchantment. 11. *Alrunes*, or *Ale-runes*, that were to destroy the allurements or deceits of any strange woman, for which purpose they were to be inscribed on the vessel out of which she drank, and on the back of the party's hand that used them. His nail was also to be marked with the Runic character for N. These must not be confounded with the *Alirunæ*, or wise women of the North, who are likewise mentioned by various writers under the several appellations of *Alrunæ*, *Halrunæ*, *Adelrunæ*, and *Aliorunæ*.^{*} They have been properly assimilated to the Druidesses, or female prophets among the Celtic nations, and all of them have at last dwindled down into mere old witches, as foolish and harmless probably as their predecessors. Nor are they to be mistaken for another sort of *Alrunæ*, a name applied to the mandrake or mandragora plant and its imitations, chiefly from the forked root of Briony, and fashioned into a shape resembling that of a man. It was used by witches, conjurors, and other impostors, for magical purposes.[†] These were also denominated *Hell-runes*, and seem to mean hell-groans from

* Olai Wormii Literat. Runic. cap. 5.

† Gloss. vet. Island. Schmid de Alrunis, *passim*. Fromman de Fascinatione, p. 669, et seq.

the common superstition of the groaning mandrake alluded to in Drayton's exquisitely beautiful poem of the *Nymphidia*, where he describes the magic charms of the Queen of Fairies :

“ By the Mandrake's dreadful groans,
By the Lubrican's sad moans,
By the noise of dead men's bones,” &c.

By means of these images, combined with the before-mentioned Swart-runes, they professed to raise the dead, and perform numerous other supernatural wonders. ²

These mandrake superstitions have with some probability been supposed to have originated in the similar use of a plant called Baar, of which Josephus has given a very singular account ; ³ unless, indeed, the Rabbinical notions of Leah's mandrakes should be preferred, though it is here submitted, that the real origin of these images for invoking or raising the dead, must be looked for in the Jewish Teraphim and the Egyptian mortuary lares. In the Edda of Sæmund a man enumerates eighteen various Runic charms with the properties of which he professes to be acquainted. Whether any of the written magical Runes now exist may be questioned, for those which Perinskiold has given as such are either Gothic monograms, combinations of Runic letters to express a name, Saxon numismatic devices, or the marks that were substituted when the parties could not write, which was often the case even with royal personages.

Among the medical or magical Runes there was one of a very extraordinary nature that seems intitled to particular notice. It was employed to obtain the affection of one person in favour of another ; but if it happened that in the writing these potent Runes a single error were made in the formation of them, the consequence was, that instead of conveying love, they inflicted some terrible malady on the party, and which could only be removed by the superior skill of some person in the

² Stephani Notæ in *Olaum Magn.* p. 46.

³ Book vii. chap. 25.

management of these charms. Of this the Danish chronicles have recorded the following singular example: A man, on entering the house of a friend, perceives a young girl lying on a bed of sickness, and enquires of her father the cause of her complaint, who tells him that she is wholly deprived of sleep, and even of her senses. On demanding whether any effort had been made to cure her, he is informed that a young rustic had engraven some Runes, which, on their application, instead of affording the desired relief, had manifestly increased the disorder. Egil, for so the visitor was called, is now asked whether he has the power of removing diseases, and he modestly answers that his presence will by no means augment the evil. After taking some food he proceeds to interrogate the girl, and orders her to be removed from the bed on which she lay, and to be provided with different bed clothes. On searching the bed he discovers certain Runes marked on the gills of a fish, and having read them, he tears them away and commits them to the flames; he likewise burns the gills themselves, and directs the bed-clothes to be exposed to the wind. He then, says the Chronicle, sings the following charm, for singing these enchantments was the practice of many nations, as the etymology of the terms demonstrates:

“ Runas nemo exarare præsumat,
Nisi bene disponere calleat,
Nam multis sæpe accidit
Quod in difficilis literæ figurâ errent;
Vidi in dedolatis branchiis,
Decem occultas literas exaratas
Hæ virgini
Diaturnum morbum conciliarunt.”

He next proceeds to construct a new set of Runes, which he places under the pillow of the damsel, who soon awaking as from a sound sleep, declares that she is perfectly healed. It then appears that the young man who had made the other Runes had courted the girl, and the father having refused his consent to their union, had attempted to seduce

her, and she objecting, he had had recourse to magical Runes, in the writing of which he committed some error that had caused the young woman's disorder.^b

The introduction of the Christian religion would tend, in a great degree, to effect the abolition of these magical Runes and the superstitious practices attached to them; and it appears that about the year 1000, Olave Skottkonung king of Sweden, assisted by Pope Silvester II. endeavoured to put an end to them, though it has been suspected that the Swedish monarch secretly encouraged the use of them. Soon afterwards both the Runic and Gothic letters that had been partially and occasionally used in Spain, were likewise abolished in that country by the Council of Toledo, A. D. 1018;^c but as the magic Runes alone could be reasonably objectionable, and as idolatry might have been gradually extirpated without the destruction of the Runic and Gothic characters in general, it is to be feared that the stupid and ill-judged zeal of the ecclesiastics involved in one common ruin multitudes of important volumes written in those characters which are said to have existed in the library of the cathedral at Toledo, and probably in many other places. A Swedish historian, indignantly advertng to this circumstance, has not scrupled to give it as his opinion, that in exchange for the unfortunate Runes, the devil, whilst he effected in a great degree the continuance of the magical abuses and incantations complained of, did not fail at the same time to repair any loss that he might have sustained in the abolition of the Runes, by introducing new follies and idle fancies into the minds of men, exhibited under the masque of sanctity, especially the blasphemous charms, exorcisms, &c. for curing diseases, all of which, he adds, evidently betray their author, and are only fit to be sent back to the place they came from, with the execration of all

^b Bartholini *Antiquitat. Danic.* pp. 660, 661, where the operation of another extraordinary charm is recorded.

^c One of the Councils of Arles seems likewise to have aimed at the magic Runes, when it condemned all phylacteries and characters of a diabolical kind. See Burchardi *Decret. lib. x. cap. 33.*

good and pious Christians.^d This writer, not content with indulging his antipathy to Satan, in another part of his history, when speaking of the Northern witches and Alrunæ, most ungallantly and unceremoniously declares, that the devil, perceiving that women were but weak vessels, and too liable to the impressions of vanity and superstition, selected them rather than the other sex for the profession and practice of witchcraft.

The Runic characters were not only used for the several purposes already enumerated, but were sometimes inscribed on circular pieces of gold or silver as little medals to be suspended to the neck, &c. as amulets. Specimens of this kind may be seen in Hickes's *Thesaurus*, præf. p. viii.; in Bircherode, *Specimen rei monetariæ Danorum*, p. 22—31; in Plot's *Oxfordshire*, plate xvi.; in Camden's *Britannia*, edit. Gibson, tab. iv.; in Kilian Stobæi *Opera*, p. 223; in Jacobæi *Museum Reg. Danic.* p. 56; in Bartholini *Acta medica*, par. ii. p. 97; in Bartholin the younger's scarce and excellent work *De causis contemptæ mortis apud Danos*, p. 460; and in Keder's *Runæ in nummis vetustis*. Many of these have been mistaken for legitimate Coins, and most of them so badly represented that even the skill of Mr. Hamper might be baffled in attempting their explanation, which appears still to remain a desideratum.

In this general Sketch of the nature and extent of the Runic letters, it would be an omission of some consequence not to notice the use of them that was made in a language wholly different from the Gothic or Scandinavian. During the Middle Ages, and perhaps at an earlier period, those parts of Germany that stretch along the Southern coast of the Baltic were inhabited by the Veneti, the Obotritæ, and other people, who using the Slavonic language, appear to have adopted the Runic characters. Some fortunate as well as remarkable evidence of this circumstance occurred about a century since, when a large collection of

^d Loccenii *Antiquitat. Sueo-Gothic*, p. 87.

idols and other articles was found at a small distance from the surface of the ground at a village near Prilwitz, and a similar one at New Brandenburg. Some of these fell into the hands of Andreas Gottlieb Masch, a preacher in ordinary and superintendant at Mecklenburg Strelitz, who published some account of them in 1771, with several engravings, and afterwards caused them to be deposited in the cathedral of Ratzeburg. Many of these idols were likewise described by Count John Potocki, in his "*Voyage de la Basse Saxe pour la recherche des Antiquités, Slaves,*" &c. Hambourg, 1795, 4to. From these interesting works it appears that the above idols had been originally placed in the great temple of Radegast at Rethra, which was entirely destroyed in the time of Charlemagne; that the Scandinavian worship had in part been adopted by the people, the name of Wodin or Odin occurring on some of these antiquities, many of which were flat pieces of metal supposed to have been votive tablets, or, what is more probable, to have been used for magical purposes; but all of them have inscriptions in Runic letters. It is remarkable that Herman, a monk of S. Gall, who wrote a Chronicle about the year 1060, should have mentioned that the German idols in the time of Charlemagne were inscribed with *Greek* characters, which it is very easy to perceive he has confounded with the Runic. Count Potocki has expressed himself very indignantly against the Regency of Hanover, for abolishing the remains of the Slavonic language in the above regions, and substituting the German, the consequence of which has been, that the common people now speak a jargon destitute of articles or conjugations, and which is as unintelligible to strangers as their old language would have been.

For these details and remarks, trifling as some of them may appear, there is, perhaps, very little if any apology to be made, inasmuch as they may serve to develop the weaknesses and aberrations of the human mind; and may be likewise regarded as conducive in an equal degree to the views of the Philosopher and the amusement of the Antiquary.

It might have been of importance to have obtained some kind of pedigree of the Ring before us, but the attempt has proved unsuccessful. All that is now known of it is, that it passed by purchase from some dealer into the Museum of the late — Barnes, Esq. of — and was given by his widow to the present possessor of it, George Cumberland, Esq. of Bristol. It would be still of great importance if it could be ascertained that any similar Jasper rings now exist in this country; but more particularly if they are known in Sweden, Denmark, or Norway, or the Northern parts of Germany.

XVI. *Concerning the Identity of the Architectural Remains at Jerash, and whether they are those of Gerasa, or of Pella.*
By MAJOR RENNELL, F. R. S. &c.

Read 17th June, 1824.

SOME doubt has arisen concerning the identity of the magnificent Grecian Ruins, discovered by Dr. Seetzan, in 1806, at *Jerash*, situated in the country lying to the eastward of the River *Jordan*: and whether they are those of *Gerasa*, or of *Pella*; two Cities, celebrated in Ancient History.

I have hitherto abstained from offering an opinion on this Question, in the expectation that other Remains might have been found in a situation more proper (in my idea) to that of *Pella*, than can be allowed to those at *Jerash*; but my expectations have been hitherto disappointed.

It so happens, that no farther geographical Information can be collected from the ancient authorities, than what relates to the *quarter*, in which each of these Cities respectively lay: and it is chiefly from the works of Josephus that these notices are obtained; and which are scattered throughout his History of the Jewish War, and Jewish Antiquities. There are besides, a few important particulars from Eusebius and St. Jerom.

The *site* of *Pella* is indeed rendered highly *probable*, by a combination of circumstances; but as these sometimes prove fallacious, nothing *positive* can be deduced in this case. The authorities for the *site* of *Gerasa* are still less conclusive.

Josephus describes the position and extent of the Tract which included *Pella* and *Gerasa*; that is *Peræa*, or the country situated beyond

the River *Jordan*; and extending along that River, between the two Lakes of *Tiberias* (*Gennesareth*), and *Asphaltites*; in these general, but distinct terms:

"The length of *PERÆA* is from *Machærus* to *Pella*; and its breadth is, from *Philadelphia* to *Jordan*. Its northern parts are bounded by *Pella*. The land of *Moab* is its southern border; and its eastern limits reach to *Arabia* and *Selbonitis*; and besides, to *Philadelphia* and *Gerasa*."^a

Machærus, which has just been given as the southern extremity of *Peræa*, was a strong fortress situated on an isolated hill, at sixty stadia from the north end of the Lake *Asphaltites*; but is unknown in modern Geography.^b *Philadelphia*, the capital of *Ammon*, is well known. *Silbonitis*^c is probably the same with *Sebonitis*;^d which seems to have been situated in the quarter of *Ammon*; and may possibly be represented by the modern District of *Kalatzerka*; known also as *Kasr-Shebyb*, or *Zeebib*; situated on the route of the Pilgrims from *Damascus* to *Mecca*, and on the edge of the *Arabian Desert*. And the *Arabia* intended in the above description, was a Roman Province, which included the present *Hauran*; of which *Bosra*, with little alteration of name, is still the capital, as it was of old, of *Auranitis*.^e

Besides the general position of *Pella*, given as above by Josephus, there are other satisfactory notices respecting it, which shew that it must have lain very far to the north, in *Peræa*. Josephus says that Pompey marched from *Damascus* to *Judea*, by way of *Pella* and *Scythopolis* (*Baisan*); and finally to *Alexandrium*,^f which is in the quarter of *Jericho*. A second notice is more pointed. St. Jerom says, that *Pella* lay twenty-one miles to the northward of *Amathus*,^g which was

^a Jewish War, lib. iii. ch. 3, 3. [Whiston's Translation.]

^b War, vii. ch. 6, 1.; and xviii. 5, 1. St. John the Baptist was imprisoned, and decapitated, in this place: xviii. 5, 2.

^c This Tract is only once mentioned; and that in War, iii. 3, 3.

^d War, ii. 18, 1.

^e See the accompanying Sketch; Plate xix.

^f Jewish Antiquities, xiv. 3, 4.; and War, i. 6, 5.

^g St. Jeromi [*Cellarius*, lib. iii. c. 13. art. *Peræa*].

a famous castle on a high rock, not far from the eastern bank of the *Jordan*, and still preserving the name of *Amata*, according to Mr. Burckhardt, who places it about eight hours, *slow travelling*, to the southward of *Baisan*.^b

Pella, however, could not have lain *directly northward* from *Amathus*; because, in the first place, the Lake of *Tiberias*, and the course of the *Jordan*, occupy that quarter; and also, because *Jabesh Gilead*, which was only a few miles from *Pella*, is known from Scripture History, to have been at the distance of a night's march from *Baisan*, or *Bethshan*, situated on the *Jordan*. *Pella* should therefore be looked for to the *north-eastward* of *Amathus*. If the distance of twenty-one Roman miles (equal to about seventeen geographical miles) be laid off from *Amata*, towards the N.E.; that is, through the inland country beyond the *Jordan*, it will reach to the Ruins named *Beit-er-Ras*; which Mr. Burckhardt missed the opportunity of examining, through the error of his guide; but which he approached, within a very few miles, at *Erbad*. He was informed that the Ruins in question "were of large extent; that there were no columns standing, but that large ones were lying on the ground."ⁱ

Mr. Burckhardt places the sources of the *Yabes* (or *Jabes*) River at a short distance to the southward of *Beit-er-Ras*; and it is worthy of remark, that St. Jerom says, that *Jabes*, a fortress on a mountain, was six miles from *Pella*, towards *Gerasa*^k (which should be *southwards*); and may therefore, possibly, have been situated on or near the site of the present *El Hossn* (also visited by Mr. Burckhardt); and which is described as the principal station in that quarter; *in an elevated situation*, and near the just mentioned sources; so that, on a supposition that *Beit-er-Ras* may be taken for *Pella*, *El Hossn* suits well the posi-

^b Mr. Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, and the Holy Land, 1812, p. 343, et seq. His rate of travelling was two geographic miles *per* hour, in direct distance.

ⁱ Mr. Burckhardt, p. 269.

^k St. Jerom [*Cellarius*, lib. iii. c. 13. *Galaaditis*]. Saul raised the siege of it; 1 Samuel, chap. ii.

tion assigned to *Jabesh-Gilead*, in respect of it. Mr. Burckhardt saw no Remains, save a number of wells hollowed out of the rock: but these would seem to mark it, as having been a place of importance at some former period.¹

El Hossn stands in Mr. Burckhardt's original Map, at between six and seven hours *slow* travelling, to the eastward of the River *Jordan*; whence, of course, it may be about eight from *Baisan* (or *Bethshan*); a distance that, supposing it to occupy the general position of *Jabesh-Gilead*, will not disagree with the Scripture History, in which it is said, that the men of *Jabesh-Gilead* travelled all night, in order to rescue the bodies of Saul and his sons, from their ignominious exposure at the wall of *Bethshan*, by the *Philistines*.^m

Stephanus says, that the original, or ancient name of *Pella*, was *Butis*, or *Botis*.ⁿ It is at least a curious circumstance, that *one* of the names of the District of *Erbad*, in which the ruins at *Beit-er-Ras* are situated, is *Bottein*; according to Mr. Burckhardt. He says, page 268, that it is so named from the *Chief*. Although nothing can be founded on this circumstance, yet it is certain that some of the Chiefs in Eastern countries have identified their names with the ancient ones of their Countries or Districts.

Pliny says, that *Pella* was rich in waters.^o Some have thence concluded that it was, like *Pella* of *Macedonia*, surrounded by water. Such a description, however, does not appear to suit *Beit-er-Ras*; which Mr. Burckhardt informs us, is situated on a hill.^p But Pliny's words

¹ Mr. Burckhardt's Travels, p. 267. See also his Map, at page 51. *El Hossn*, I am assured, means *The Fortress*; and is used in that sense, in many places, in Syria.

^m 1 Samuel, xxxi. ver. 2. They were slain at *Mount Gilboa*, about six miles from *Bethshan* towards *Sichem*. [*Cellarius*, iii. 13. *Samaritis*.]

ⁿ Stephanus [*Cellarius*, lib. iii. 13. *Decapolis*]. *Bottein* may possibly be the *Betonim* of Joshua, ch. xxiii. ver. 26; where it is mentioned with *Ramoth-Mizpeh*, which probably stood in the same quarter.

^o Pliny, lib. v. 18.

^p Mr. Burckhardt's Travels, p. 269. He must have passed very near to it, in his way from *Erbad* to *Om-Keis*.

may denote an abundance of Springs; for the city of *Ammon*, or *Philadelphia*, has been called "the City of Waters," from a like circumstance.

If the distance given from *Amathus*, be correct, and that in a northeasterly direction, *Pella* must have stood somewhere about the neighbourhood of *Beit-er-Ras*: but at least, it may be clearly understood, from the authorities at large, that it stood in the northern part of *Peræa*, which itself approached towards the southern part of the Lake *Tiberias*. And therefore I am warranted in saying, that the Remains at *Jerash*, cannot possibly be those of *Pella*, since *Jerash* lies between, and nearly equi-distant from the two Lakes of *Tiberias* and *Asphaltites*: or, in other words, near the middle part of the eastern border of *Peræa*; whilst *Pella* is allowed, on all hands, to have been situated towards its northern extremity.

Having, I trust, satisfactorily shewn, that the Remains at *Jerash* cannot be those of *Pella*, I shall endeavour to ascertain how far they may be identified with the ancient *Gerasa*.

This place is often mentioned by Josephus, but without any other notice of its geographical position, than that it was situated on the eastern frontier or boundary of *Peræa*; and that, in one place, he couples it with *Philadelphia*, or *Ammon*. Eusebius^a says, that the *Jabbok* River flowed between *Philadelphia* and *Gerasa*, at the distance of four miles from the latter: and taking the *Zerka* River for the *Jabbok*, (as is universally understood; there being no choice,) this will be found to agree generally with the course of the *Zerka*, in respect of *Ammon* and *Jerash*: for the late travellers, Captains Irby and Mangles, in their way from *Jerash* to *Szalt*, (*i. e.* South-westward), crossed the *Zerka* at one hour twenty minutes slow travelling, from *Jerash*; which agrees with

^a Eusebius [*Cellarius*, lib. iii. 13, *Peræa*].

Eusebius's statement.* And hence, the position of *Jerash*, in respect of Parallel, may be said not to differ from *that* which is assigned to it, in a general way, by the ancient Authorities. But in respect of *Longitude*, or distance eastward from the River *Jordan*, there do not exist any means of comparison. All that is known of it, is, that *Gerasa* lay on the eastern border of *Peræa*;[†] and on a supposition that this Tract is of much the same breadth, in the quarter of *Jerash*, as in that of *Ammon* (and they are not far asunder), *Jerash* may be allowed to occupy the general position assigned to *Gerasa*, by Josephus and Eusebius, conjointly.

Very great misconceptions have arisen, amongst modern Geographers, respecting the situation of *Gerasa*; not one of whom, had, according to my knowledge, judged rightly of it, until the discovery made by Dr. Seetzan, in 1806.

It is possible that the name *Gergesenes*, which occurs in the Gospel of St. Matthew,[‡] may have partly contributed to this; by encouraging a belief that *Gerasa* was situated in the neighbourhood of the Lake of *Tiberias*; but as both St. Mark and St. Luke relate the same events to have taken place amongst the *Gadarenes*, as those by St. Matthew, amongst the *Gergesenes*,[§] one may suspect an error of the copyist, and that *Gadarenes* should be substituted for *Gergesenes* in St. Matthew. Josephus speaks of *Gergeseus*, as the head of one of the ancient Tribes, concerning which they had nothing remaining in the sacred Books, but

* Travels in Egypt, Nubia, Syria, &c. in 1817 and 1818, p. 319. The same Travellers, in their way from *Ammon* to *Jerash*, crossed the *Zerka*, at two hours short of the latter place; p. 475. Mr. Burckhardt allows the same distance in his Map, at page 51. In the former Maps, the course of the *Zerka* is much too far northerly; being perhaps confounded with the *Yabes*.

† Josephus, Jewish War, iii. 3, 9.

‡ St. Matthew, ch. viii. ver. 28.

§ St. Mark, ch. v. ver. 1. St. Luke, ch. viii. ver. 26.

their *names*; since the Hebrews had overthrown their Cities.^x It would therefore be vain to seek for *Gerasa*, as their capital City, or for any other intended for it, under a corrupted name, in, or about the neighbourhood of the Lake of *Tiberias*; as some have formerly done: more especially as there are circumstances, which in my idea, not only point out the site of the capital of the Territory, to which our Saviour came, when he was said by St. Matthew to have arrived in the Country of the *Gergesenes*; but at the same time, to identify it with the ancient *Gadara*.

Scarcely a doubt can be entertained, that the extensive Ruins at *Om-Keis*, near the southern Coast of the Lake of *Tiberias*, are those of the city and fortress of ancient *Gadara*; celebrated in the writings of Josephus, as the ancient capital of *Peræa*. Their site and description agree with those described by St. Jerom, and by Pliny; being situated in the Country eastward of *Jordan*, and over against the cities of *Baisan* (the ancient *Scythopolis*), and *Tabaria*; and on a mountain, whose base sends forth a number of warm springs; and has the River *Hieromax* (*Yarmuk*) flowing by it.^y The remains of the city walls, streets, and theatres, are still traceable.^z

Thus much for the identity of *Om-Keis*, with the *Gadara* of profane History: but what is much more interesting, is its connexion with Sacred History; by its containing *inhabited Tombs*, as in the time of our Saviour's visit to this neighbourhood. The Travellers before spoken of, Captains Irby and Mangles, who visited this place in March 1818, have given a very satisfactory account of these singular dwellings; from whence the Dead must have been expelled eighteen hundred years, in

^x Antiq. i. ch. 6, 2.

^y *Gadara*, urbs trans Jordanem contra Scythopolim et Tiberiadem ad orientalem plagam, sita in monte, ad cujus radices aquæ calidæ erumpunt.—St. Jerom. [*Cellarius*, lib. iii. c. 13, *Decapol.*] And Pliny, lib. v. c. 18. "*Gadara Hieromiace præfluente*."

^z See the very interesting descriptions of the Remains of *Gadara*, at *Om-Keis*, in Mr. Burckhardt's Travels, pp. 271, 272: and, more especially, in the Travels of Captains Irby and Mangles, pp. 297, 298.

order to accommodate the Living. The Travellers found no other inhabitants in *Gadara*, but those who were so accommodated. The Tombs, or rather Vaults, were excavated from the live rock, near the top of the Mountain; and one of them, in which the travellers were hospitably received, and lodged, by the Sheik, was capacious enough to contain his family and cattle, together with his guests. The Sepulchres appear to be very numerous. *

If the distance of *Gadara* and its Sepulchres, from the shore of the Lake of *Tiberias* (which appears to be seven miles) should appear to form an objection to the above supposition, it must be recollected that our Saviour did *not* visit the city itself, but only landed *within its territory*; which was said to lie on the opposite side of the Lake, to that, from whence he came; and *over against Gallilee*; ^b agreeing therefore, with the Territory of *Gadara*. He came in a vessel, from the side of *Capernaum*, ^c and was accosted by the man from the Tombs, *immediately on his landing*; but the Tombs from whence the man came, were in a city, amongst the mountains. For it is said by St. Luke (chap. viii. ver. 27.) that "when Jesus went forth to land [in the territory of the *Gadarenes*] there met him *out of the city*, a certain man—who had no abode in any house, but in the Tombs." And by St. Mark (ch. v. ver. 3 and 5.) a man "who had his dwelling among the Tombs—and always, night and day, he was in *the Mountains*, and in the Tombs."

From these passages it appears, that the man from the Tombs came from a city, which was situated in the Mountains; and the particulars seem clearly to point to *Gadara*. And in consequence of what had happened to the herd of swine, the *Gadarenes*, as well of the city, as of

* When Mr. Burckhardt visited this place, in May 1812, it was totally deserted, the water cisterns being dried up. He says, that some of the Tombs had been enlarged, and rendered habitable, p. 271.

^b "And they arrived at the Country of the *Gadarenes*, which is *over against Gallilee*." St. Mark, ch. iv. ver. 1; St. Luke, ch. viii. ver. 26.

^c St. Matthew, ch. iv. ver. 13; and ix. ver. 1.

the *territory* at large,^d besought Jesus "that he would depart out of their coasts:" on which he returned "to his own city;" that is, *Caper-naum*; and certainly did not visit that of *Gadara*.

To conclude the subject of *Gerasa*—It seems that this name had, at some early period, been applied to the country of *Gilead* at large, in which it was situated; that country perhaps, having had *Gerasa* for its capital. For it is said in Obadiah, ver. 19, (*Vulgate*), "*Benjamin possidebit Arabium, quæ prius vocabatur Galaad, et nunc Gerasa nuncupatur.*"^e

The name *Gilead*, or *Galaad*, appears to have been generally applied to the Tract situated between the River *Jordan* and *Arabia*; and extending southward, nearly to the borders of *Ammon*; including the principal part of what afterwards formed the *Peræa* of the Greeks. Accordingly, it included the whole of the mountainous region, on both sides of the River *Zerka*, or *Jabbok*; and which constituted the proper *Mount Gilead*.

The loose manner in which the borders of *Arabia* have been, in all times extended, will account for its being made to include *Gilead*: for even Josephus speaks of certain *Gileadites* as being *Arabians*:^f he also includes *Machærus* and other places in the south of *Peræa*, in *Arabia*.

Gerasa may possibly have derived its original importance from having been the head of a large Province. And as its Remains consist of Grecian Orders of Architecture, and of the most classic kind, they must necessarily be those of a foundation, posterior to the first *Macedonian* establishments in *Syria* and *Palestine*; although it may be impossible to guess the object of it: since no historical notices exist, of the course of Oriental commerce, through *Gerasa*; as at another time, through *Palmyra*.^g

^d St. Matthew, ch. viii, ver. 34; and St. Luke, ch. viii, ver. 37.

^e Cellarius, lib. iii. c. 13, article *Decapolis*.

^f *Antiquities*, lib. xiii. 13, 5.

^g Obadiah is supposed to have written, during the *Babylonish* Captivity; and more than two hundred and fifty years before the death of Alexander.

Finally, it may be said, that in a Country where so great a proportion of the ancient Names remain, or have only undergone a slight alteration, the present name JERASH may, with great probability, be supposed to represent the ancient one of GERASA.^h

^h For a Plan and detailed description of the Remains at *Jerash*, see Mr. Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, &c. page 252 to 264; and also the Travels of Captain Irby and Captain Mangles, p. 317.

XVII. *Warrant of Indemnity and Discharge to Lionel Earl of Middlesex, Lord High Treasurer, and to the other Commissioners of the Jewels, for having delivered certain Jewels to King James the First, which were sent by his Majesty into Spain, to the Prince of Wales and Duke of Buckingham, dated July 7, 1623. Communicated by ROBERT LEMON, Esq. in a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.*

Read 18th November, 1824.

State Paper Office, Great George-street,
November 1, 1824.

DEAR SIR,

I BEG leave to advert to a very interesting Communication, which you laid before the Society of Antiquaries, the last night of their Meeting before the recess, of Letters from Charles Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Buckingham, to King James the First, from Madrid, in April 1623, requesting that a supply of Jewels might be sent to Spain, for their use, and to make presents; which you have recently printed in your valuable Collection of Original Letters on English History; and I have now the pleasure of transmitting to you, a copy of a very curious Document in this Office, which I flatter myself you will consider as an interesting appendage to the Letters alluded to, as it specifies every Jewel which was delivered to King James the First, to be sent to Spain, in consequence of the Prince and Duke's requisition.

The Paper which I beg leave, herewith, to inclose, is an accurate Copy of the Original Warrant of Indemnity to the Lord Treasurer

(Lionel Earl of Middlesex) and the other Commissioners of Jewels, for having delivered those Jewels to the King, which he afterwards sent to Spain, and which appear to have been considerable, both as to number and value. I leave it entirely to your better judgment to determine, whether it is worthy of being laid before the Society, or not: at all events, I have much pleasure in availing myself of Mr. Secretary Peel's permission to submit it to you, and have the honour to remain, with great respect,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient faithful servant,

ROBERT LEMON,
Deputy Keeper of State Papers.

TO HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S.
Secretary.

JAMES R.

JAMES, by the grace of God, Kinge of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whome these presentes shall come, greetinge. Whereas sithence the remaine of our secret Jewelles remayning in our secret Jewelhouse in our Tower of London, by virtue of our Commission under our Great Seale of England, bearing date the twelveth daie of November, in the nineteenth year of our raigne of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the five and fiftith, directed to our right trustie and right welbeloved Cosens and Councillors, Lionell Lord Cranfeild, now Erle of Middlesex, our High Threasorer of England; Edward Erle of Worcester, Keeper of our Privy Seale; Thomas Erle of Arrundell and Surrey, now Erle Marshall of England; and William Erle of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlaine of our Houshold; and to our trusty and right welbeloved Coun-

cellors, Fulke Lord Brooke, Sir Thomas Edmondes, Knight, Threasorer of our Houshold, and Sir Richard Weston, Knight, Chauncellor and Underthreasorer of our Exchequer, and to our trustie and welbeloved Sir Henry Mildemay, Knight, Master of our Jewelles and Plate. And whereas also since the remaine of our secret Jewelles taken at Denmarke House, after the decease of our late deare consortie Queene Anne, by virtue of our Commission under our Greate Seale of England, bearing date the nineteenth Daie of Aprill in the seventeenth yeare of our raigne of England, France and Ireland, and of Scotlande the two and fiftith, directed to our right trustie and right welbeloved Cosens and Councillors, Lionell Lord Cranfeild, now Erle of Middlesex, and then Master of our Courte of Wardes and Liveries, Edward Erle of Worcester, Keeper of our Privie Seale, William Erle of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlaine of our Houshold, and John then Lord Digby, and now Erle of Bristoll, and to our trustie and right welbeloved Councillor, Sir Robert Naunton, Knight, then our Principall Secretarie, and Sir Edward Coke, Knight; to whome wee, by our princelie word and commandment, did add our trustie and right welbeloved Councillor Sir Fulke Grevill, Knight, now Lord Brooke; We have sent for manie and great Jewelles and precious stones, which wee commaunded the said Lord Brooke and Sir Thomas Edmondes, Knight, with others, to bringe unto us from our said Jewelhouse, at severall times; the greatest nomber wherof wee have sent into Spaine, to our dearest sonne the Prince of Wales, and to our right trustie and right welbeloved Cosen and Councillor, George, then Marques of Buckingham, and now Duke of Buckingham, for the use and service of our said dearest sonne the Prince of Wales: and the residue have bene disposed and translated by us, according to our pleasure and direc'con in that behalf given; that is to say, Jewelles, precious Stones, and Pearles sent into Spaine, for the use aforesaid, by severall persons undernamed: viz. A Lorayne or Double Crosse of gould, sett with two large table dyamondes; two large tri-angle Dyamondes; one pointed Dyamond, and two Dyamondes cut in fawcettes, and two rocke Rubies; a Crosse of gould, having fower

large dyamondes, cut in fawcettes, and twelve small triangle dyamondes, with a table dyamond for the middle stone, which was wanting and supplied out of a broken Coller taken out of our old cheste; a Crosse of five large dyamondes, cutt in fawcettes; an old Crosse with fower dyamondes, cut in fawcettes, and three pearles pendant; an old Crosse of gould sett with sixe dyamondes, cutt in fawcettes; a Ringe of gould, with a large pointed dyamond cutt in fawcettes, without foyle; a Pendante of two longe faire dyamondes cutt in fawcettes, without foyle, with a faire dyamond pendante, taken from a large try-angle dyamond; three greate peare pendante Dyamondes, taken from a necklace; a Looking-glasse, sett in goulde, the backside richlie garnished with faire dyamondes, and sixe peeces of a cheyne to hange at, garnished with dyamondes on both sydes; a Head Attyre of twenty and one great peare pearles; a long Cheyne of two long ropes of fayre round pearles, weighing ten ounces, a half, and two pennie weight; a Coller of gould, conteyning thirteene great ballaces, and thirteene peeces of gould with thirteene cinque of pearles betweene them; a faire Flower of goulde, with three great ballaces in the middst; a great pointed Diamond, and three great pearles fixed, with a faire great pearle pendante, called the *Bretheren*; a great table Dyamond sett in gould, called the *Mirror of Fraunce*; and a great table Dyamond, sett open, without foyle, to which is added the least of the three pearles pendante, which did hange at the *Portugall Dyamond*: All which severall parcelles were, by our speciall comandment, delivered to our right trustie and welbeloved the Lord Compton, to be carryed into Spaine; as by our Warrant, under our Signe Manuell, dated the seventeenth day of March in the twentieth yeare of our raigne of England France and Ireland, and of Scotland the sixe and fiftith, remayninge with the said Sir Thomas Edmondes, Knight, Threasorer of our Houshold, doth appeare: also a Ring of gould, enamelled white, having a great rocke Rubie in fower clawes; a Tablet of goulde, with the Infantae's picture, garnished fullie on both sides with dyamondes; a Clocke of gould garnished on the one side with letters of dyamondes, "*Dieu et mon droyte*," and on

the other side, a crosse of dyamondes fullie garnished, with a pendaunte of dyamondes; an old Crosse of gould, sett with fayre dyamondes of an old cutt; fower round pearles fixed, and a faire round pearle pendante; an old Jesus of gould, with a crowne garnished all with dyamondes on the one side; which said five parcelles, were by our like speciall comandement, delivered to Sir John Wentworth, Knight, to be caried into Spaine to our right trustie and right welbeloved Cosen and Councillor George Duke of Buckingham; as is acknowledged by our like Warrant, dated the sixteenth day of Aprill, one thousand six hundred twentye and three, remayninge with the said Sir Thomas Edmondes, Knight; also a faire riche Sword, which was Prince Henrie's, fullie garnished with dyamondes of severall bignes; a great table dyamond, called the *Portugall Dyamond*, with the *Cobham Pearle* hanging at it, and the last of the three pendant pearles which did hang at this jewell; the remainder of a Necklace, havinge at the same thirteene small pendante dyamondes, and seventeene great round pearles; a faire Hattband of blacke velvett, garnished with twentie faire dyamondes, sett in buttons of gould, in manner of Spanish worke, wherof eight are fower square table dyamondes, two large sixe square table dyamondes, two eight square table dyamondes, two fower square table dyamondes, cut with fawcettes, two large pointed dyamondes, one faire hart dyamond, and three triangle dyamondes, and twenty small barres of gould, each sett with five small table dyamondes betweene every button; a long Rope of two hundred threescore and sixteene very great round pearles, weighing nine ounces; a Hattband of gould, that was Prince Henrie's, fully garnished with dyamondes, wanting one dyamonde; a Cheyne of gould, of eight and forty peeces, wherof twenty and fower are great, and twenty fower small, garnished with dyamondes, and a great George of gould hanging thereat, garnished with dyamondes of sundry sortes on the one side; a Girdle and Hangers of purple velvett, embrodered all over with pearles, and thirty fower pearles pendante of sundrie bignes, with the buckles and hookes of silver guilte; a Head Attyre, broken, with two dyamondes and thirteene

great pearles; A Head Attire, having five great Emeraldes, six faire peare pearles, and five round pearles; A Pendaunte of a large tryangle dyamonde, and a small dyamonde pendante; A Coller of Gould, conteyninge thirtie peeces, wherof fifteene are roses, in eache a great pointed dyamond, and fifteene crowned cyphers of the Kinge and Queene's names, having in each of them a table dyamond; A Ring with a pointed dyamond, cutt in fawcettes, fower tryangle and two . . . le dyamondes; A Ring of a frogg of dyamondes, with a ruby in the head; A Ringe like a hart, sett with small dyamondes; A Ringe of plaine goulde, sett with a small pointed dyamond; A Head Attire of eleven faire peare pearles; A Bracelet of fowerscore and ten perles in three rowes, with a locke of eight dyamondes; And a Bracelett of fowerscore and fower pearles in three rowes, with a locke of one dyamonde and three rubies: All which severall parcelles were also, by our speciall commandement, sent into Spaine, to our dearest sonne, the Prince of Wales, by Sir Francis Stuarthe, Knight; as by two warrantes under our hand, dated the ninth and fourteenth of May, one thousand sixe hundred twentie three, remayning with the said Lord Brooke, doth appear. Also one Coller of Goulde, of thirtie and nine peeces, sett with table dyamondes, table rubies and pearles, with letters, delivered to our owne handes, by the Erle of Middlesex, our High Threasorer of England, and by us given to our dearest Cosen, the Dutches of Lenox, at Newyearestide, one thousand sixe hundred twenty two; also one faire Cheyne of Gould, having threescore peeces, with fower dyamondes in each peece, and threescore great round pearles, delivered to our owne handes, by the Lord Brooke; and by us given to our deare Cosen, the late Marchionesse, and now Dutches of Buckingham, at Newyearestide, one thousand sixe hundred twentie two; Also one great Bezar stone, sett in gould, which was Queene Elizabeth's, with some Unicorne's Horne, in a paper; and one other large Bezar stone, broken in peeces, delivered to our owne handes, by the Lord Brooke, the two and twentieth day of Januarie, one thousand sixe hundred twenty and two; Also a Jewell, in forme of the letter H, sett with two pointed dyamondes, five

table dyamondes, and three pearles pendante, which wee, by our warrant, dated the eleventh of March, in the twentieth yeare of our raigne of England, France and Ireland, and of Scotland the sixe and fiftith, did comaunde our trustie and right welbeloved Councillor, Sir Thomas Edmondes, Knight, to presente, as of our guifte, to our said dearlie beloved Cosen, the Dutches of Lenox ; Also a Ringe with a small highe pointed dyamond, fower tryangle dyamondes, and sixe table dyamondes, delivered to our owne handes, by the Lord Brooke, the fowertenth daie of Mai, one thousand sixe hundred twenty three, as by our warrante of that date, remayninge with him doth appeare ; A table dyamond taken out of a Coller, devided into two branches, having in the same seaven table dyamondes, and ten rubies, eight of them being rocke rubies and two table rubies, with thirtie and sixe round pearles in twoes, for supplying of a middle stone wanting in a crosse of gould, having fower large dyamondes cutt in fawcettes, and twelve small triangle dyamondes, which crosse is sent into Spaine ; Also three table dyamondes more, taken out of the same Coller, towards the makinge of a Jewell for the Marques Inosocha, Ambassador expected from Spaine ; Also ten dyamondes, taken out of a border of gold of seaventeene collettes, in eache a faire dyamonde, towards the making of the said Jewell for the Marques of Inosocha, Ambassador expected from Spaine, all which thirteene dyamondes are delivered to George Herryott, our servante for that service, by our commandment, as by our warrante of the two and twentieth of Aprill, one thousand sixe hundred twentie three, remayning with the said Sir Thomas Edmondes, appeareth ; And, lastly, two dyamondes more, taken out of the said border, to supplie the defecte and wante of two dyamondes in the late Queene's Coller of Roses, now sent into Spaine. Wee, tendring the discharge and indempnitie of all such as wee have used therein, of our certen and assured knowledge, by these presentes doe agnize and acknowledge all the premisses to be true, and to be truly and justly recyted, and expressed, and done, by our expresse direccion and comandment ; And doe, also, by these presentes, of our especiall grace, certen knowledge and mere motion, for us,

our heires and successors, fullie, clearlie and absolutely, pardon, acquite, discharge and release, unto the said Lionell Erle of Middlesex, our High Treasurer of England; Edward Erle of Worcester, Keeper of our Privie Seale; Thomas Erle of Arrundell and Surrey, Erle Marshall of England; William Erle of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlaine of our Houshold; John Erle of Bristoll, our Vicechamberlaine; Fulke Lord Brooke; Sir Thomas Edmondes, Knight, Threasorer of our Houshold; Sir Richard Weston, Knight, Chauncellor and Underthreasorer of our Exchequer; Sir Robert Naunton, Knight; Sir Edward Coke, Knight, and Sir Henry Mildemay, Knight, Master of our Jewelles and Plate; their and everie of their heires, executors, and administrators, all and all manner of actions, informations, suites, claimes, impetitions, trespasses, troubles, damages, accomptes, charges, and demandes whatsoever; which wee, our heires or successors, shall, maie, or might, by anie waie or meanes whatsoever, have, take, sue, prosecute, or demande, against the said Lionell Erle of Middlesex, Edward Erle of Worcester, Thomas Erle of Arundell and Surrey, William Erle of Pembroke, John Erle of Bristoll, Fulke Lord Brooke, Sir Thomas Edmondes, Sir Richard Weston, Sir Roberte Naunton, Sir Edward Coke, and Sir Henry Mildemay, Knightes, or anie of them, or against their, or anie of their heires, executors or administrators; or their, or anie of their landes, tenementes, heriditamentes, goodes or chattelles; of, for, touching or concerning the premisses, and all and every parte and parcell therof: And we doe, likewise, of our like certen knowledge, speciall grace, and mere motion; for us, our heires and successors, grante unto the said Lionell Erle of Middlesex, Edward Erle of Worcester, Thomas Erle of Arundell and Surrey, William Erle of Pembroke, John Erle of Bristoll, Fulke Lord Brooke, Sir Thomas Edmondes, Sir Richard Weston, Sir Robert Naunton, Sir Edward Coke, and Sir Henry Mildmay, Knightes; and every of them, their and every of their heires, executors and administrators; that they, and every of them, their, and every of their heires, executors and administrators, and their and everie of their landes, tenementes, hereditamentes, goodes and chattelles, be of and from all actions, informations, suites, claimes, impetitions, trespasses, troubles,

damages, accomptes, charges, and demandes whatsoever, of and concerning the premisses, or anie parte or parcell therof, against us, our heires and successors, clearly and absolutelie acquitted, released, and discharged for ever, by these presentes: And further wee, of our especiall grace, certen knowledge and meere motion, doe, by these presents, for us, our heires and successors, grante unto the said Lionell Erle of Middlesex, Edward Erle of Worcester, Thomas Erle of Arundell and Surrey, William Erle of Pembroke, John Erle of Bristoll, Fulke Lord Brooke, Sir Thomss Edmondes, Sir Richard Weston, Sir Robert Naunton, Sir Edward Coke, and Sir Henry Mildmay, Knightes: and every of them, and everie of their heires, executors and administrators, that these our letters patentes, or th' inrollment therof, shalbe against us, our heires and successors, a full and sufficient discharge and acquittance, unto the said Lionell Erle of Middlesex, Edward Erle of Worcester, Thomas Erle of Arundell and Surrey, William Erle of Pembroke, John Erle of Bristoll, Fulke Lord Brooke, Sir Thomas Edmondes, Sir Richard Weston, Sir Robert Naunton, Sir Edward Coke, and Sir Henry Mildmay, Knightes; and everie of them, their heires, executors and administrators; and everie of them, for and concerning the premisses, and everie parte and parcell theroff, in all and every the Courtes, and before anie the Justices, Barons of the Exchequer, and other officers of us, our heires and successors whatsoever; and shalbe construed most beneficiall and availeable in the lawe, to the best benefitt and behoof of them, the said Lionell Erle of Middlesex, Edward Erle of Worcester, Thomas Erle of Arundell and Surrey, William Erle of Pembroke, John Erle of Bristoll, Fulke Lord Brooke, Sir Thomas Edmondes, Sir Richard Weston, Sir Robert Naunton, Sir Edward Coke, and Sir Henry Mildmay, Knightes: and everie of them, their and every of their heires, executors and administrators, and every of them; anie statute, custome, ordinance, restraunte, cause, matter or provision, had, made, ordeyned or provided, to the contrary notwithstanding. In witnes &c. Witness &c.

Exam.

(Signed) THOMAS COVENTRYE.

It maie please your Most Excellent Majestie,

This bill conteyneth your Majesties gracious pardon and discharge, unto the Lord Threasorer, and others your Commissioners for the secret Jewelles in the Tower of London, for divers and sundrie Jewelles, precious stones and pearles, sent by your Majestie into Spaine, at severall tymes, to the Prince's Highnes, and the Duke of Buckingham, by the Lord Compton, Sir John Wentworth and Sir Francis Stuarthe; and for a Ringe, with a small high pointed diamond, fower triangle diamondes, and sixe table dyamondes, and two Bezar stones, taken into your Majesties owne handes; And for a Coller of letters, with diamondes, given to the Duchesse of Richmond, Newyearestide last, And for a Cheyne of gould, with diamondes and pearles, given to the Duches of Buckingham, at the same time; And for an old Jewell, in forme of the letter H, with diamondes, given to the said Duches of Richmond; And for a table diamond, taken out of a Collar, to supplie a middle stone in a crosse with diamondes, sente into Spaine; And for three dyamondes, taken out of the same Collar, and tenn diamondes taken out of a border, delivered to George Herryott your servant, towards the making of a Jewell for the Marques of Inosocha; and for two diamondes more, taken out of the same border, to supplie two collettes, wanting diamonds in the late Queen's Coller of Roses.

Signified to be your Majestie's pleasure by the Lord Brooke.

(Signed) THOMAS COVENTRYE.

(Indorsed,)

Julij 1623.

Ex^p apud Westm' septimo die Julij, Anno R. R's Jacobi
vicesimo primo.

(Signed) P WINDEBANKE.

Ex'd

ROBERT LEMON,
Deputy Keeper of State Papers.

XVIII. *Observations upon some Ancient Buildings in Prussia;*
by JOHN ADEY REPTON, Esq. F.S.A. In a Letter to
NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.

Read 12th February, 1824.

Hare-street, near Romford, Dec. 12, 1823.

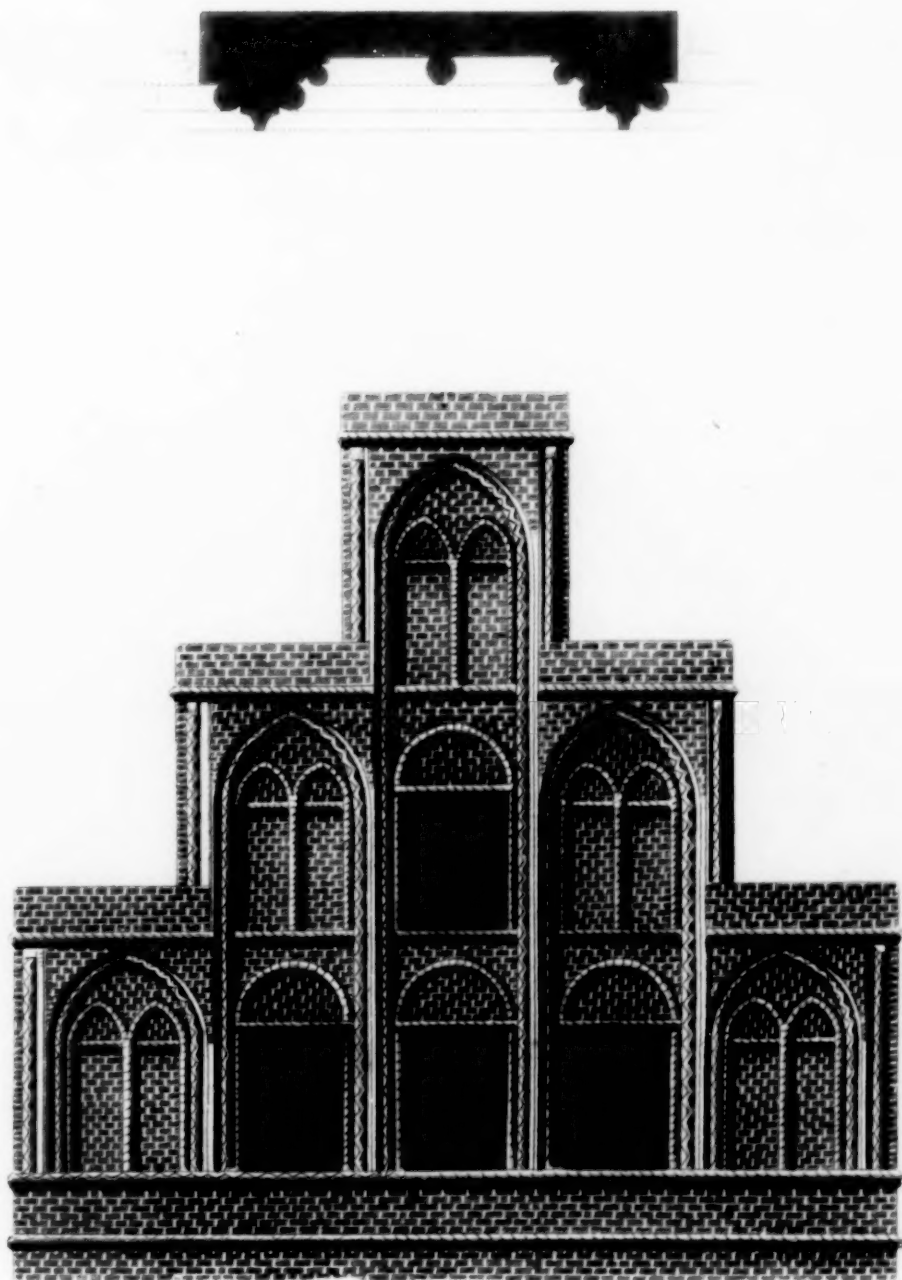
DEAR SIR,

PERMIT me through your hands to communicate to the Society of Antiquaries, a few Specimens of ancient Buildings, collected during a professional journey in Prussia. I did not meet with any remains of pure Saxon or Norman Architecture, i. e. buildings consisting of the Semi-circular Arch alone. The earliest specimens of antiquity I have been able to find, are those composed of a mixture of the Semi-circular and the Pointed Arch, as in the drawings marked I. and II.^a If we are to judge from the style of Architecture in England, these buildings appear to have been erected between the year 1150 and 1200; and which is remarkable, they are composed of moulded bricks, of which we have no example in this country at so early a period (except in the works of the Romans). In the northern part of Germany bricks are generally used, and frequently covered with composition, see a specimen of a church tower in Berlin, in the drawing No. III.^b the character of which is of the reign of our Henry the Third. The drawing No. IV. represents two windows from another Church in Berlin,^c which may be considered curious from the slenderness and great length of the munnions, composed of moulded bricks, which like the church windows in Holland are carried to great perfection, and differ much from the heavv

^a See Plates XI. XII.

^b Plate XIII.

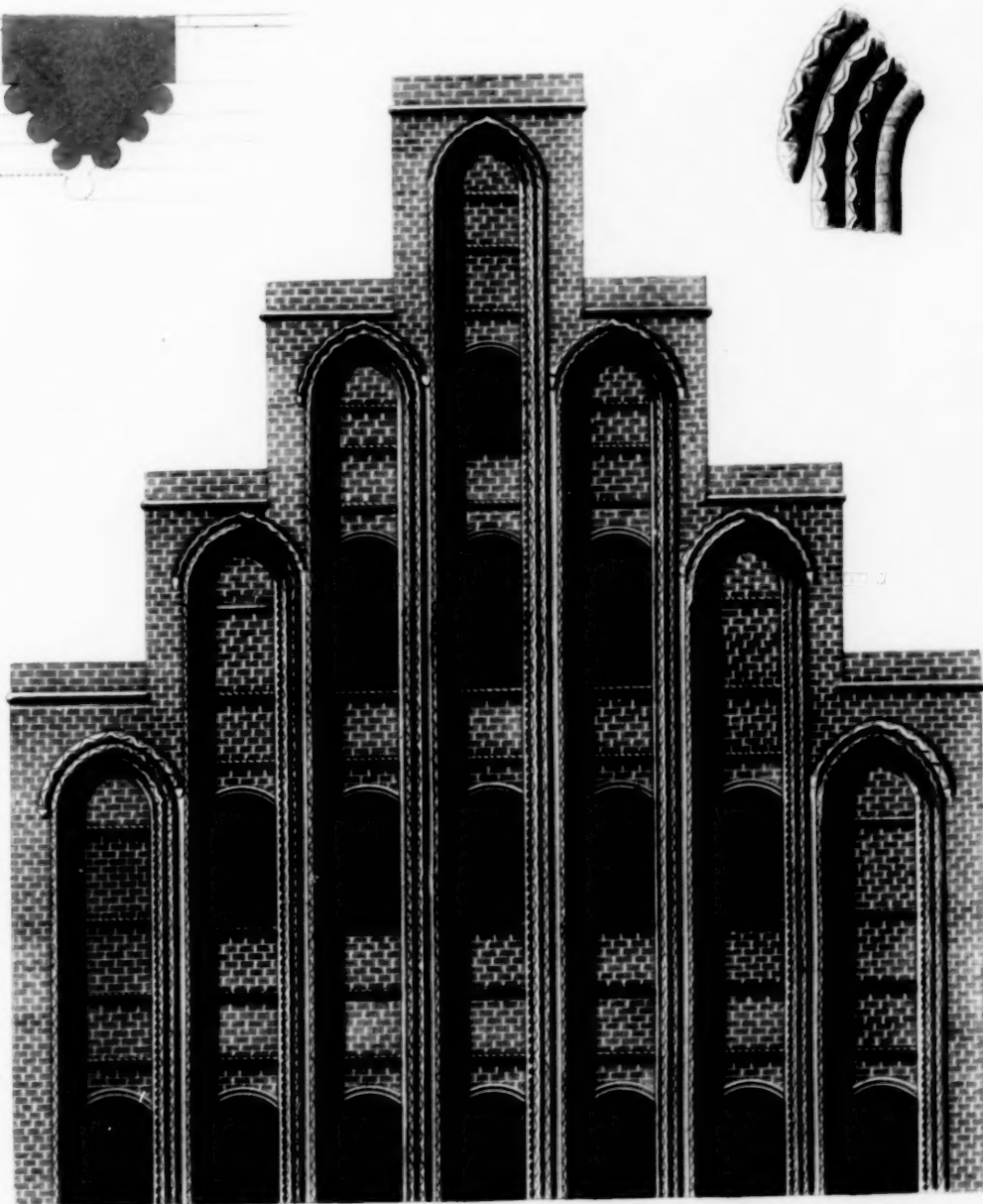
^c Plate XIV.



The Gable of a house in Hamburg executed in moulded Bricks.

J. A. Royston del.

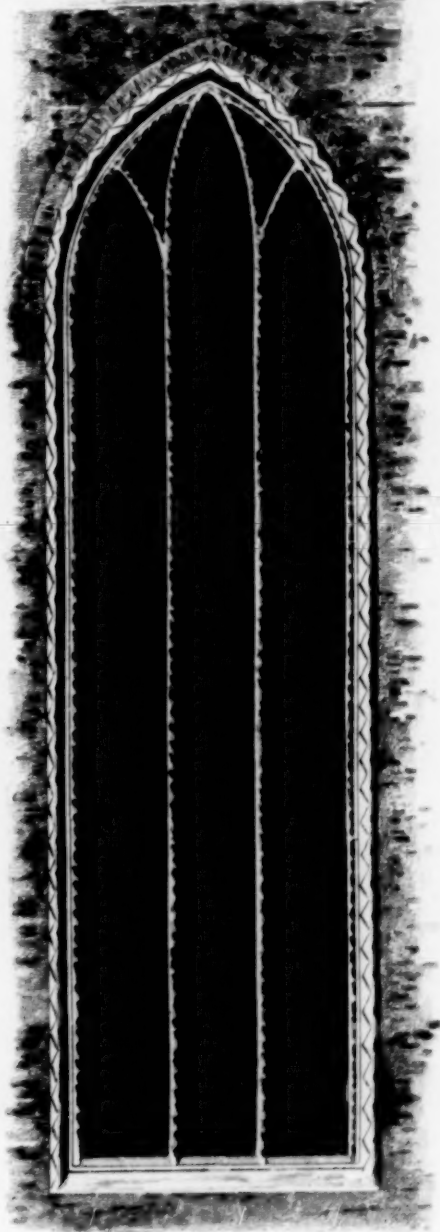
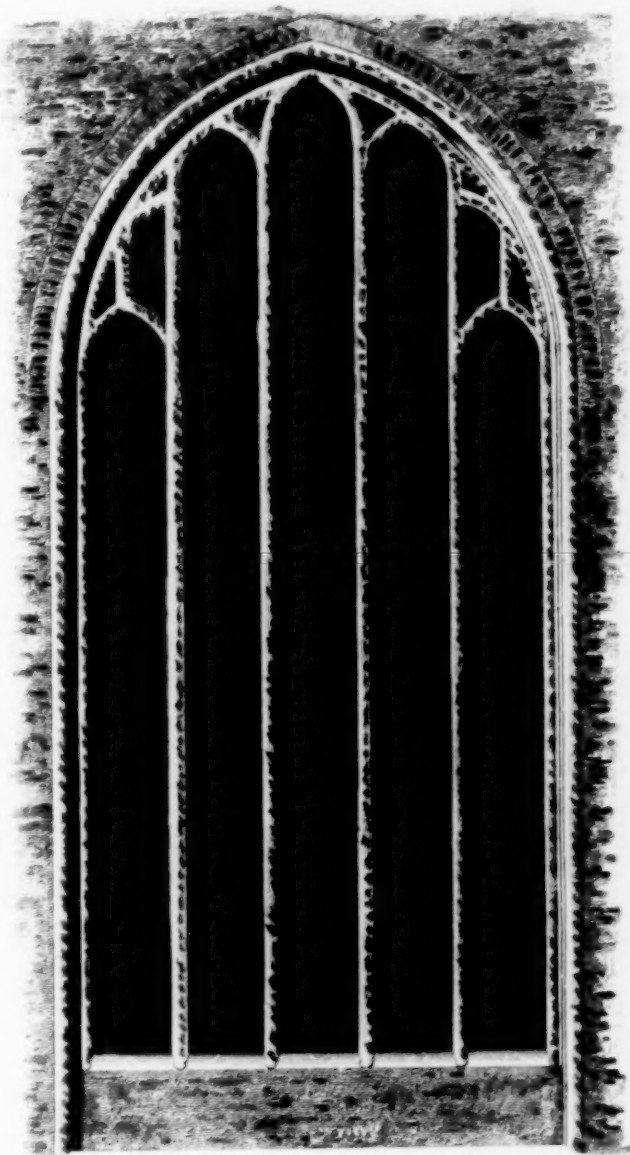
J. R. B. sculp.



The Gable of a house in Hamburgh executed in moulded bricks.

J. A. Kneller del.

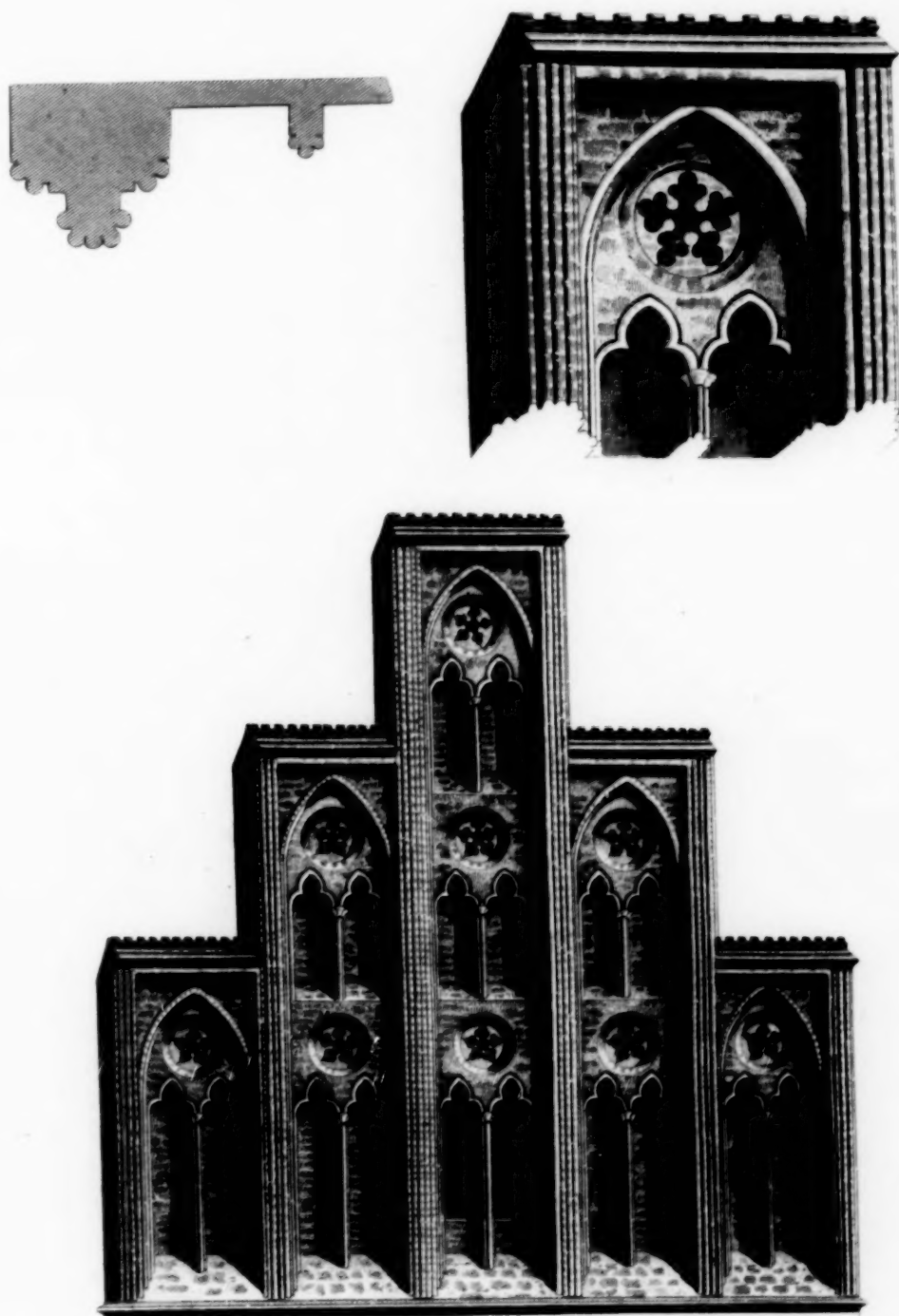
J. H. Vasey sculp.



Windows of a Church in Berlin.

J. A. Ryken del.

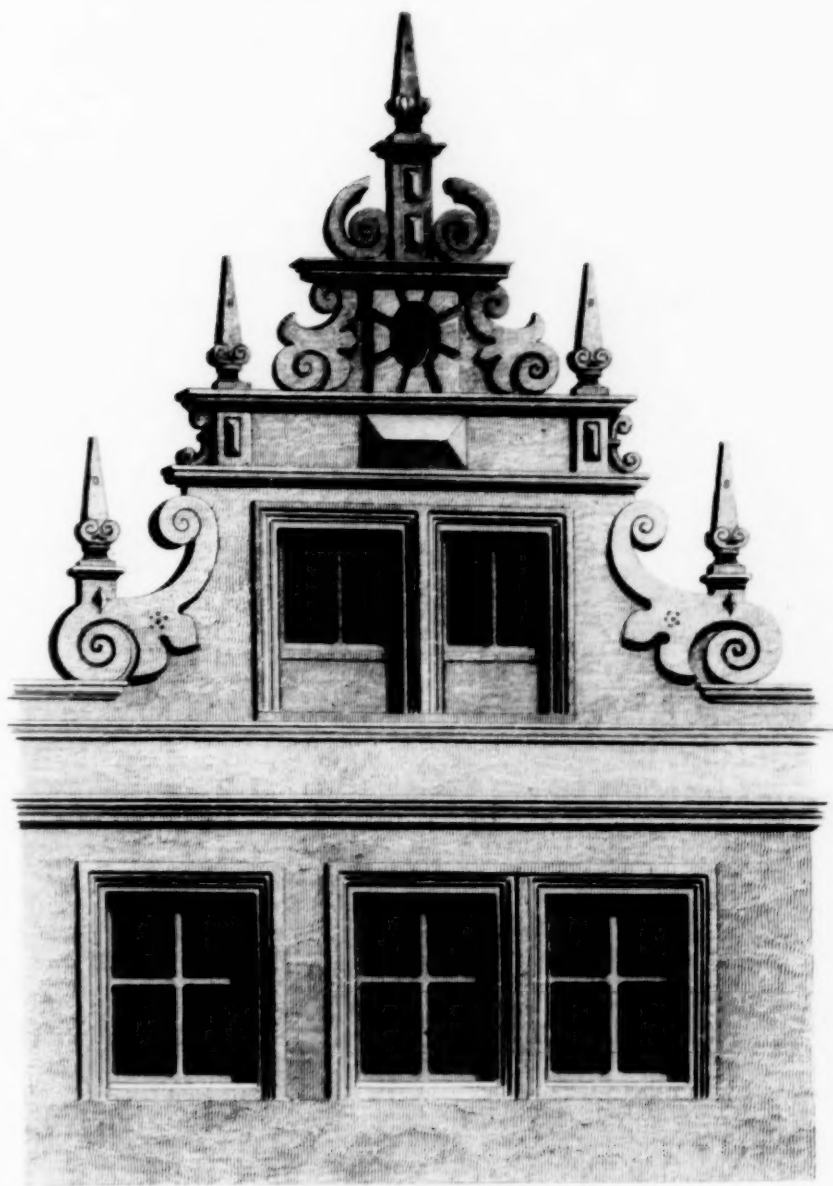
H. Basse sculpt.



The Gable of a Church in Berlin: in moulded Bricks

J. A. Repton del.

J. B. B. sculp.



End of a building near the King's Palace in Berlin. Date 1642.

J. A. Neumeier del.

J. H. Neumeier sculp.

brick munnions as executed in England during the 16th and 17th centuries.

The earliest Churches in England are generally finished with a semi-circular East end ; but those which I found in Prussia, as well as in Holland, are finished with a polygonal figure, having lancet windows instead of semi-circular.

I send you a drawing also of a gable-end of moulded bricks, from a church in Berlin, of the style of Architecture which prevailed in England between the year 1250 and 1300.^d

I regret that I preserved no sketch of a curious Church between Berlin and Sphremberg, which contained a mixture of the semi-circular, the pointed, and the intersecting arch, all which appear to have been executed in brick and composition about the year 1150 or 1160.

I send, likewise, the drawing of a gable-end of a building, near the palace at Berlin of the date of 1642.^e

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN ADEY REPTON.

TO NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq.
F. R. S. Secretary.

^d Plate XV.

^e Plate XVI.

XIX. *Letter from THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F. R. S. Treasurer, to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. Secretary, accompanying Drawings of the Priory Gate and Font at Kirkham, in Yorkshire, and of the Interior of the Room at Bolton Castle, in which Mary Queen of Scots was confined in 1568.*

Read 29th April, 1824.

James-street, Westminster, 29 April, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE Rev. Mr. Todd, to whose kindness I was lately indebted for the opportunity of communicating to the Society the representation of a very ancient and curious Font in Yorkshire, has now requested me to present in his name three Drawings of other antiquities in that county, which have been executed for him by Mr. Barton, a young artist of promising talents.

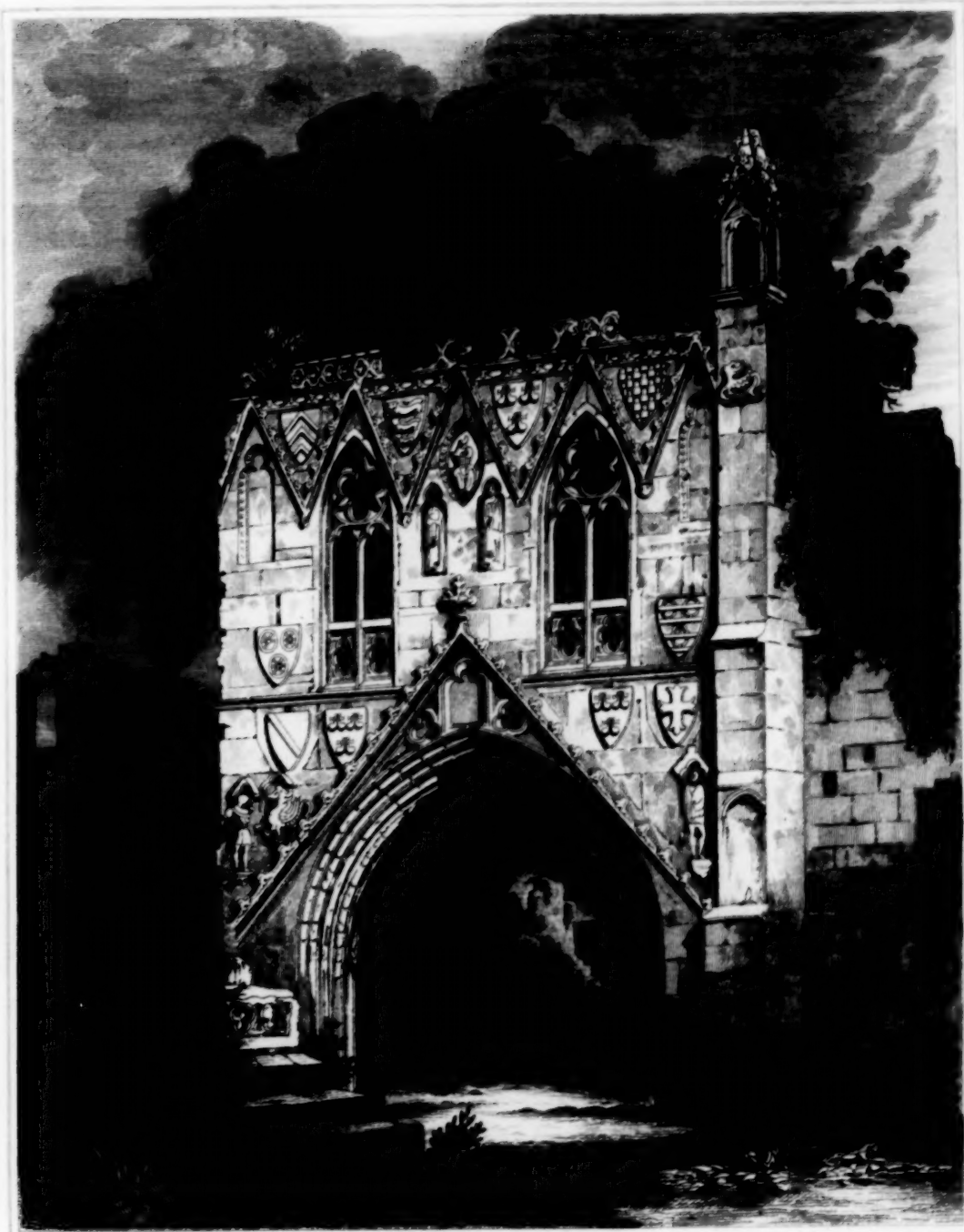
The first of these drawings represents the fine gateway of Kirkham Priory, which from the style of its pediments appears to be of the period of Edward the First.^a The history of this Priory, founded (according to Tanner) by Walter Espec and Adeline his wife in 1121, has not been circumstantially detailed in any publication which I have yet met with, but Mr. Todd hopes to be able to collect a few notices of it, which may hereafter be acceptable.

The second drawing describes the font at Kirkham.^b

The last of them is a representation of the interior of the Room in Bolton Castle in which Mary Queen of Scots was lodged as a prisoner

^a See plate XVII.

^b Plate XVIII.



E. Burton. del.

J. B. B. sculp.

Gateway of Kirkham Priory, Yorkshire

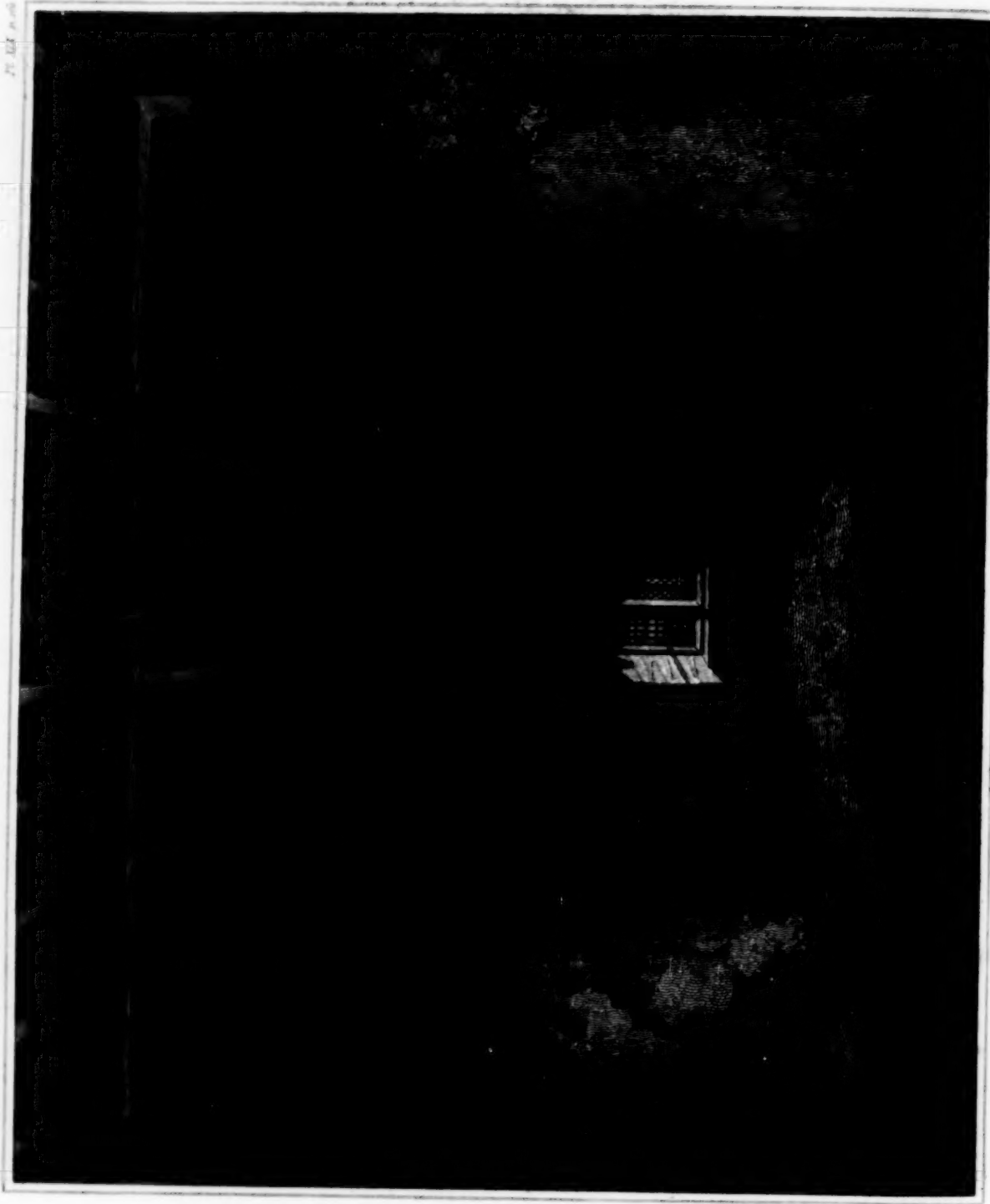
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, January, 1836.



Font at Kirkham.

J. Martin del.

J. A. Burre sculp.



Interior of the Room at Beldun Castle in which Mary Queen of Scots was confined also prisoner 1748

for a short time in 1568.^c A particular account of this Castle, with views of its exterior, will be found in Grose's "Antiquities of England and Wales," and some additional notices, with superior embellishments, are contained in Mr. Britton's "Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain." But though Mary's imprisonment is adverted to in both these works, neither of them supplies a View of the Room which was selected for the accommodation of the royal captive. It was undoubtedly one of the state apartments of the Castle, yet, as Mr. Grose justly observes, it would not, "according to the refinement of the present period, be thought sufficiently good even for the domestick animals of a man of fortune." Mr. Todd informs me that the tower in which this room is situated (being the South-west angle of the Castle) is now occupied by a farmer, and that the window formerly exhibited Mary's name, said to have been inscribed on the glass by her own hand, but this interesting autograph has long been removed.

I remain, dear Sir,

very sincerely yours,

THOMAS AMYOT.

To HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S.

Sec. S. A. &c.

Mary Queen of Scots arrived at Bolton Castle from Carlisle, not as Mr. Chalmers has stated on the 16th, but on the fifteenth of July 1568, and was detained there till her removal to Tutbury, January 26th, 1569.

Sir Francis Knollys, writing to Secretary Cecil July 16, 1568, says, "We arrived here at Bolton Castle, with this queen yesternight, one

^c Plate XIX.

^d Since the date of this Letter, a view of Kirkham Priory, drawn and engraved by Coney, has appeared in the thirty-seventh part of the new edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*. An account of the Priory may be expected soon in that valuable work.

hour after sun-setting. And since our departure from Carlyle with her, she hath been very quiet, very tractable, and void of displeasing countenance; altho' she seemeth she will not remove any further into the realme without constraint. The which removing will easilier be done if it be taken in hand by better personages than we are. There hath been no repair unto hyr by the way as might have been looked for; the which repair I suppose was abridged by our sharp dealing with one Christopher Lassels coming to Carlisle out of Yorkshire, about three weeks past, of purpose to see this Queen."

In another part of his letter, Sir Francis Knollys thus describes Bolton Castle:

"This house appeareth to be very strong, very fair, and very stately after the old manner of building, and is the highest walled house that I have seen, and hath but one entrance thereinto. And halfe the number of these soldiers maye better watch and ward the same, than the whole number thereof could do Carlisle Castle, when Mr. Reade and his soldiers, and Mr. Morton and Mr. Wylford took great paines, and my Lord Scroope also was a late watcher."

In a postscript it is said:

"The charges of removing of this Queen hither was somewhat the larger bycause we were driven to hire four little carrs and 20 carriage horses, and 23 saddle horses for her women and men; the which was well accomplished upon the sodayn, to her commodity and satisfaction."^a

In another letter to Sir William Cecil, dated Aug. 6, 1568, he says:

"Synce my last letters to your Lordship, dowtyng that the Queen's Hyghnes wold have this Quene to remayne here longer than we looked for, I have inquired touchyng the borrowed stuffe here, and I doe fynde that the lenders thereof hoped to have had the same returned unto theym home agayne or this tyme, and some have earnestly craved the returne thereof alredeye; and yet for a settylled furniture here is but skasetie in

^a MS. Cotton. Calig. C. 1. fol. 125. For these Extracts I am obliged to the kindness of Mr. Ellis.

respect of this Princesse and of the Quene owr mystress honor; wherefore I send yowe here inclosed a particular note of sotch thyngs as are very necessarie to be supplied and sent hether by carte forthwith, yf her Highness meanyng be to have this Pryncesse remayne here any whyle, or yf hyr meanyng be that she shall not presently go farther into the realme."

* * * * *

"As for the plate and stuffe that is to be sent hyther, the klarke here is fytt to receyve it by Indenture, whoe is careful enoughe for the answering and overseeyng thereof agayne. And her Hyghnes defraying charges here is now dymynysshed, and made allmost certayne, for this Quene hath been content to gyve the names of sotch as she hath to attend here, and that are necessarie to be at hyr Highnes charges, the number whereof are forty with her women and all. She hath dismyssed and returned a dussen or syxtene into Skotland, and all her servants of the stable, and dyvers others to the number of 20 do borde in the Towne. And dyvers of her gentlemens bwayes and hungrye servants are shyfted out of this house.

* * * * *

"I have not wrytten for any kloth of estate, bycawse this Quene makethe very small regarde of ceremonious honor, althoe to prosper in deeds of wayghte, hyr desyr is not inferyor to the greatest Prynces, and yet sure hyr famylier curtesie becomes her very well, and very plausible thoroe hir discrete usage theroff."

On the 21st of August, 1568, the Regent Murray wrote from Edinburgh to Sir John Foster, one of the Wardens of the Borders, warning him of a plot for conveying Mary from Bolton by the means of Englishmen; "the chief enterpriser whereof," he adds, "is thought to be your friend George Heron."

During her stay at Bolton, Mary wrote numerous letters to Queen Elizabeth, expostulating, soliciting, and exculpating herself, many of which are still preserved among the Cottonian Manuscripts, and in the State Paper Office.

XX. *Account of the Instrument of Legitimation granted by Mary Queen of Scots to her Brother James, afterwards Earl of Murray: By THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F. R. S. Treasurer; in a Letter to the Right Honourable the EARL OF ABERDEEN, K. T. President.*

Read 26th February, 1824.

James-street, Westminster, 26th February, 1824.

MY LORD,

BY the kindness of Mr. Bennett, of Norwich, I am permitted to exhibit to the Society a Document connected with Scottish History, which I had the honour to shew to your Lordship last week, and which is certainly rendered interesting by the characters of the parties to whom it relates.

It is the instrument by which the unfortunate Mary granted the privileges of legitimacy to her brother James, who afterwards, when Earl of Murray and Regent of Scotland, exercised against her with so much severity the authority and influence of which she had thus laid the foundation. This Instrument is under the Privy Seal, and bears date at Edinburgh the 4th of February 1561, or rather 1562, according to the present mode of computation.

It appears from Mr. Chalmers's History of Mary, that on the 30th of January, five days before the issuing of these Letters of Legitimation, James had obtained from Mary a grant under the Privy Seal of the Earldom of Murray and Lordship of Abernethy, with the possessions belonging to them. This grant, however, was secretly made, and James is accordingly described in the instrument before us, only as

Commendator of the Priory of St. Andrew's. But a few days afterwards, on the 10th of February, he received a grant of the Earldom of Mar, which title he assumed and retained till the following September, when he produced his patent as Earl of Murray upon the downfall of the Earl of Huntley, from whom up to that period it seems to have been studiously concealed. It is remarkable that the Letters of Legitimation which I now exhibit appear to have been superfluous, former ones having been granted for the same purpose eleven years before, *viz.* on the 7th February, 1550-1. Mr. Chalmers, in noticing this strange and seemingly unaccountable double legitimation, observes that "like other impostors, the Lord James seems to have had a strong passion for making surety double sure."

It only remains for me to remark that the instrument before us is fairly and legibly written, and that on the Seal, which is in good preservation considering its age, Mary is represented as being seated upon her throne, with the inscription, "*Maria Dei gratia Scotorum Regina,*" the royal arms being on the reverse.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

THOMAS AMYOT.

The EARL OF ABERDEEN, K. T. President.

CHARTA LEGITTIMATIONIS PRO D'NO JACOBO STEWART.

MARIA Dei gratia Regina Scotorum Omnibus probis hominibus suis ad quos presentes lre pervenerint salutem SCIATIS quia ex nostris gracia et favore specialibus dedimus concessimus et commisimus ac tenore pñcium damus concedimus et committimus dilecto nro Jacobo Stewart

Commendatario prioratuum Sanctiandree et pettinweme bastardo filio naturali nři quondam charissimi patris plenariam potestatem liberam facultatem et licentiam specialem ut ipe in toto tempore vite sue sive eger fuerit sive sanus sive in tempore mortis sue libere disponere valeat super omnibus et singulis terris suis annuis redditibus edificiis hereditatibus et possessionibus quibuscunq; infra regnum nřm existeñ Ac super omnibus et singulis bonis suis mobilibus et immobilibus habitis et habendis cuicunq; persone vel quibuscunq; personis prout sibi magis videbitur expediens conveniens et oportunum non obstante bastardia sua in qua genitus est et privilegio iuris nobis super eschaetis bastardorum concessũ Ac etiam prefatum Jacobum ad omnimodos actus legĩtimos in iudicio et extra iudicium exercendum ac dignitatib; officiis honoribus hereditatibus privilegiis et possessionibus gaudend et possidend in omnibus et per omĩa Ac si de legĩmo thoro procreatus fuisset legĩm fecimus et legĩmavimus ac eundem de nře reginalis maiestatis plenitudine legitimamus per pĩtes Et si contigerit prefatum Jacobum absq; legĩtimis heredibus de corpore suo procreatis vel absq; legitima dispositione per ipm de terris suis et hereditatibus antedictis in vita sua facta in fata decedere Nos ex aucte nře reginea et potestate reginali volumus et concedimus ac pro nobis et nřis successoribus decernimus et ordinamus q̃ propinquior agnatus vel cognatus suus ex parte patris vel mřis erit sibi heres et eidem in omnibus suis terris annuis redditibus possessionibus et bonis hereditariis habitis et habendis succedet Et ad easdem per brevia capelle nře introibit Simili modo et adeo libere virtute huius nře legĩmationis ac si dictus Jacobus de legĩmo thoro procreatus fuisset vej heredes de corpore suo legĩtime procreatos habuisset sive super omnibus suis terris et bonis antedictis in vita sua disposuisset Sine aliquo obstaculo revocatione impedimento clameo questione seu contradictione nři aut successorum nřorum dicto Jacobo aut persone vel personis cui vel quibus ipm de pefaĩ terris et bonis suis disponere contigerit in vita sua sive propinquiori agnato vel cognato ex parte patris vel mřis Qui (deficientibus legĩtimis heredibus suis de corpore suo procreatis vel legĩtima dispositione de terris suis et bonis antedictis per ipm in vita sua factĩ)

sibi in eisdem succedet quovismodo inde facieñ in futurum Prefato iuris privilegio nobis super eschaetis bastardorum concesso aliisve iuribus canonicis civilibus municipalibus consuetudinibus pliamentorum actis statutis aut constitutionibus quibuscunq; in contrarium non obstañ renunciando eisdem pro nobis et ñris successoribus imperpetuũ strictius inhibeñ ne quis in contrarium harum ñrarum concessionis et legitimat[i]onis aliququaliter devenire presumat Sub omni pena quam erga ñram reginalem incurrere poterit maiestatem In cuius rei testimoniũ pñtibus magnum sigillum ñrm apponi precipimus Apud Edinburgh quarto die mensis februarii anno Domini mĩtmo quingentesimo Sexagesimo primo Et regni ñri vicesimo.

Legitimatio Jacobi Stewart
comendatario sãctiãdree.

The foregoing Instrument is now in the possession of my friend Dawson Turner, Esq. F. R. & A. S., who, from his extensive and valuable Collections, permits to add to this Communication the Copy of a Document of similar purport, under the seal of Mary's father, James the Fifth, by which, on the 16th of October 1523, he granted the privileges of legitimacy to his uncle, James Stewart Earl of Moray, who afterwards became an active and powerful partizan of Margaret, the Dowager Queen, and died in 1544.

" JACOBUS Dei gratia Rex Scotorũ Omnibus probis homĩbus suis ad quos pñtes lñe pervenerint salutem SCIATIS Quia nos cum avisamento autoritate et consensu carissimi Consanguinei et Tutoris ñri Johannis Ducis Albanie & regni ñri protectoris et gubernatoris attendentes q̃ ille gñtme genitos quos vite decora honestas nature vitiũ mĩe decoleret nam decor virtutis abstergit in prole maculam geniture et prudentia morum pudor originis oboletur Nos igitur cum nobis sincere dilectus frater nosť

Jacobus Moraue Comes filius naturalis quond nobilissimi carissimiq3 genitoris nri Jacobi q'ti Dei grā Scotorū Regis illustrissimi bone memorie cui' aīe propicietur deus ex illicita copula traxit originē talibus tamen virtutū donis et morū honestate ac venustate choruscat q̄ in ipso suplent merita q^d ortus odiosus adiecit adeo q̄ super eo defectu natalium quē patitur grām a nra regia maiestate meruit obtinere hiis itaq3 attentis & p̄stīm magnis et laudabilib3 obsequiis nobis & nre reipublice in regni nri subditorūq3 nrorum defensione per ipm fratrem nrm impensis eund de nre regie maiestatis plenitudine ex certa scia & spēali grā legīmamus per p̄ntes ac legīmationis titulo decoramus ipm3 in iudicio & extra iudiciū āmodo pro legtmo reputari et censi volumus et haberi concedentes eid pro nobis & successorib3 nris liberā facultatē plenariā p̄tatem & licenciā spēalem q̄ ipse quāq̄ de dampnato coitu traxit originē libere & licite disponere valeat in toto tempore vite sue sive eger fuerit sive sanus & in mortis articulo de omnibus & singulis t̄ris suis tenemētis ānuis redditib3 et possessionib3 ubicūq3 infra regnū nrm existē Ac de omnibus bonis suis mobilibus & immobilib3 quesitis seu querendis cui-cūq3 persone vel quibuscūq3 personis prout sibi magis videbitur expediens cōueniens & oportunū Non obstaū bastardia sua in qua genitus est & privilegio juris nobis super eschaetis bastardorū concesso Ac ipm Jacobum frēm nrm ad omnimodos actus legtmos in iudicio & extra iudiciū exercend dignitatibusq3 honoribus hereditatibus officiis possessionibus & bonis gaudend in omnibus et per omnia sicut de legtmo thoro procreatus fuisset legitimū fecimus & legīmavimus et eund de nostre regie maiestatis plenitudine legtimamus ut p̄mittitur per p̄ntes Et si contigerit ipm Jacobum frēm nrm absq3 legtimis heredibus de corpore suo procreatis vel absq3 disposiōe per ipm fact de t̄ris suis & bonis suprascript in fata decedere Nos ex p̄tate nra regia & autoritate regali volumus et concedimus ac pro nobis et successoribus nris decernimus et ordinamus q̄ propinquior agnatus vel cognatus suus ex parte p̄ris vel matris erit sibi heres Et eid in omnibus suis t̄ris ānuis redditibus possessionibus et bonis hereditariis habitis et habendis succedet Et ad easd per brevia capelle nre introibit simili modo et adeo licite vigore hui⁹

ñre leğtimationis sicut dictus frater noster Jacobus de leğtmo thoro procreatus fuisset vel heredes de corpore suo leğtme procreatos habuisset sive de terris et bonis suis in vita sua disposuisset Sine aliquo obstaculo revocatiõe impedimēto clameo questione seu contradictiõe ñri aut successorũ ñrorum dicto Jacobo fñi ñro aut persone vel personis cui vel quibus ipm de p^o fatis t^o ris suis tenemētis ānuis redditibus possessionibz aut bonis disponere contigerit sive proximiori agnato vel cognato suo ex parte pñis vel ñris qui deficientibus legēmis heredibus de corpore suo procreatis vel dispoñcione ut p^o mittitur non facit sibi in tñis suis hereditatibus et bonis āndēis succedet quovismodo inde facien in futurũ juris privilegio nobis sup eschaetis bastardorũ ut p^o mittitur concessio aliisve juribus canonicis civilibus vel mñicipalibus cñsuetudinibus parliamētoñ actis cñstitutiõibz vel statutis quibuscũqz in cõtrariũ non obstañ renũciando eisdem pro nobis et successoribz ñris imppetuũ dedimus et concessimus ac pro nobis & successoribz ñris nũc prout extunc & econvso quĩte clamamus exoneram^o et transferim^o in et ad dictũ Jacobũ fñem ñrm & personas quibus ipm de t^o ris hereditatibz et bonis suis āndēis disponere contigerit necnon in et ad proximio rē agnatũ vel cognatũ suũ qui deficiē legēmis heredibus de corpore suo sibi succedere contigerit totum jus & clameũ juris titulum placitũ et questionē que et quā nos vel successores ñri habem^o seu quovismodo habere vel clamare poterimus vel poterint in vel ad easd t^o ras hereditates vel bona āndicta sine quovis obstaculo revocatiõe seu contradictiõe ut p^o mittit. Strictius inhibeñ ne quis in contrariũ dicĩ ñrarum concessionis & leğtimationis aliqualiĩ devenire p^osumat Sub oñi pena quā erga ñram regiā incurrere poterit maiestatem In cuius rei testimoniũ magnũ sigillũ ñrm pñtibus apponi p^ocepim^o Apud Edinburgh decimosexto die meĩ Octobrĩ Anno domini mĩllmo Quĩgentesimo vicesimotercio Et Regni nostri undecimo.

Lūmacio pro Jacobo
Comite Moraue

XXI. *Two Letters; one from Pope Pius the Fourth to Mary Queen of Scots to assist by her Prelates at the Council of Trent; the other from Sir Benjamin Tichborne to King James the First, concerning the staying of the Execution of the Lords Cobham and Gray, and Sir Griffin Markham: Communicated by THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F. R. S. Treasurer; in a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. Secretary.*

Read 6th May, 1824.

James-street, Westminster, May 6, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR,

THROUGH the favour of Mr. Bennett, of Norwich, who lately permitted me to exhibit a curious Instrument under the Seal of Mary Queen of Scots, I now inclose to you two other historical Documents, which you will be good enough to lay before the Society, if you should consider them to be of sufficient interest.

One of them is a Letter of Invitation from Pope Pius the Fourth to Mary, to assist in the Council of Trent, by sending her Prelates to join in the Holy Synod with those who had been delegated by the other Sovereign Powers. This Letter, written in a peculiarly neat hand, and countersigned "Ant. Florebellus Lavellinus," is dated the 6th of March, 1561, or rather 1562, according to our present mode of computation, being about six months after Mary's arrival in Scotland and her assumption of the Government in her own person. I do not find that this Invitation has been noticed by Melvil, Buchanan, Dr. Robertson, or Mr. Chalmers, nor has it even been referred to by Father Paul Sarpi, the popular Historian of this celebrated Council, though he has related that a similar request was made to Queen Elizabeth. But in the work of his antagonist Pallavicino, I have found mention not only of the

Summons to Mary, but of a Letter which she addressed in reply to the Council, excusing herself from a compliance with it, on the ground of the impossibility of her sending any of her Bishops to the Council, and promising on her own part perpetual obedience to the Apostolical See. ^a

On this occasion, Mary's Uncle, the Cardinal of Loraine, by whom her Letter was communicated to the Council, is said by Pallavicino to have pronounced a "magnificent" extempore Oration on the dignity, piety, and exemplary virtues of his royal niece, lamenting in the strongest terms the impediments which her affection for the Church had to encounter from the rapid progress of heresy in Scotland. The Queen's Answer and the Cardinal's *elegant* Oration (as it is there called) are also noticed in an Italian MS History of the Council of Trent by Antonio Milledone, Secretary to the Council of Ten, which I have found in the Royal Library at Buckingham House, it having formerly belonged to the celebrated Collection of Consul Smith, purchased by his late Majesty. ^b It seems probable that Mary, who, notwithstanding her sincere attachment to the ancient faith, was then governing Scotland with a Protestant Administration, did not think it prudent to disclose to her Ministers, and much less to publish to her reforming subjects, the correspondence she had engaged in with Rome and its Councils. ^c

The other Document which I inclose belongs to our English History, and at a later period. It is a Letter from Sir Benjamin Tichborne, Sheriff of Hants, to King James the First, dated Winchester Castle the 9th December 1603, acknowledging the Warrant for staying the execution of the Lords Cobham and Gray, and Sir Griffin Markham, and

^a *Istoria del Concilio di Trenti*, lib. xx. c. 16

^b p. 88.

^c Mary's zeal for the Roman Catholic Religion, and her desire to see it re-established in Scotland, are sufficiently apparent in three autograph Letters addressed by her in 1564, 1565, and 1568, the former, written in French, to Pius the Fourth, and the two latter in Latin, to Pius the Fifth, the originals of which are preserved at Rome in the Barberini Library. I have been favoured with the perusal of transcripts of these Documents, which I hope will be given to the public in Mr. Ellis's second series of *Original Letters* illustrative of English History.

referring to the special Messenger for an account of his performance of the royal Instructions. This Letter derives its interest, not from its contents, which are of a formal official tenor, but from the remarkable circumstance to which it relates. It appears by a Letter from Secretary Cecil to Sir Ralph Winwood,^d that after the execution of these three prisoners and their associates had been ordered by the King in Council, the Warrant of Reprieve was written by James himself, in his own hand, "to the which," says Cecil, "upon my credit and reputation he made no soul living privy, the messenger excepted." That Messenger, a Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber, named Gibb or "Gebe," as he is called in the Letter before us, nearly failed in his mission from untoward accidents. He had been first called back by the King, who remembered that he had omitted to add his signature to the Warrant, and afterwards, on Gibb's arrival at Winchester at the place of execution, he was for some time prevented by the crowd from getting near enough to the scaffold to speak to the Sheriff, so that Sir Griffin Markham, who had been already led out for execution, had nearly lost his head. These facts are related by Sir Dudley Carleton, in a long and lively letter printed among Lord Hardwicke's Miscellaneous State Papers, in which the scene that followed on the scaffold is represented with much dramatic effect.* Each of the three prisoners in turn was suffered to address his supposed dying speech to the assembled multitude, and after two of them had been remanded by the Sheriff on various pretences, they were all brought, as Sir Dudley says, "together on the stage again, as use is at the end of a play," and the Sheriff then explained the mercy which was extended to them. "There was," says this writer, "no need to beg a *plaudite* of the audience, for it was given with such hues and cries that it went from the Castle into the town, and there began afresh."

It is almost needless to add that the royal contriver of this odd exhi-

^d Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 10.

* Miscellaneous State Papers from 1501 to 1726, vol. i. p. 387.

bition must have been supremely delighted with the successful performance of it.

Yours, my dear Sir,

most sincerely,

THOMAS AMYOT.

TO HENRY ELLIS, Esq. &c. &c. &c.

Nº. I.

Pope Pius the Fourth to Mary Queen of Scots.

PIVS, P. P. IIII^{us}.

Charissima in Christo filia nostra, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Credimus ad Serenitatem tuam allatum esse, nos de venerabilium fratrum nostrorum Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalium consilio et assensu indixisse Concilium Œcumenicum et Generale in Civitatem Tridentinam, die sacratissimo resurrectionis dominicæ, Deo favente, aperiendum. Quo remedio supernâ adjuvante gratiâ, speramus Ecclesiam Catholicam in commodiorem statum redactum iri. Sicut etiam cognoscas ex literarum exemplo, per quas illud indiximus: quod Ser^{ti} tuæ a venerabili fratre Laurentio Episcopo Firmano, Nuncio nostro, tradi, una cum his literis mandavimus. Nunc quod reliquos Reges ac Principes Christianos hortati sumus; idem hortamur Serenitatem tuam, ut sicut Catholicam Reginam decet, tum curare velis ut Prælati regni tui ad Concilium conveniant, tum ipsa Oratores mittas tuo nomine Concilio interfuturos; qui una cum cæterorum Principum, et Regum Oratoribus, ut mos est, sacræ Synodo assistant; quemadmodum pro tuo in Catholicam fidem studio te facturam esse confidimus. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die vi. Martii, M.D.LXI. Pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

ANT. FLOREBELLUS LAVELLINUS.

No. II.

Sir Benjamin Tichborne to King James the First.

Most gracious Sovereigne,

It maye please your Highnes to bee enformed that this present daye, beinge the nynthe of this instante December, I receyved of Mr. John Gebe, one of your Ma^{ties} bedchamber, under your Ma^{ties} owne hande, a moste mercyfull warrante to mee directed for the staye of the execution of the Lorde Cobham, Lord Graye, and Sir Griffyn Markham, and to carrye them backe agayne to the place from whence theye came, untill your Highnes pleasure bee farther knowne. Soe, moste gracious Sovereigne, I have, accordinge to your Ma^{ties} comandement, and accordinge to the instruction of your saide servante Mr. Gebe, performed the contentes thereof, as hee can more att large enforme your Ma^{tie}. And so daylie prayinge for your Ma^{tie}, your noble Queene, and all your Royall issue, with all reverente dutye I leave your Ma^{tie} to the protection and saffe keepinge of the Almightye.

Your Ma^{ty} moste loyall

and dutifull subjecte,

BENJ. TICHBORNE.

Winchester Castle,
the Nynthe of December, 1603.

To my moste gracious Sovereigne the
Kinges moste excellent Ma^{tie}.

XXII. Two Papers relating to the Interview between Henry the Eighth of England, and Francis the First of France : Communicated by JOHN CALEY, Esq. F. R. S. and F. S. A. in a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.

Read 10th March, 1825.

Gray's Inn, March 8, 1825.

DEAR SIR,

IN arranging some loose Papers in the Chapter-house, Westminster, preparatory to their being bound for their better preservation, I met with several respecting the Interview between King Henry the Eighth of England, and Francis the First of France. Some of them were merely draughts, incomplete, and of no great interest; but others appeared to me not undeserving of being laid before our Society. I have caused them, therefore, to be carefully transcribed, and send them herewith, requesting, when convenient, you will have the goodness to read them to the Society.

I am, dear Sir,

very sincerely yours,

JOHN CALEY.

HENRY ELLIS, Esq Sec.
 &c. &c. &c.

A Memoriall of such thinge as be requisite and necessarie for the honorable transportyng and appoyntyng of the Kyng^e Highnes to mete w^t the Frenche Kyng, for an interview to be had betwixt both the said Kyng^e, thear Qwenys, the Quene Mary Douagier of Fraunce, and the moder of the said Frenche Kyng.

Fyrst. It is appoynted that the Kyng^e Highnes w^t his Qwene and the said Douagier of Fraunce, shalbe at his Castell of Guysnesse by the last day of May, and wⁱⁿ 111j dayes immediatly aft^r, to mete w^t the Frenche Kyng, wⁱⁿ his Countie of Guyssnes in suche forme and man^r as by treatie passed betwixt the said Prince, it is cōcludē & determyned, and aswell for the p^rfixyng of the certayn day wⁱⁿ the 111j dayes, as of the houre and speciall place wⁱⁿ said countie where the metyng shalbe, the Lord Chamb^rlayn, Erle of Worcester, S^r Nicholas Rauxe, S^r William Sande, and S^r Edward Belknap, be for the Kyng^e parte appoynted and assigned

Commission's
appoynted
for the p^rfix-
yng & ap-
poyntyng of
the day &
place of
meetyng.

And forasmoche as for the Kyng^e hono^r, it is behoofull & necessarie to put ev^{ry} thyng in aredinesse, aswell for thapparell of his noble pson, as for the garnysshying of his lodgyng^e, tente, pavilions, and p^rparacions of all other thinge requisite to so greate an acte and triumphe, therfor not onely the specialities of every thyng is hereaft^r articled, but also the psones appoynted to execute all and singuler the said articles and charge be partiēclerly named and exp^ressed in forme folowyng :

Fyrst the apparell of the Kyng^e owne pson to be ordered in such fōrme and maner as it shall stand w^t his high pleasur his g^rce to be divisō thereof hymself, accordyngly.

The appar-
rell of the
Kyng^e
his p^rson.

Item, forasmoche as the Castell of Guysnesse beyng appoynted for the Kyng^e lodgyng^e, at the tyme of this enterview is neyther mete & cōvenient as it nowe standith to receyve so noble a p^rnce w^t his Qwene

and nobles ne to enterteyne the Frenche Kyng and Quene at such tyme as they shall visite his g̃ce, therefor Sr Nicholas Vauxe, Sr William Sande and Sr Edward Belknap be appoynted and sent furth, not onely to visite and vieu the place moost cōuenient, aswell wⁱⁿ or ner adioynnyng to the said castell wher honorable lodgyngē may be devised for that purpose, but also to put the same in effectuell execucion w^t all diligēce possible, acordyng to such instructions and plat as were deliuered to theym at their departyng.

Comission's appoynted, as well to visite and vieu the castell of Guyanes, as also other places nere therunto adioynnyng for honorable lodgyngs, ther to be diuised and made.

Item, where as at this metyng and enterview, justes, to'neys, and other feate of armes, as well on horsbak as on fote be intended to be made and executed for the hono^r and pleasure of both the prince, which feate of armes be appoynted by treatie to be don in some convenient place betwixt Guyssnesse and Arde, the same to be assigned in egall distaunce betwixt the said Guysnes and Arde, by cōmission's to be auctorised, and theder sent for that p^opose; the Lord Chamburlyayn therfor, Sr Nicholas Vaux, Sr William Sande, and Sr Edward Belknap, be appoynted, not onely to mete w^t the cōmission's of Fraunce for assignacion of the said place, but also to devise substancially aswell for the fortifieng of the said place and filde where the feates shalbe doon, for the suerties of both the Prince & thair traynes, as also to appoynte the entries, listes, tiltes, galleries w^ddrawyng place, tentē, pavilions, and other thingē necessarie for the Quenes ladies, nobles, and all other comers, as shall reasorte to see the said feate and exercises of armes, and to cause the same to be made and put in effectuel execution w^t diligence accordyngly.

Comissioners appoynted as well to assigne the place and filde wher the feates of armyes shal be don, as also to fortifie the same.

Item, for the garnysshyng of the Kyngē houses, aswell w^t hangyngē of arras, clothis of estate, chayers, cuschons, carpette and all other thyngē necessary for the same, it is ordered that all the Kyngē riche stuff aswell of arras as clothis of tissue and goolde w^t also the best and fynest tapissery, & other honorable stuff cōuenient for garnysshyng of such howsis & lodgyngs, shalbe transported and cōveyed to the Kyngē towne of Calais, the charge whereof is cōmitted to the said Lord Cham-

Comission's appoynted for garnysshyng of the Kyngs Houses.

burlayn, he, w^t the mi'stres^a of the warderobe, and such other as he shall thinke cōvenient to devise and appoynt for the p^rpari^{ng} & furnisshyng of the Kyng^e lodgyng^e in moost honorable man^r, as above, accordyngly, for which purpose, and other charge to hym befor cōmitted, it is thought right expedient, & necessary, that the said Lord Chamburlayn shulde passe ov^r the see xl days at the leest, bifor the said enterview, to th^eentent that ev^y thing may be dyvised & ordered in tyme cōvenable by good deliberacion & laisure.

Monition
and warn-
yng to be
gevyⁿ to all
the hed
Offic^rs of
the Kyng^e
house for
their attend-
aunce to be
gevyⁿ upon
the Kyng^e
grace.

Item, it is ordered that all the hed officers of the Kyng^e householde shalbe warned to p^rpare theymself^e in their best man^r apparelled, accordyng to their estate and degrees, to attende upon his grace at this metyng, & all other offic^rs and mi'sters^a of the said householde to be furnished w^t all thing^e necessary for gevyng of thair semblable attendaunce, and that the said officers beyng warned by the Kyng^e counsaile shall notifie to all & singuler the other mi'sters^a as it apperteyneth.

Like moni-
cion to be
geven to all
Offic^rs of
the Kyng^e
cha'ber.

Item, it is ordered that the Lord Chamburlayn and Vice Chamb^rlayn shall put themself^e in semblable aredinesse, and they to appoynte all man^r officers for the chambre, makyng a boke of the names of theym and ev^y of theym.

The Deane
of Kyng^e
Chapell hath
the charge
not onely to
warne the
M^rsters of
the Chapell
for gevyng
ther at-
tendaunce
upon the
Kyng^e gr^{ace},
but also to
se the gar-
nysshing of
the Chapell
acordyngly.

Item, it is ordred that the Deane of the Kyng^e Chapell w^t all the mi'sters^a of the same shall passe ov^r the see w^t the Kyng^e gr^{ace}; the said deane to have the charge aswell in warnyng of theym and causyng theym to put themself^e in aredynes for that purpose, as also for the honorable appoyntyng and garnysshing of the Kyng^e said chapell w^t boke, riche vestment^e, hangyng^e, jewels, plate, and other ornament^e, and that the riche copis, w^t the sute of vestmēt^e geven to the monastery of Westm^r by the late Kyng, be borrowed, to s^{erve} the Kyng in this voiage, the same to be restored agayn to the said monastery at the Kyng^e ret^{ne}.

Item, it is ordred that the Kyng^e gr^{ace} shall have w^t hym x chapleyns, and that the clerk of his closet shall not onely have the charge to

^a Ministers.

warne the said chapleyns, but also to see ev^y thing provided, as well for the honorable appoyntyng and apparelling of the Kyng^e said closet w^t the best hangyng^e, travers, juelles, image, plate, riche awtar clothes and vestment^e that the Kyng hath.

For the apparelling of the Kyng^e Closet, and to warne the Kyng^e Chapelayns.

Item, it is ordred that cc of the tallist and moost elect psons be appoynted for the Kyng^e garde, furnished w^t doblette, hosis, and cappis of one sute, and that every of theym have double cote, that is to say, one cote of goldsmythis werk, w^t the King^e cognisaunce, wherof the bas to be of scarlet, the neyther parte to have a garde of cloth of goolde; the other cote to be of red, w^t the rose on the brest and the crowne Imperiall, aft^r such fo^rme and man^r as the ridyng cote be nowe; and that every of theym have bowes w^t scheves of arowes well casid and try^med, and halbard^e also, to attende upon the Kyng^e pson on fote from tyme to tyme; and S^r Harry Marney is appoynted, as well for the warnyng of the said garde as for causyng theym to be furnished of every thing befor specified acordyngly.

For the apparelling of the Kyng^e Garde.

It^m, it is ordred that one c of the said ij^e shall p^opair theymsilf^s to be on horsebak w^t good and hable horsis, the same to be viewed and allowed by S^r Harry Marney, capitain of the gard, to the intente that they may be in redynes to attende upon the Kyng on horsbak, in case his g^oce shall ride to any place for his pleaso^r.

One hundredith of the garde on horsebak.

Item, for asmoche as at the castell of Guyssnesse ther be no cōvenient place ne housis of office mete to kepe the Kyng^e ordynarie householde in oone place for the interteynyng as well of his mi^sters as of the other Nobles and Gentilmen as shall attende upon his g^oce at this interview, therfore it is thought requisite that certayn tables w^t nombres of messes shulde be assigned as well to the p^oncipall estates undir the Kyng as to the Officers of household and the Kyng^e cha^bre in ev^y degre, to which tables the Nobles and others of ev^y estate and condicion, as they shalbe appoynted, may repair from tyme to tyme, ther to be enterteyned and refressed w^t bouge of co^ote as they shall chaunce to come and resorte from tyme to tyme, That is to say, &c.

For the place of the ordynarie household.

Item, for p^oparacions of vitailles and provisions for householde of all

For the
p'paracions
of vitailles

man^o sorte, as well for the Kyng, the Quene, the household, w^t such trayne as shall attende upon theym, the charge is comitted to the hed Offic^{rs}, the Cofferrer Mykclow Bryk^t, and others, &c.

Comission's
appoynted
for the
Kyng's pas-
sage, &c.

Item, for the Kyng^e transportyng and passage ov^o the see, w^t his trayne, hors^e and bagage, necessary it is that a cōvenient nombre of hoyes and shippes be provided; that is to say, such shippes as the V^{ch} Porte, may make, S^r Edward Ponyng^e, Wardeyn of the said Porte, to have the charge for puttyng of theym in a redynesse.

Item, provision to be made for xl grete howeys for the said transportyng the same, to be provided by Myles Gerard and Tho^{ms} Partrige.

Shippes and
Capitayns
appoynted
to waste the
Sees in tyme
of the Kyng's
passage.

Item, it is thoughte that for the Kyng^e suertie in this his passage and transportyng, certain shippes shulde be rigged, victailed, and manned w^t hable Capitayns to waste and scowre the sees from tyme to tyme; that is to say, the Mary Rose, the Kyng^e greate barke, the litle barke, and two other smale shippes, beyng good, w^t saile and mete to go and cōme: the charge of riggyng, trȳmyng, and vitaillyng of the said shippes and barks, w^t the ma'nyng of the same, is thought mete to be cōmitted to S^r William Fitzwilliam, S^r Wistan Browne, and John Hopton, clerk of the Kyng^e shippes, and S^r John Daunce to be appoynted to be tresourer for issuing of money for that p^opose.

For riggyng
of the said
shippes.

Com'ission-
ers appoynt-
ed to provid
shippynge for
passage of
all Nobles
and others
gevyng their
attendaunce
upon the
Kyng.

Item, it is ordred, that the forsaid Miles Gerard and Tho^{ms} Partrige shalbe auctorised to appoynte shippynge for all Nobles and others as shall geve attendaunce upon the Kyng^e grace in this voyage ov^o the see; and that for their bett^o instruction, a boke conteynyng the names of all noble men and women w^t their nombres, traynes, and horses, shalbe delyverd unto theym, to the intente they may provide passage for theym and ev^oy of them from tyme to tyme acordyngly.

For provi-
sion of
vitailles and
horsemete.

Harbygers
to assigne
lodgeys.

Item, it is thought necessary that some psonage be appoynted for provision of vitailles and horsemete at Dover for the tyme of the said shippynge; and also harbigers to assigne lodgeys to ev^oy man and woman acordyng to their degrees, and the nombre assigned unto them; wherof the harbigers must also have bok^e to theym delyverd for their bett^o instructions in that behalf.

Item, it is thought convenient, that befor the Kynges passage ov^r the see, certayn Co^mmission^rs shulde be deputed wth harbigers to appoynte and assigne the place, as well at Calais as at Guysnes, wher not onely the M^{rs}ters of the Kynges and Quenys Howse wth thair ^vntes and horsis, but also all other noble psonages, men and women, assigned to attende upon the Kyng and Quene in this voyage, wth such ^vnts as they be lymyted to bryng, shalbe logged, and that boke conteynyng the names of the said psonage, nombres of ^vnts and horsis be sent unto the said Co^mmission^rs, to thentent that they may assigne lodgyngs to every man acordyngly; and therupon to make substanciall boke, and to send the same to the Kyng and his Counsaile, so that billetes may be made oute of the same boke to ev^{ry} such psonage, wherby certayn knowlege may be geven unto them wher they and ev^{ry} of them shalbe lodged at their theder comyng and arryvall.

Lodgyngs
to be as-
signed by
the Harbig^rs.

Co^mmission^rs to order the lodgyng at Calais, appoynted be S^r John Pechie, the Marschall, S^r Richard Carewe Wotton, and garnysse; and for Guisnes S^r William Sandes, S^r Nicholas Vauxe, and S^r Edward Belknap and the Kynges harbygers to geve their attendaunce, as well at Calais as at Guysnes, upon the said Co^mmission^rs for that p^{ro}pose, as it apperteyneth.

Com^mission-
ers to ordre
the lodgyng^r
at Calais.

Item, to the intente that good ordre may be kept amonge the Kynges said trayne, and that malefactōs, if any such shalbe, may be by ordre of Justice re^{ss}sed and punisshed, and that also all vitaylers resortyng to the Kynges markettis may have quiete, fre, and pesible passage, wth oute vexation, trouble, or inquietacion,

It is thought expedient that some honorable psonage be appoynted to be chief Marschall, havyng under hym an Under-marshall and a Provost; that is to say, the Erle of Essex to be chiefe Marshall, he to have xxx psons in wage for keping of the market; S^r Wille^m Parre to be Undermarshall, and Marland to be Provost.

The Mar-
shall.

Item, for asmoche as for the suretie of the Kynges Highnes and of his trayne, it is appoynted by the treatie, that two Noble men shalbe assigned, the one by the Kynges Highnes and the other by the French

Commission's
appoynted
for making
of good
geite, espie
and watche.

Kyng, for the sure custodie of all maner of passage and making of good geite and watche, which Noble men shall appoynt and assigne undir theym scowrers and espies to discover valeis, woode, townes, village, castelles, passage, and all other suspect place wher embusshemets may lie towarde Flaunders, Fraunce, Picardie, and Arthois, ther is assigned for the Kinge parte, Sr Gryffyth Rys as chief and pncipall and in his cōpany for better pfo^omaunce therof, Sr Richard Tempest and Sr William Bulmar, they to be accompanied w^t the nombre of c light horsis; that is to say Sr Gryffyth Rys to have lx, Sr Richard Tempest xx, and Sr William Bulmⁱ xxⁱ, the same to be in the Kinge wage, and they ev^oy day in the mornyng to make reporte to the Kyngē counsaile in what state the said place and passage do stand, to the intente that the P^rnce may be adv^otised therof for their sureties acordyngly.

Yet Espies.

Item, it is thought expedient that the Kyngē counsell cause substantiall espiellis and countspials to be made towards all parties and countreis, so that the certeynte of the disposicion of ev^oy such countrey be knownen from tyme to tyme.

For the
greate
Banket.

Item, it is thought cōvenient that one solempne, honorable, and tūmphant Banket be devised and made at the Kyngē castell of Guysnes in some covenable place, richely devised, appoynted, and garnysshed for the same, at which banket the French Kyng, his Quene, and moder, w^t all their Nobles, both men and women shalbe: and for the same provision of all maner of denties w^t subtilties conseyt^s cōfections, and devise of coke must be ppared: the charge wherof is cōmitted to the officers of the Kyngē Householde, and the divising w^t the apparelling of the place wher the said Banket shalbe made is comitted to Sr William Sande, Sr Nicholas Vaux, Sr Edward Belknap, and Richard Gibson, w^t other artificers, as well Englisshe as strangiers, appoynted unto theym for the spedie divisynge and making of the same.

Momeries to
be made at
the said
Banquet.

Item, it is thought that at the said Banket an honorable Mūmery shulde be ppared of noble men and women, the same to be divided in v companyes, every company dyversly apparelled, to conteyne in nombre x psonage; that is to say, tenne Noblemen firste to entre, aft^o theym

tenne Ladies, aft^r theym tenne other Noblemen, and aft^r theyme as many Ladies, and in the laste company tenne other Noble men, the apparelling of which psonage, both men and women, is referred and remitted to the Kyng^e devise and pleasure.

Item, it is thought expedient that asmoche plate of golde and silv^r be p^rpared to be transported as shall suffice to furnishe the Kyng for the p^rmissis, and the p^rparacion w^t the conveyance of the same, is cōmitted to the charge of S^r Harry Wyat.

Plate of
golde and
silv^r.

Item, for gifte, it is thought cōvenient that hories, palfreys, hounde, grehounde, hornes, lease, and colers, w^t other pleasur^e and divise be provided, and some psonage to be appoynted by the Kyng^e Highnes for that p^rpose.

For gifts to
be gevyn,
&c.

Item, as touchyng the rich apparelling of the Kyng^e heynschemen, his coursers, folowers, palfreys, hories, and all other thinge apperteynyng to the furniture of his stable; it is referred to his Highnes by hym to be ordred aft^r his high pleasure.

The appa-
relling of
the Henche-
men and
others, &c.

Item, if it be thought expedient that as well for the garnysshyng of the towne and castell of Guysnes as for the fortifieing of the fiede wher the feate of armys shalbe don any nombre of pec^e of ordyñce shulde be nowe conveyed unto Calais, the charge thereof shulde be comitted to S^r William Skevyngton maist^r of the Kyng^e Ordynce.

Peces of
ordynance,
&c.

Item, forasmoche as ther be no convenient place wⁱⁿ the castell of Guysnes for house of office and lodgyng for the Kyng^e householde s^rv^{nte} and gard, therfor it is orderid, that the Kyng^e tente, halis and pavilions shalbe sette uppe in cōvenient place ther for that p^rpose the transportyng and setting uppe of whiche tente is cōmitted to Richard Gibson, s^rjeaunt of the tente and the assignaciō of the place wher the said tente shoulbe sette is cōmitted to S^r William Sande and the other Comission^s as above specified for appoyntyng of lodgyng at Guysnes.

Com'ission-
ers appoynt-
ed for tents,
halis, and
pavilions, to
be trans-
ported, &c.

Item, it is ordred that the Ambassado^s of P^rnce shall not be restrayned to any nombre eyther of men or horse, so they passe not the nombre of one hundreth.

For Ambas-
sado^s.

Item, for asmoche as by the treatie passed betwixt the Kinge High-

No gretter
no'ber to be
brought to
this enter-
vieu than is
appoynted
by treatie.

L'res to be
sent to the
Nobellmen,
&c.

nes and the Frenche Kyng for this entervieu, it is concluded and ordeyned, that neyther of theym shall bryng w^t theyme a mor nombre of Noblemen and women *à* vant^e and horsis than is conteyned in a bill indented, enterchangeably delyverd and subs^cbed w^t ther hande: therfor hereaft^r ensuyth, as well the names of all such nobles men and women as be appoynted to attende uppon the Kyng and the Quene, as also the nombre of *à* vant^e and horsis to theym and ev^y of theym allotted and assigned, and for monicion and warnyng to be geven to the said Nobles for puttyng theym selfe in such aredynesse as to their astat^e and degrees it appteyneth for the Kyng^e hono^r. L'res be divided to be sent furth unto theyme on the Kyng^e behalfe w^t cōvenient diligēce, the charge of thepediticō and sendyng furth of the said l'res is comitted to the Kyng^e Secretary and the M^r of the Poste.

A Memoriall of such thinge as be requisit and necessary for the honorable transportyng and appoyntyng of the Kyng^e Hyghnesse to mete w^t the Frenche Kyng, for an interveu to be had bytwyxt both the said Kyng^e, thair Qwenys, and the Moder of the said Frensche Kyng.

The Kyng^e
Estate Roy-
all.

First, thapperell of hys owne pson to be after suche forme and maner as it shall stand w^t hys hygh pleas^r, which thing is holy remytted to hys said pleas^r.

The gar-
nyschyng of
hys hows.

It is thought cōvenient that for the garnyschyng of the Kyng^e hows and other places whereunto eythyr the Kyng or the Frensch Kyng schall happen to repayre, all the Kyng^e rych stuff and apparell of howshold schalbe trāsportyd to the Kyng^e towne of Calais by the Kyng^e offic^{es} of the Garderobe; and my Lord Chamberleyn is appoyntyd to have the charge, as well in assignacion of the said howse and place as garnyschyng and appareylyng of the same, for which p'pose it is thowgt requisite and expedient thatt the same Lord Chamberlayn reasort to Calais a moneth before the tyme of the said metyng.

The day of which metyng is p̄fixed and deſminyd to be the xv day of July next cu'myng, in ſuch place as be appoyntyd by th'erle of Worcest^r and the Cōmiſſion^s of Fraunce.

^a
The day of
metyng.

It'. It is thowȝt cōveniēt that the Kyng grace and the Qwene be lodgyd in thexcheq^r.

It'. The Hows of the Staple to be p̄payryd and garnysched to loge the Frensche Kyng, his Qwene, and hys moder and his sist^r.

It'. Other lodgyng^e to be appoyntyd by the Deputie and Treasurer of Calais, aswell for the Nobles and others of the Frensche Kyng^e trayne as for suche Lords and others as schall attend uppon the Kyng^e grace, and bok^t by thaym to be made of the said lodgȝg^e, and sent ov^r to the Kyng^e Counsayle to thentēt the certayntie may be knowen by fore hand how ev^y man schalbe lodgyd.

It'. It is thowȝt expedient that asmoch plate be p̄payryd to bo trās- portyd ov^r to Calais as schall suffyse to fournesche as well the Kyng^e hows as the hows where the Frensche Kyng schall lodge, the charge of p̄paraçon whereof is cōmyttyd to S^r Henry Wyat.

It'. That all the hed Offic^s of the Kyng^e howshold be warnyd to p̄pare thaym selfs t'attēd^b uppo^r hys grace at this metyng, and all other officers fourneschyd w^t all things necessary, geve thayr attendaunce also.

It'. That my Lord Chamberlayn and the Vicechamberlayn put thaym in arredinasse for like attendaunce, appoyntyng^e all manⁿ offic^s for the chamber, and makyng a bok of the namys of thaym and e^vy of thaym.

It'. That the Deane of the Kyng^e Chapell, w^t all the Mīst^s of the same, be warnyd to put thaym^c in arredinesse for like attendaunce.

It'. That the nombre of cccc elect psons be appoyntyd for the Kyng^e Gard, fourneschid w^t dowbletts, hose, and cappis of ooñ sute, and that ev^y of thaym have double cotes, w^t bowys, arrowys, and halberts, t'attend uppō the Kyng^e pson on fote.

It. Oon c of the said cccc to p̄payre thaym selfe on horback w^t goode and hable horse the sayd nombre, as well of horsemen as footmen, to be appoyntyd and vieuyd by S^r Henry Marney, Capitayn of the

^b to attend.

^c i. e. themselves.

Garde, so that they be of the best and most hable psonage as may be chosyn.

It. It is thowȝt cōveniēt that ov^r and above th'offic^{es} of the Kynges Howshold, the Gard, and other psons above specified, the nōbre of oon hundrythe Nobles, Lorde, and Gentylnen, spirituall and temporall, schuld be appoynted to geve attēdaunce uppō the Kynges said grace, the namys of which psonage hereaft^r ensue.

My Lord Legat.	The Lord Fitzwater.
Tharchbischof of Caunt ^r bury.	The Lord Bargeveny.
The Bischof of Duresme.	The Lord Hasting ^r .
The Bischof of Ely.	The Lord Rosse.
The Bischof of Chest ^r .	The Lord Mountague.
The Bischof of Hereford.	The Lord Ferrers.
The Bischof of Rochest ^r .	The Lord Darcy.
Tharchbyschof of Armachan.	The Lord Daubeney.
The Duke of Buckyngham.	The Lord Wyloughby.
The Duke of Suffolk.	The Lord Barners.
The Lord Marquys.	The Lord Matravvers.
Therle of Arundell.	The Lord Morley.
Therle of Surrey.	The Lord Dacres of the Sowth.
Therle of Schrewysbury.	The Lord John (Gray).
Therle of Darby.	The Lord Leonard.
Therle of Essex.	The Lord Richard.
Therle of Devonschire.	The Lord Cobham.
Therle of Wylschire.	The Lord Edmōd Howard.
Therle of Worcest ^r .	The Lord Moñjoy.
The Lord of Saynt Johns.	The Lord Herbert.

Lords xij.

It is ordeynyd an Archbyschop to have fowre Chaplayns and fyfty other psons, wherof x to be Jentylmen in silke and the residew Yomen, well appoyntyd in cote of clothe, wth xxx horse.

A Duke to have two Chapelaynes and fyfty other psons, wherof x to be Jentylmen in silke, and the residew Yomen well appoyntyd in cote, wth xxx horse.

A M^oquys two Chapelayns and fowrty other psonage, wherof viij to be Jentylmen in silke, and the remanēt Yomen well appoyntyd in cote, xxvj horse.

An Erle two Chapelayns and thirty other psons, wherof vj to be Jentylmen and the remanēt Yomen, well appoyntyd in cote of cloth, xx horse.

The Bischop of Duresme, w^t fowre Chapelayns and xxxvj other psons, wherof vj Jentylmen in silk, and the residew Yomen in cote, &c. xx horse.

All other Byschoppys w^t iiij Chapelayns and xx psons, wherof viij Jentylmen in silke, xij horse.

All Barons a Chapelayne w^t xvj psons, wherof two Gētylmen in silk, and the residew Yomen in cloth, viij horse.

Sir Tho^ms Lovell to be accōpanyed as above, and xij horse.

Ev^{ry} other Knyght of the Order to be orderyd as a Baron.

All other Knyghte not to be above x psons, w^t fowre horse.

All Squyers not to have above fowre psons and two horse.

Ambassado^rs of Princē not to be restraynyd to any nōber eythyr of men or horse.

Chapelayns for the Kyng.

M^o of the Rolls.

M^o Secretary.

The Kyngē Almoner.

The Deane of the Kyngē Chapett

The Deane of Sarum.

Doctor Clerke.

Tharchdeacon of Richemont.

Doctor Felt.

Doctor Taylo^r.

M^o Magnus.

M^o Denton.

Doctor Knyght.

The Clerke of the Kyngē Closet.

Chapelayns not to be above
x psons wth fowre horse.

The said Chapelayns to be
clothyd in damaske and
satyn.

[N. B. Here follows a List of the Knights in each County.]

It'. After the nōbre of such Nobles and others as shall cūme w^t the Frensche Kyng to Calys schall be certifyed and notified unto the Deputie of Calais and such other Cōmission^{rs} as schalbe deputyd by the Kyng^e Hyghnesse for assignacion of lodgyng^e, the said Cōmission^{rs} schall lymyte the lodg^yg^e of all the said Nobles and others; and thatt all other the Kyng^e subjectt, except such as be appoyntyd to kepe thayr lodgyng in the towne, remove thaym self to the Brayes, there to lodge in tētys^d and pavilions there to be sett dur^yg the abode of the Frensche Kyng and hys trayne in Calais.

It'. Where as the logging of the Frensche Kyng and Qwene, w^t thayr traynys, is appoyntyd in the hows of the Staple; it is thow^{zt} ryght expedyent that my Lord Chamberlayn, and such Offic^{rs} of ev^{ry} sorte as schalbe thow^{zt} necessary, repayre byfore to Calays, not oonly t'appo^yt the said hows^e in the most hon^oable and cōmodious man^r, but also cause wyne and all other thinge necessary to be layde in habundauntly, and of the best sort; and that maist^{rs} of hostels and other offic^{rs} be assigned to furnesche daylie pvision of the best, and the most delicate vitaylis and denteythys for the sayd Frēsche Kyng and Qwene and thayr traynys; and ov^r that, aft^r lodgyng^e schalbe appoyntyd in the towne for all the said Nobles and others as schall cūme w^t the Frensche Kyng, staples must be made in sundry place, as well of wyne, bred, vitaylis, wax, spic^e, and all other necessarys plentuously, to which place maist^{rs} of Hostell^e to be assigned to ev^{ry} lodgyng of the sayd Frensche men may send thayr bylott^e for daylie provisioⁿ of all thinge necessary for the sayd Nobles and others of Fraunce; and this thing to be doon in such goode ordre and goodly man^r that they may have cause to be co'tentyd w^t thayre goodly and loving intertaynement; and so, finally, the said Frensche Kyng and hys trayne to be entertaynyd hooly and entierly at the Kyng^e cost duryng thayr abode in Calais, w^out any thayr expens^e and charge.

It'. It is orderyd that the Kyng^e Grace and the Qwene schall lodge

^d tents.

in the xcheci^r, and that therbe a goodely larg hall made in sūme co'veniēt place of slayght^e tȳber, and that also two large chambers be made w'in the said checo^r, the oon to joyne to and uppō the Qwenes lodgyng for Ladyes and Gentylwemen to daunce in, and th'other to joyne to the Kyngē lodgyng, for such Nobles and others as schall attend uppō hys Grace, and w'in the Kyngē said loggyng, the Kyngē hows to be kept in the most honōable man^r, aft^r the forme and man^r as it is accustomedly usid in the solēpne Feste as Cristmasse and others.

It'. It is orderyd that the Kyngē Chapell schalbe kept in Saynt Nicholas Church, and that not oonly all the seiges and sett be removyd owt of the sayd church, but also a cōveniēt galery of sleyght wark to be made bytwyxt the Kyngē said lodgyng and the sayd church, so that the Kyngē grace may honōablely, easilie, and cōmodiously repayr unto the said church frō tyme to tyme at hys pleas^r.

It'. The Castell to be res^uvyd w'out any lodgyng to be appoyntyd therein, and that a sale be dyvised and made w'in the Co^rt of the said Castell, aft^r the best and most gorgeas man^r, to kepe the great Banket in; and the Chapell, the greate chamber, and the plor to be put in ar-redinesse, garnysched, and honōablely trymyd for w^ddrawyng place owt of the said great sale, whereunto the Qwenys Ladies and Gentylweñ may pawse and repayre, as the cas schall re^qre.

It'. That posterns be made thorowt the walle of the Castell, and brydgys ov^r the dykes into the Braye [newe braye] joyn^yg to the Castell for prepara^çon and cōvayaunce of vitaylis and other thing^e necessarye out of the Braye into the said Castell for the Banket.

It'. That two honōable mūmeries be p^payryd, the oon to be at the greate Banket w'in the Castell, and thother to visite the Frensche Kyng in hys lodgyng, the nōbre and qualities of the psonag^e w^t thappellyng of the said mūmeries is remytted to the Kyngē please^r.

It'. For gyfte it is thow^yt cōveniēt that hobyes, palfreyes, hownde, grehounde, hornys, leaf^e, and colers be provided for.

It'. Forasmoch as it is agreed by treatie that the two Kyngē schulde mete in a place neutrall, and that my Lord Chamberlayn and the Capitayn of Bolayne have viewyd Sandynghfeld, thinkyng the same place mete for the first metyng, therefore it is thowȝt cōveniēt tappoynt the said fyrst metyng at the said Sandynghfeld, or in any other place neutrall as by Cōmission's to be viewed and appoyntyd, and to ppare evy thing necessary thayr for the same for the tyme.

It'. It is thowȝt cōveniēt, if it may so stand w^t the pleas^r of both Prince, that the Kpngē Hyghnesse w^t hys Nobles, and the Qwene w^t her Ladyes and Jentylwemen, schall mete w^t the Frensche Kyng and hys Qwene, w^t thayr Nobles, Ladies, and Gentilwemen, at the said place on horseback, and aft^r embracyng of ech other familierly, and the Qwenys to do semblablely for theyr parties, the said Kyngē, Qwenys, and thayr traynes. forthw^t to repayre to Calais in such goode order as may be cōveniably dyvisid for that p^rpose, that is to say, the Kyngē Grace, aft^r the metyng, to geve the ryght hand to the Frensche Kyng, and the Qwene semblablely to do for her partie ; and all the Nobles and Ladyes of England to geve the preeminence to such as schall cūme on the Frēsche partie, of what soev^r degre, stat, and cōdiōn^f thay schalbe ; and a plat to be made how all the psonagē on both parties schalbe placyd so that thay may not oonly march in goode order towardē the metyng, but also range thaym selfē on both sidē, to thēntēt that bothe Prince and thayr Qwenys may honorably and quietly, w^tout encōboraunce or disorder, mete togethyr ; and aftyr th'embracyng of both Prince, the Kyng of England to reasort to the Frensche Qwene, and the Frensche Kyng to visit the Qwene of England, the sayd Qwenes to mete togethyr by the coēnytyng of bothe Prince ; that is to say, aft^r both the Kyngē have salutyd the said Qwenes in forme above specifyed, the Kyng of England to brȳg the Frensche Qwene to the Qwene of England, and the Frensche Kyng to brȳg the Qwene of England to the Frensche Qwene accordȳgly.

It'. It is thowȝt cōveniēt, that to thentent the Kyng^s estate may be a

^f condition.

bove all as to hys p̃eminence and dignite royalt, it apptayneth no man of what soev^o degre or cōdiçon he be of, enterp'se such apparell as apptayneth to a Pnce estate, and ov^o that to thentēt that it may outwardly appere that the Kynge grace entendythe to cūme ordinatly as to hys hono^r it apptayneth, and t'avoyde supfluous and importable charge of his subjecte and others, it is ordryd, that all Nobles and others schall be appareyled as to thayr degrees it schall apptayn; that is to say, a Duke like a Duke, a M'quys in hys degre, an Erle aft' hys preeminence, a Baron like a Baron, a Knyght as a Knyght, and Squiers like Squiers; Yomen, Gromys, and Pages, orderȳg thaym self accordyngly; so that no man^o of pson p̃sume to were any apparell above hys degre.

XXIII. *Remarks on the Seals affixed to two Documents preserved in the Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer, being Duplicates of the Letter from the Barons of England to Pope Boniface the Eighth, in the year 1301, respecting the Sovereignty of Scotland: By* NICHOLAS HARRIS NICOLAS, *Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter to* HENRY ELLIS, *Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 5th May, 1825.

Kew, Surrey, 15th April, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR,

HAVING lately had occasion to refer to the celebrated Letter written to Pope Boniface the Eighth, by the Barons of this Country, assembled in the Parliament which met at Lincoln in the 29th Edw. I. anno 1301, the series of Plates engraved by order of the Society of Antiquaries in 1729, containing drawings of the Seals affixed to the Documents preserved in the Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer, and which it is presumed are official duplicates of the original Letter, necessarily became an object of my attention. Through the kindness of my friend John Caley, Esq. F. R. S. and F. S. A. access has been afforded me to both these Documents, by which I have been enabled carefully to collate the engravings with the Seals as they now exist; and as I believe no remarks on the subject have ever been offered to the Society, I am induced to address to you such observations as a minute examination of them have produced.

It is not my intention to enter into any discussion on the authenticity of the documents in question, because, whatever objections may

exist to their being received as legal evidence,* I am not aware that there is the slightest suspicion that they are not contemporary with the period in which they profess to have been written; or that the least idea is entertained that the Seals appended to them were not the genuine signets of the Barons to whom they are said to have belonged: and I trust I shall be borne out in my opinion, that these Seals afford not only Heraldic, but Historical information of considerable importance.

Before I proceed, it is necessary to state that there are in the Chapter-house at Westminster TWO DOCUMENTS to which the Seals are attached, from which the engravings published by the Society were taken. They are distinguished by the appellations of *the white* and *the blue*—a distinction arising probably from the colour of the envelopes in which they were preserved, but which is here noticed, for the purpose of identifying the one from the other in this Communication. The fact of there being *two* transcripts of the letter to Boniface is deserving of attention, because, until the appearance of the *Fourth General Report* of the Lords' Committees relative to the dignity of a Peer of the Realm, on each occasion when the subject has been mentioned by writers, indeed, even in their Lordships' previous Reports, as well as in the new and every preceding edition of *Rymer's Fœdera*, only ONE document has been spoken of. They are, however, nearly verbatim copies of each

* Since this letter was written, the question of the genuineness of these documents, upon which some doubts had existed, has been noticed by the Lords' Committees appointed to search the Journals of the House, the Rolls of Parliament, and other records and documents, for all matters touching the dignity of a Peer of the realm, in their *Fourth General Report*, pages 75 et seq.; and the arguments there advanced admit of a decided inference in favour of their authenticity. This subject had, however, previously been considered at some length in the *Synopsis of the Peerage*, vol. ii. pages 761 et seq. The remarks in that work, which bear an extraordinary resemblance to many of those since submitted by their Lordships, were made on an inspection of one of these documents only, namely, that distinguished as "*the blue*:" a circumstance which will explain the discrepancies between the observations therein, and those in the text. The collation of the seals attached to both the instruments occurred on the 9th of January 1826, several months after this communication was read to the Society; and many material additions have in consequence been made to it.

other,^b and the Seals affixed to both were manifestly from the same matrices, though at this moment several seals occur on *the white*^c which are not to be found on *the blue*; whilst three seals were attached to *the blue*^d which do not now exist on *the white*—a variation which may be safely attributed to those missing having been lost, for the names of the parties to each letter are precisely the same. The drawings from which the plates were engraved were unquestionably made of the seals on *the white*, as the description of the document given by Augustine Vincent, Windsor Herald, in 1624, states “that all these seals were fastened to the said charter or letter with silk strings, with divers seals upon one string; and upon the back of the writing, right over against every label or string, were written the names of those whose seals depended therefrom,” could only apply to that transcript; since, though the seals to both documents are attached to silk strings, it is only on the one distinguished as *the white* that the names appear to have been added; and on which, in a hand nearly, if not quite contemporary with the date of the instruments, they are still extant.

Under all the circumstances it may, perhaps, be concluded, that both the documents in the Chapter-house were official copies of the original Letter, made for the purpose of being preserved among the archives of the kingdom, as the solemn and deliberate sentiments of the whole Baronage of the Realm assembled in Parliament upon the pretensions of the Pontiff to the crown of Scotland; and that it was not until lately that the existence of *two* transcripts was generally known. In the following Observations the Seals will be noticed as they now appear without any reference as to which of the documents they belong; those in the most complete preservation having been those selected for

^b Verbatim et literatim copies of both of the instruments will be found in the Appendix to the *Fourth General Report* of the Lords' Committees before cited.

^c Namely, those of the Earls of Hereford and Hertford, Henry de Percy, Henry de Grey, William de Roos, Nicholas de Meynill, Walter de Mouncey, John Fitz-Reginald, Robert Fitz-Payne, and Ralph Fitz-William.

^d Those of Walter de Beauchamp, Robert de Tatteshale, and John le Breton.

examination, though when one impression was imperfect, it was compared with the other, by which the legend and charges have been accurately ascertained.

The Society is aware that the Seals in question present the earliest and most authentic evidence which is extant of the armorial ensigns used by the Baronage of England in the fourteenth century; and consequently each of them is worthy of notice. To avoid, however, too great a trespass upon the time of the Society, those only will be commented upon which establish some interesting fact hitherto unnoticed; or which afford proof of the correctness or fallacy of received opinions relative to the assumption of Titles, or the usage of Arms at that period.

The first Seal which occurs, is that of John Earl of Surrey, and it is deserving of attention that the legend on the one side, is

S : IOHIS : DE : WARENNIA : COMITIS : DE : SVRREIA,

and, on the other,

✠ SIGILLVM : JOHANNIS : COMITIS : DE : WARRENIA.

The Earldom of Surrey is stated to have been conferred upon his ancestor William de Warren, by William the Conqueror. WARREN, however, never appears to have been a title of dignity in this country until the reign of Henry VI., but is considered to have been an Earldom in Normandy, and though assumed by each person who inherited the Earldom of Surrey, their right to it is very questionable. It is also remarkable, that although the proper surname of this Earl was *Plantagenet*, he being the grandson of Hameline Plantagenet, natural son of Geoffrey Earl of Anjou, father of King Henry the Second, yet that he should be described, both on his seal and in the writs addressed to him as *John de Warren*. This fact would justify the conclusion, that on acquiring the inheritance of the powerful house of Warren, through the marriage of the said Hameline with Isabel the heiress of that family, his descendants abandoned the name of *Plantagenet*, for one to which they had more legitimate pretensions.

The arms assigned by heraldic writers to Hameline Plantagenet and his issue, are, *Azure, semée of fleurs de lis Or, within a bordure Gules, charged with lions passant guardant of the Second*, but it is manifest from this seal, that he used the arms as well as the name of Warren, *checky Or and Azure*; and which coat is also ascribed to him in the Roll of Karlaverock.

The Seal next worthy of notice is that of Humphrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford and Essex, and Constable of England. Only one impression of it now remains, which, though very much impaired, is sufficiently perfect to show that the engraving of it is correct; and from its affording, perhaps, the first instance which is extant of an approach to the system of quartering Arms, (which was not regularly adopted in this country until the reign of Edward III.) it is deserving of particular regard. Upon the one side, this distinguished Earl, who afterwards married the daughter of King Edward the First, is represented on horseback, with the legend,

S : H : DE : BOHVN : COMITIS : HEREFORD : ET : CONSTABULAR : ANGL :

but on the other side, which is inscribed,

✠ S : HVMPHRID : DE : BOHVN : COMITIS : HEREFORDIE : ET : ESSELTIE :

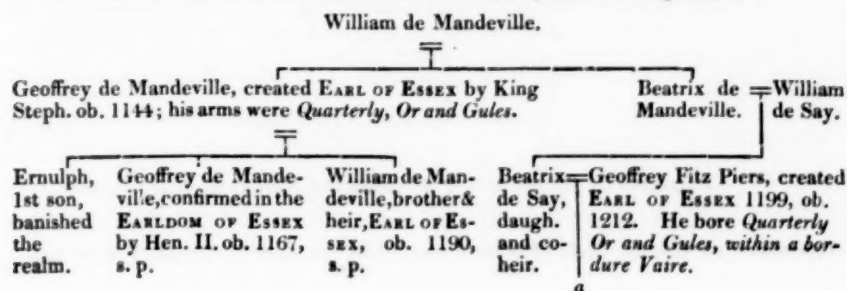
two small shields are inserted, one on each side of a large shield. The latter bears the arms of Bohun, and is suspended from the back of a Swan, afterwards the cognizance of this family,^e but each of the small escutcheons which are pendant to a sort of knot, or a trefoil, are engraved with a coat, *quarterly*, and which was evidently intended for that of Mandeville Earls of Essex, viz. *Quarterly, Or and Gules*, from whom the Bohuns inherited the Earldom of Essex: and as that descent

^e Mr. Moule, in his interesting *Antiquities in Westminster Abbey*, has conjectured that the Bohuns assumed the cognizance of the Swan from the Mandevilles, from the circumstance of its being stated in Lansdown MSS. 882, f. 59. that Mandeville Earl of Essex bore for his arms, *Gules, a swan Argent, beaked, legged, ducally gorged, and chained Or*; but there does not appear to be even the slightest authority for assigning such arms to that family.

is intimately connected with the peculiarity pointed out, its brief recital cannot be deemed misplaced.

Geoffrey de Mandeville, whose arms were what have just been described, was created Earl of Essex by King Stephen, and died in 1144. His eldest son, Ernulph, having been banished the realm, Geoffrey his second son was confirmed in that Earldom by Henry II. and dying in 1167 without issue, was succeeded by his brother and heir, William de Mandeville, who likewise died issueless in 1190; and in 1199 Geoffrey Fitz-Piers the husband of Beatrix, daughter and coheirress of William de Say by Beatrix the sister of Geoffrey de Mandeville the first Earl, was created Earl of Essex. He assumed the arms borne by his predecessor in the Earldom, but *within a bordure Vaire*. This Earl died in 1212, and was succeeded by Geoffrey his son and heir, who was one of the celebrated Barons appointed to enforce the observance of Magna Charta, but dying without issue in 1219, William his brother succeeded to his honours, who likewise died issueless on the 8th January 1227. Not long after that year, Humphrey de Bohun 2nd Earl of Hereford, son and heir of Henry de Bohun 1st Earl of Hereford by Maud Fitz-Piers, the sister of William the last Earl of Essex, was, in consequence of this descent, created Earl of Essex by King Henry the Third; and dying in 1274 was succeeded by his grandson Humphrey de Bohun, who died in 1297, when his son, Humphrey de Bohun, succeeded to all his dignities, and in 1301 was present in the Parliament at Lincoln, and being a party to the letter to the Pope, affixed the seal in question to that document.^f It must not

^f The descent noticed in the text will be best shewn by the following table :



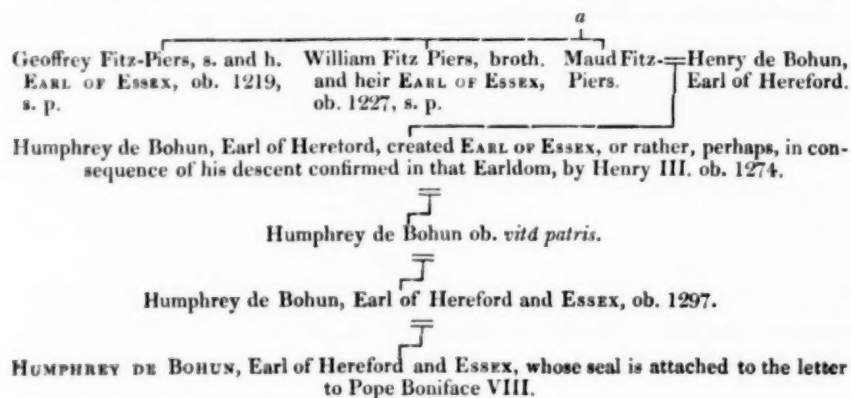
be forgotten in relation to the circumstance of the Earl of Hereford bearing the arms of Mandeville in the manner alluded to, that those arms belonged to the family which *first* possessed the Earldom of Essex, instead of that of Fitz-Piers, from which he was more immediately descended, and that they are only introduced on the side of his seal that is inscribed with the title of EARL of ESSEX.

The first of these facts supports an opinion which will hereafter be more fully expressed, that it was then customary, when an Earldom descended to an individual, either to abandon his own arms for those of the family from which he derived the dignity, as was done by the descendants of Hameline Plantagenet before noticed, or that he should place them in some way in conjunction with his own. From this usage it may fairly be conjectured that the subsequent system of quartering the arms of each family which was represented by any particular person, with his own paternal coat, has arisen.

The Seal of Roger Bigod Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England merits a slight notice, from its being simply inscribed

: : ✠ SIGILLVM : ROGERI : BIGOD,

nothing being said either of his Earldom of Norfolk or of his being Marshal of England, to which dignities he succeeded in 1270. This omission may possibly be attributed to the seal having been engraved before he in-



herited his honours : but as he had then borne those titles above thirty years, and was certainly little more than of age when they devolved upon him, the conjecture is not a probable one. This circumstance is rather material ; for in the instance of the seal of Milo de Gloucester, lately exhibited to the Society, an inference was drawn from the legend thereon, not describing him as Earl of Hereford (to which dignity he was raised in July 1140) that the seal was engraved before that year. The seal of the Earl of Norfolk tends therefore to establish that such conclusions are by no means to be relied upon.

The Seal of Guy de Beauchamp Earl of Warwick calls for some observations from the confirmation which it affords to the hypothesis expressed with respect to the Earldom of Essex and Surrey, that the arms of the family from which a person inherited an Earldom were, in the reign of Edward the First, borne in some way with his own ; for though on one side of his seal this Earl appears on horseback, and his shield and the caparisons of his horse are charged with the coat of Beauchamp, namely, *a fess between six cross-crosslets*, and is inscribed,

✠ S : GVIDONIS : DE : BELLOCAMPO : COMITIS : WARREWIK :

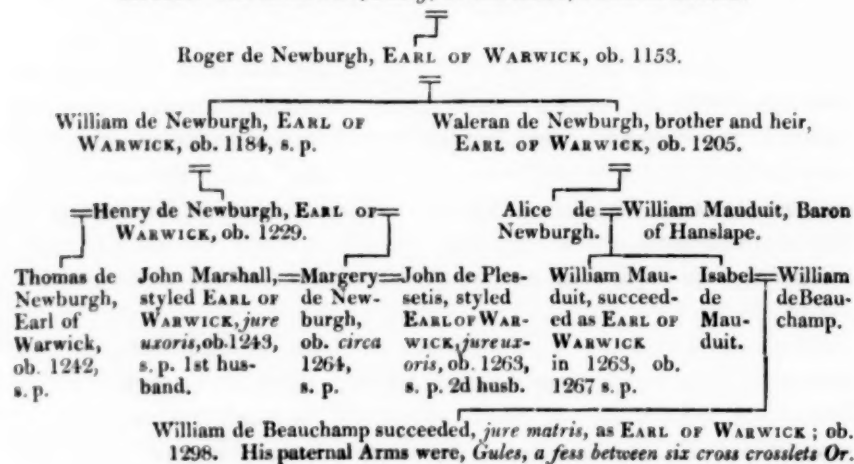
the other side of the seal presents an escutcheon with the arms of NEWBURGH the FIRST EARLS OF WARWICK, namely, *checky a chevron Ermine*, the legend, excepting an unimportant variation of a letter and the abbreviation of the word "Comitis," being the same. As the descent of the Earldom of Warwick from the house of Newburgh to that of Beauchamp can be explained in a few words, its introduction will perhaps be thought an acceptable illustration of the circumstance alluded to.

Henry de Newburgh, a younger son of Roger de Bellomont Earl of Mellent in Normandy, was created Earl of Warwick by William the Conqueror, and the dignity became vested in his heirs male for several generations. In 1242 Thomas de Newburgh Earl of Warwick, the last male descendant, died, leaving Margery his half sister his heir, who was twice married ; first, to John Marshall, and secondly to John de Plesse-

tis, to both of whom the title of Earl of Warwick is attributed. The said Margery died about the year 1265, when her inheritance, together with this Earldom, devolved upon her first cousin and heir William de Mauduit, he being son and heir of William de Mauduit by Alice the half sister of Henry Earl of Warwick, father of Thomas de Newburgh, the last Earl of that name. William de Mauduit Earl of Warwick died without issue in 1267, when his nephew William de Beauchamp, son and heir of William Baron Beauchamp by Isabel de Mauduit his sister and heir, assumed the title of Earl of Warwick, notwithstanding that his mother, through whom he derived it, was then living. He died in 1298, when this Guy de Beauchamp his son and heir succeeded to that Earldom, and having been summoned in September 28th Edward I. 1300, to the Parliament to be held at Lincoln in the January following, he attended accordingly, and became a party to the Letter to the holy Pontiff. §

§ The descent of the Earldom of Warwick is more clearly shewn by the following genealogical table:

Henry de Newburgh, created EARL OF WARWICK by William the Conqueror, ob. 1123. His Arms were, *checky, Or and Azure, a chevron Ermine.*



GUY DE BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK, whose seal was attached to the Letter to Pope Boniface VIII.

Of the Seal of Thomas Plantagenet Earl of Lancaster, the legend is extremely deserving of attention, it being

S : THOME : COMITIS : LANCAST : LEYCESTRIE : ET : DE : FERRARIIS.

In 1295 the Earldoms of Lancaster and Leicester descended to this celebrated personage in consequence of the demise of his father Edmund Plantagenet, who was created to the former dignity on the 30th June 1267, and to the latter on the 25th October in the same year; but the title of "EARL FERRERS" requires observation, as no such Earldom, according to the received opinions on dignities at the present day, ever existed. Still more, the Earl of Lancaster's only pretension to that title was founded on a principle immediately opposed to established doctrines on the subject; for he was not in any way descended from the persons who were sometimes styled EARLS FERRERS, nor does it appear that he was so created. The grounds on which he assumed it will be most satisfactorily shewn by the following detail, for the length of which, the peculiarity of the circumstance, and the important inferences of which it admits, will, it is hoped, be received as a sufficient apology.

At the time when the survey of Domesday was taken several instances may be cited, and which are particularly commented upon in the Reports of the Lords Committees on the dignity of a Peer of the Realm, of individuals possessed of Earldoms being styled by their baptismal names, and which practice it seems was not entirely laid aside for above a century afterwards. In 1137 Robert de Ferrers was created Earl of Derby, and died in 1139, and the Registry of the Priory of Tutbury is cited by Dugdale, to shew that Robert de Ferrers, the son and heir of that Earl, styled himself COMES JUNIOR DE FERRARIIS, and COMES JUNIOR DE NOTINGHAM. This record is without date, but it may be inferred that it was earlier than the year 1139, for it seems to have been written in the life-time of his father. By what right this Robert de Ferrers called himself "Comes Junior de Notingham" can only be conjectured, as no Earl of that county is stated to have existed until many centuries afterwards; but the *Lordship* of Nottingham was then held by William Peverel, whose

daughter and heiress married William the eldest son of this Robert Earl of Derby. The Registry of Tutbury proves, however, that in the reign of Stephen the Earl of Derby was also called "Earl Ferrers," and in his descendants the Earldom of Derby continued for seven generations, when it was inherited by Robert de Ferrers; but it does not appear that they were ever styled **EARLS FERRERS**. In 1265 Robert de Ferrers last mentioned was dispossessed of the Earldom of Derby, and on the 5th August 1266 his lands were conferred by King Henry the Third upon his son Edmund Plantagenet Earl of Lancaster, the father of Thomas Earl of Lancaster whose seal was affixed to the letter to the Pontiff, to hold during pleasure; and in the 53rd Hen. III. 1269, in consequence of security having been accepted by the King for satisfaction of the misdemeanour for which Robert de Ferrers Earl of Derby had forfeited his possessions, a precept was issued, commanding the Earl of Lancaster to make restitution of the lands in question. An agreement was consequently formed that the said Robert de Ferrers should on a certain day pay to Earl Edmund the sum of fifty thousand pounds to relinquish all his interest in the lands which had been so conferred upon him; and four Earls and several Barons are named as having been security for the payment thereof. The money was not, however, paid, and the said securities passed over their title therein to the Earl of Lancaster and his heirs for ever. Robert de Ferrers being nevertheless dissatisfied, exhibited a Bill in the Court of King's Bench in Easter Term that year, and in the 2nd Edw. I. 1274, he renewed his plea. The proceedings on the subject are fully detailed by Dugdale, and it is only necessary to state in this place, that the result was, the Court dismissed his suit, and the lands in dispute, which consisted of the castle of Tutbury and other territories, were confirmed to Edmund Earl of Lancaster; on whose death they devolved upon his son Thomas Earl of Lancaster here alluded to.

The grant of these lands to the Earl of Lancaster has induced many writers of reputation to attribute the title of Earl of Derby to him and his descendants, but not a single authority is to be found for Earl

Edmund or his son Earl Thomas (excepting the seal of the latter which is the subject of these remarks) having been considered as EARL FERRERS; and with respect to the Earldom of Derby, Dugdale expressly says, "he really had nothing of the Earldom of Derby;" in proof of which, Henry Plantagenet Duke and Earl of Lancaster the nephew and heir of Earl Thomas, who succeeded to all the honours possessed by his said uncle, was in 1337 *created* Earl of Derby; but he never assumed the title of "Earl Ferrers," nor is there any reason for supposing that it was ever attributed to him.

The fact of Thomas Earl of Lancaster having assumed the title of EARL FERRERS, admits then of conclusions of considerable importance in relation to the descent of Earldoms in the reign of Edward the First. It may be inferred that the tenure of the lands of which the Earls of Derby (or as it is evident they were at an early period called, Earls Ferrers) were seized, was at that time considered to justify their possessor in assuming the title of "Earl Ferrers," and consequently that that dignity was then deemed to be attached to territorial possessions. But, as Henry, the brother and heir of Earl Thomas, (who was fully restored to all the dignities and inheritances forfeited by the said Earl, and was indisputably seized of the same lands as were conferred on Edmund Plantagenet Earl of Lancaster, his father, on the forfeiture of them by Robert de Ferrers,) did not assume the title either of Earl of Derby or Earl Ferrers, it may safely be concluded that the usage which induced Earl Thomas to style himself "Earl Ferrers" was abolished, or at all events discontinued very early in the reign of Edward the Third; and this fact affords some support to the argument, that dignities ceased to be attached to the tenure of lands during the reign of Edward the Second.

The Seal of Aymer de Valence calls for remark from its in some degree confirming a circumstance which the Writs of Summons addressed to him had rendered highly probable; namely, that though he was of full age in 1296, when he succeeded his father William Earl of Pembroke, yet that he did not use the title of that Earldom until the

accession of Edward the Second; the legend of his seal being,

✠ SIGILLVM : ADOMARI : DE : VALENCE :

In the earliest Writ of Summons addressed to him, dated 6th Feb. 27th Edw. I. 1299, he is merely called "Adomarus de Valence," and he continued to be so styled in each subsequent Writ until 19 Jan. 1st Edw. II. 1308, when he was summoned by his proper title of Earl of Pembroke. During the above period, however, it is evident that though not summoned as an Earl, yet that he was deemed to have the precedence of all Barons; for on every occasion his name occurs immediately after that of Henry of Lancaster (who being of the blood royal, probably preceded every other Baron, and who is consequently placed next to the Earls) excepting in the two earliest Writs in which the name of Aymer de Valence is placed among the Earls, though he is not described as Earl of Pembroke. To what circumstance his not having been considered Earl of Pembroke from the death of his father in 1296 to 1308, a period of nearly twelve years, is to be imputed, cannot, perhaps be satisfactorily explained; but, as it is an anomaly in the descent of dignities, and confirms the opinion that no general principle prevailed on the subject in the fourteenth century, it is entitled to some attention, and will, it is expected, excuse a slight inquiry into the most probable cause to which it may be assigned.

Dugdale does not take any notice of the circumstance, but he informs us that in the 1st Edw. II. 1307, he did homage on the death of his mother for the lands which she held in dower. Whether the Earldom of Pembroke, like that of Ferrers, was considered to have been attached to the tenure of certain lands, and which lands were part of the dowry of his mother; or whether on the death of an Earl his heir could not succeed to the dignity until he had obtained a confirmation of it from the Crown, and that in the instance of Aymer de Valence such confirmation was withheld until the reign of Edward the second cannot be decided. The former of these conjectures, though opposed by the general custom of not assigning the *Caput Baronie* in dower, has been suggested by the singular coincidence of his not having been summoned to Parliament as an Earl, or

using that title, until the year in which he did homage for his mother's lands: and by the circumstance that part of her dowry was the manor of Castle Gooderich and xivl. vis. ivd. lands and rents in the *County of Pembroke*. The ornaments around the escutcheon of Aymer de Valence are very imperfectly delineated in the plate: they consist of two sprigs of a tree with a bird on each, looking towards the shield.

The Seal used by John de Hastings is not a little curious, both from its exhibiting arms totally different from those which are generally ascribed to him, and which were borne by his descendants, and from the charges in the coat itself. The ancient arms of Hastings are considered to have been *Or, a maunch Gules*,^b but those on the seals used by this Baron are, on one side, *On a cross between four fleurs de lis, five fleurs de lis*: and on the reverse, *A cross charged with five fleurs de lis, between, in the 1st and 4th quarters, a lion passant guardant, and in the 2nd and 3rd quarters a lion rampant, each looking to the sinister*. It would appear that these singular bearings were founded on the Royal Arms of England and France, but no alliance, or other circumstance is recorded to which such an assumption on the part of this Baron can be traced. The legend round this seal is almost effaced, but the following appear to have been the words inscribed on it.ⁱ

On the side charged with a cross with fleurs de lis:

.... N : T M E : I C H : M A D M V N D I M I : H G O D : N A M B N D E : M

^b In the Roll of Karlaverock, the arms of this John de Hastings are thus described;

“ Escu avoit fort e legier
E baniere de oeure pareile
De or fin o la manche vermeille.”

This and the other quotations from that poem in these sheets were taken from the illustrated copy in the College of Arms, and collated with that in the Cottonian MS. *Caligula A. xvij.*

ⁱ For the copy of these legends I am indebted to Mr. Caley, whose valuable assistance is always at the disposal of his friends in encouraging and promoting historical research. That celebrated Antiquary observes, “I have endeavoured to make out the legend on the Seal of John de Hastings, and inclosed you have the result of my labours in that respect. I have, perhaps, traced out some words which may prove useful towards gaining a knowledge of the nature of the legend, though I am fearful I have not been completely successful.”

On the side with the cross and lions :

..Cp4 : OF RODS STBT : ICh : d1RqOODSNIQVS ARqTR....

It would be difficult, if not impossible to ascertain the meaning of this inscription, but from the little which can be made out, it seems that the seal did not belong to John de Hastings, a conjecture which the arms upon it render almost certain.

Hugh de Vere, whose Seal is in fine preservation, is supposed to have been a younger son of Robert 5th Earl of Oxford, and it appears that he bore the coat of Vere, *Quarterly Or and Gules, in the first quarter a mullet Argent, within a bordure engrailed*, and which was probably adopted as a mark of cadency. The seal of this Baron affords strong confirmation of the authenticity of the Roll of Karlaverock, which it is material to state, because it has induced me frequently to cite it in these pages: and still more, because such evidence in relation to so early a document is of considerable value. In that highly curious poem it is said,

“ Apres ceus i truis en mon conte
 Hue de Ver le filz au conte
 De Oxenfort e frere son hoir
 O le ourle endentee de noir
 Avoit baniere e long e lee
 De or e de rouge esquartelee
 De bon cendal non pas de toyle
 E devant une blanche estoyle.”

The notice taken of so minute a difference in Hugh de Vere's arms as “le ourle endentee de noir,” and the certainty from his seal that he bore it, tend to establish that his banner was described by a person who actually saw it, for it is presumed that no other proof of his having used such a border, excepting his seal, exists; and hence we may, perhaps, place entire reliance on the genuineness of the Roll. In the above extract this Hugh de Vere is clearly identified as “the son of the Earl of Oxford, and the brother of his heir.”

Nisbet describes the *border* as the *third* mark of cadency,^k and though that accurate writer cites an instance of the use of this charge before the period in question, he does not appear to have been aware that it was used as a distinction of that nature so early as the commencement of the fourteenth century. On the top of the shield of Hugh de Vere is a boar passant, which became the crest of that family, when crests were generally used.

The Seal of William de Braose is remarkable both from its containing a very curious reverse, and from the inscription round it, as engraved, being different from what actually appears on the seal. The legend on the plate is,

✠ S : WILLI : DE : BREOVSE : DNI : DE : GOWER.

but several words after Gower were clearly inscribed, and of which two only are now distinct ; these are,

DE BREMBER.

The Reverse, which is of an oval form and is much smaller than the other seal, contains a lion passant, holding a bird in his paws ; the neck of the lion appears *fretted*, and at his feet is a *cross moline*, but which is not noticed in the engraving.

The Seals of Henry de Grey and Reginald de Grey both contain the coat of Grey, *barry of six*, but that of the latter is distinguished by a label of five points ; whilst the arms of Henry de Grey, who, in the body of the letter to the Pope is called Lord of Codnor, and was the head of that illustrious family, are borne plain. Reginald de Grey was at that time Lord of Ruthyn, and he is so described in that document, but being a younger branch of the house of Grey (his father, John de Grey having been the second son of Henry de Grey of Codnor, the great grandfather of Henry de Grey Lord of Codnor just mentioned) his arms are charged with a label as a distinction. The de-

^k *System of Heraldry*, vol. ii. part iv. p. 9, ed. 1742.

scendants of the Reginald de Grey here alluded to, are always styled Lords of Wilton, which lordship was acquired by the marriage of the said Reginald with Maud, the daughter and heiress of Henry de Longchamp; and it is deserving of remark that although the lordship of Wilton was evidently of superior importance to that of Ruthyn, (in proof of which the latter was in the reign of Edward the Second, assigned as the *appanage* of a younger son of the Baron Grey of Wilton), and though Reginald de Grey was in the year 1301 seized thereof, *jure uxoris*, he was nevertheless described in the letter to the Pope as "Lord of Ruthyn," his paternal inheritance. It must also be observed, that notwithstanding no legend appears on the seals of Henry de Grey, or of Reginald de Grey in the plate, around the latter are the words

SIGILLUM : REGINALDI : DE : GREY :

whilst, although of the legend on the former, only the letters

VNTS

are now discernible, they prove that it was inscribed. Of what word these letters formed part cannot possibly be determined; probably, however, of some *motto*, for it would be difficult to reconcile them with the name either of himself or of any part of his possessions.

The next Seal which requires observation, is that of Peter de Mauley, and which is peculiarly worthy of notice. The seal itself, however, was evidently made for the father of this baron, as on one side it is inscribed

S : PETRI : DE : MALOLACO : TERTII :

and the Peter de Mauley who lived at the time when the letter to the Pontiff was written, was for the following reasons, clearly the *fourth* of that name who are recorded to have been Barons of the realm. The *first* Peter de Mauley obtained the Barony of Mulgrave, in right of his wife Isabel, the daughter of Robert de Turnham, and dying in 1221, was succeeded by his son Peter de Mauley the *second* baron, who died

in 1242, when the barony devolved on his son Peter de Mauley the *third* baron, and for whom the seal in question is presumed to have been engraved. He died in the 7th Edw. I. 1278, and his son and heir Peter de Mauley, who at the time of his father's demise was only three years of age¹, succeeded to his inheritance, and became the *fourth* Baron of that family. He was summoned to Parliament from the 23rd Edw. I. to the 3rd Edward II. and being a party to the letter to Pope Boniface, affixed to it the seal which is the subject of these observations. Upon his death, in 1310, Peter de Mauley his son and heir, succeeded to the Barony, and who being the *fifth* Baron was in the latter part of his life styled in Writs of Summons to Parliament, "*Petro de Malolaco le quint,*" and Peter de Mauley his son, the *sixth* Baron was generally called in similar Writs "*Petro de Malolaco le sisme.*" It may here be remarked that this family is the only instance in which the different generations distinguished themselves by numbers, notwithstanding that several might be cited in which the successors to the dignity bore the same baptismal names as their ancestors. On the manifest utility of this custom, it would be a waste of the Society's time to offer any comments, but its singularity justifies its being brought to its notice. The legend of "*S : Petri : de : Malolaco : tertii*" surrounds the seal upon which the Baron is represented on horseback, armed at all points for the field; but the inscription on the reverse, which is much smaller, is particularly curious, as it tends to confirm the opinion, that two seals were used by persons of eminence in the fourteenth century; the larger one, on which they were represented on horseback, being their public or official signet; and the other, which was of a much less size, and only contained a shield of their arms, being the private signet. The lesser seal of Peter de Mauley has a small escutcheon charged with his arms, *Or, a bend Sable*, ornamented by a lion passant on each side, with another on the top of the shield, and is inscribed in old French,

"SEEL : PRIVE : : SVYA PELE."

¹ *Inq. Post Mortem.* 7 Edw. I.

This legend is erroneously given in the engraving of the seal, where it stands

"SEEL : PRIVI : : SVYA PEIE."

The fourth word cannot, perhaps, be easily explained: the five last letters were possibly intended for the word "Appel," but it would be difficult to make it agree with the preceeding three letters "Suy," even admitting that they were distinct words. The two first words, however, "Seel Prive," evidently prove that it was a "private seal," as contradistinguished from the seal on the other side, and upon these words the preceding remarks on the subject are founded.

The Seals of the Barons Mohun and Zouche are only remarkable from the shields being suspended from the necks of animals; the former from that of a demi-eagle and the latter from that of a demi-lion, and which possibly were the devices of those individuals: but as the escutcheon of William de Ferrers Lord of Groby was placed on the breast of a double-headed eagle, and that of John de Beauchamp Lord of Hache, on the breast of a common eagle, it is more probable that these additions were merely introduced as ornaments, without their being intended to convey any heraldic meaning.

The legends on the Seals of Theobald de Verdon merit a slight notice: round that upon which he is represented on horseback, are the words,

✠ : SIGILLVM : THEOBALDI : DE : VERDVN :

but the reverse, which only contains a plain shield of his arms, between two lions passant guardant, and a small bird on each of the upper corners of the escutcheon, and which appears to be suspended from a tree, is inscribed

✠ CONSTABVLARI : HIBERNIE :

Dugdale, in his account of this Baron, does not inform us in what manner he acquired the office of Constable of Ireland, but states that he was possessed of it in the 3rd of Edw. I. 1275. It was, however, apparently inherited from his grandfather Theobald le Butiler, a branch of the noble house of Butler in Ireland, who married Rohese, the daughter and heiress

of Nicholas de Verdon, a powerful Baron in the reign of John, and whose posterity assumed the name and arms of Verdon.

The arms on the seal of John de Segrave are *a lion rampant, crowned*; and on each side of the shield is *a garb*. This circumstance requires attention, because Burton, in his History of Leicestershire, in which he has been followed by a late writer,^m states that the ancient arms of Segrave were *Sable, three garbs Argent, banded Gules*; but that they afterwards assumed *Sable, a lion rampant Argent, crowned Or*. It is manifest from the seal of this Baron that Burton's statement was not entirely without foundation; though, unless by the words "*ancient arms*," he meant anterior to the reign of Edward the First, it is certain that the *arms* of that family were what they afterwards bore, but that the *Garb* was introduced on their seals, possibly as an ornament, or device. From this and similar devices, it is very likely that the subsequent usage of cognizances owed its source. The notice in the Roll of Karlaverock of the circumstance of the *garbs* and *a lion* having been borne by this family, is so illustrative of the points alluded to, that its introduction seems desirable.

“ Nicholas de Segrave o li
Ke nature avoit embeli
De cors e enrichi de cuer
Vaillant pere ot ki jetta puer
Les Garbes e le Lyon prist
A ses enfans ensi a prist
Les coragous a ressembler
E o les nobles assembler
Cil ot la baner son pere
Au label rouge por son frere

Johan ki li ainsez estoit
E ki entiere la portoit
Li peres et de la moillier
Cink fiz ke estoient chivalier

^m Banks' *Dormant and Extinct Peerage*.

Preu e hardi et defensable
 O un lyoun de argent en sable
 Rampant e de or fin couronne
 Fu la baner del ainsne."

John de Segrave's seal is inscribed,

SIGILLVM : JOHANNIS : DE : SEGRAVE,

but no notice of a legend occurs in the engraving.

The Seal of William de Cantilupe, which is very perfect, shews that the arms which are generally assigned to him, *Gules, three leopards' heads jessant fleurs de lis, Or*, were not correct, for he appears, from his seal to have borne *A fesse vaire between three fleurs de lis*, and as it is inscribed

✠ SI : WILLIELMI : DE : CANTILVPO :

we are assured that the signet he used on this occasion was his own. The Roll of Karlaverock, however, states that his banner differed from both the coats just described; but it sufficiently resembled that on his seal to induce us to believe in the correctness of the description. The omission of the leopards' heads on his signet, which is a very small one, might have arisen from the difficulty, if not impossibility in the fourteenth century, of shewing so complicated a charge thereon.

"E Guillemes de Cantelo
 Ke ie par ceste raison lo
 Ke en honnour a touz tens vescu
 Fesse vaire ot el rouge escu
 De trois flours de lis de or espars
 Naissans de testes de lupars."

The next seal affixed to the letter to the Pontiff upon which some remarks will be offered is that of Brian Fitz-Alan Lord of Bedale. His arms are recorded to have been *Barry of eight Or and Gules*, and

which is confirmed by the following allusion to them in the poem just cited :

“ Le beau Brian le Fitz Aleyn
De courtoisie e de honnour pleyn
I vi o baniere barree
De or e de goules bien paree
Dont de chalenge estoit li poinz
Par entre lui et Hue Poinz
Ki portoit cel ni plus ne meins
Dont merveille avoit meinte e meins.”

But the charges on his seal were evidently a device, for no shield appears. On a square are engraved, two birds, a rabbit, a stag, and a pig or boar : all these animals are looking to the dexter excepting the boar, which is regarding the chief ; but the most curious part of this signet is the legend,

✠ TOT : CAPITA : TOT : SENTENCIE :

This motto, which so nearly resembles the well-known proverb of “ Tot homines quot sententiæ,” was apparently adopted to explain, if not to justify, the whimsical assemblage of animals which his seal exhibits ; and it is not a very strained conclusion to suppose that the whole was intended to convey a satirical allusion to the devices on the seals of his contemporaries.^a If, however, contrary to the idea here expressed, the seal was meant for an heraldic bearing, it is no less worthy of observation, from the singularity of the charges, and its presenting, perhaps the earliest example of a motto being allusive to the bearings in the arms.

^a Another instance of the assemblage of fanciful objects on signets occurs on a brass seal, of which an engraving is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April 1812. It consists of a circle charged in the centre with a tree, on the top of which is a large bird, and near the trunk an animal resembling a fox, lying across it, with his head turned, as if gnawing the bark. On the dexter side is a quadruped, not unlike a cat, resting on its hinder feet, and playing on a lute ; and on the sinister a hare, also standing on its hinder paws,

This signet is still perfect, but the engraving conveys a very unsatisfactory idea of it.

The Seal of William Marshall is curious from the circumstance of two batons being introduced, one on each side of the shield. This addition may be satisfactorily attributed to his holding the office of Marshal of Ireland, which dignity was granted in fee in 1207 to his great-great-grandfather by King John. Such frequent notice having been taken in these pages of the Roll of Karlaverock, it is proper to allude to the difference between the description there given of his banner, and the arms on his seal. The poem observes,

“ E Guillems li Marescaus
Dont en Irlande ot la baillie
La bende de or engreellie
Portoit en la rouge baniere,”

whilst the coat, as it appears on his shield, tends to prove the correctness of that which he is stated to have used, namely *Gules, a bend lozengy Or*. This discrepancy may be explained by the resemblance which a *bend lozengy* would present on a banner to a *bend engrailed*. Indeed it is by no means improbable, that what is always considered a *bend lozengy*, might in fact have been a *bend engrailed*; and that the mistake has arisen from the imperfect manner in which the lines have been marked.

Walter de Fauconberg's Seal contains the ancient arms of that family, *A fesse, and in chief three palletts*, and is inscribed

✠ SIGILLVM : WALTERI : DE : FAVCONBERGG.

and holding in one fore-paw a cymbal upon which it seems to be playing with the other; the legend is

SIGILLUM NULLUM TALE.

This Seal was found at Alford in Lincolnshire, in the year 1800, and from the formation of the letters of the inscription must, it is presumed, have been engraved at a period nearly contemporary with those attached to the Letter to Pope Boniface.

The arms on his seal are here noticed, because, in consequence of his marriage with Agnes, the sister and coheiress of Peter de Brus, Lord of Skelton, it is certain that his descendants relinquished the coat borne by this Baron, and adopted that of their mother, viz. *Argent, a lion rampant Azure*, but we have proof from this signet that the Baron himself continued to use his paternal arms.

The Seal of Roger le Strange, Lord of Ellesmere, who is presumed to have been a younger son of John le Strange of Knokyn, and uncle to John Baron le Strange of Knokyn, who was likewise a party to the Letter to the Pope, corroborates the conjecture hazarded with respect to the arms of Hugh de Vere, that a border was at that period a mark of cadency; for his arms are those of Strange of Knokyn, *Two lions passant guardant, within a bordure engrailed*.

It is well known that Richard Talbot, the ancestor of the Earls of Shrewsbury, relinquished his paternal coat of *Bendy of ten Argent and Gules*, and assumed that of his mother, Gwenlian, the daughter and at length heiress of Rhese ap Griffiths, Prince of South Wales; but the precise period when the change was made has not been ascertained. The proof therefore afforded by his Seal, which bears the arms of the said Princes of Wales, *A lion rampant within a bordure engrailed*, that he assumed his mother's arms before the year 1301 is of some value.

The Seal of John Botetourt is not a little curious. Within a circle inscribed,

SIGILL : JOHANNIS : DE : BOVTOVRT,

is a *cinquefoil*, each leaf of which bears a *saltire engrailed*, and which was intended for his arms, they being, *Or, a saltire engrailed Sable*; a proof of which is afforded by the description of them in the Roll of Karlaverock,

“Cil ke a tout bien faire a cuer lie
Au sautour noir engreellie
Jaune baniere ot e penon
Johans Boutetourte ot a noun.”

This signet consequently presents another proof that the manner of using arms on Seals in the fourteenth century was not regulated by any general principle, but depended upon the taste or caprice of the individual.

Having entered into so long a dissertation on the Seals affixed to these Documents, the few which have not been noticed, but which are deserving of attention, must be alluded to as briefly as possible.

The Seal used by Hugh Pointz, like that used by Peter de Mauley, was certainly not his own, as it is inscribed

S : NICHOLAI : POYNTZ :

It possibly belonged to his father Nicholas Poyntz, who died in the 7th of Edw. I. 1279; though from the arms being charged with a *label of five points*, it is more likely that the said Hugh Baron Pointz used the seal of his eldest son Nicholas Pointz, who was in the wars of Scotland in the 27th Edw. I. 1299, and who, on succeeding to the Barony on the death of his father in 1307, was above thirty years of age. The latter conjecture is much strengthened by the arms of Hugh Pointz being thus blazoned in the poem before quoted,

“ E la baniere Hue Poinz
 Estoit barree de viij poinz
 De or e de goules ouelment”

from which, as well as from the account of them in another part of the Roll,^o it is evident that the said Hugh did not use a label in his arms.

The arms of Simonde Moncatute are remarkable, from being surmounted by a Castle with a bird on each of the outer turrets. Upon the reverse, which consists of a small square seal, is a *griffin segreant*; and it is right to observe, not only that the original arms of that family are supposed to have been a *griffin segreant* but that a *griffin's head* is still the crest, and that a *griffin* has long been one of the supporters of the arms of the ennobled branches of the houses of Montacute, or as it is now written, Montagu. It would appear from the Roll of Karlaverock that at the period when

^o Cited in p. 213.

the Baron's letter to the Pope was written, this Simon de Montacute bore a *griffin segreant* both on his banner and shield, for he is thus noticed therein;

“ Mes a Symon de Montagu
Ke avoit baniere e escu
De inde au grifoun rampant de or fin.”

The arms on the Seal of John Lovel of Tichmersh, but who is described in the letter as Lord of Dakkyng, are *Barry nebulée, a label of three points, each point charged with as many mullets*; the charges on the label are now, however, scarcely visible. Some writers assert that this coat was assumed by John Lovel the grandfather of this Baron, in consequence of his marriage with Aliva or Katherine the daughter of Alan Bassett of Wycombe, to whom he was in Ward, and whose arms were *Barry of six undée Argent and Azure*. If this statement be correct, the label in the coat of John Baron Lovel of Tichmersh must have been adopted as a distinction from that of Basset of Wycombe.

Edmund de Hastings Lord of Enchinchelmok, whose Seal contains a shield charged with *Barry of six, wavy*, and is inscribed,

✠ S : EDMUNDI : HASTING : COMITATV : MENETEI :

but which legend is now very imperfect, was a younger son of Henry Baron Hastings, and brother of John Baron Hastings, whose seal has been commented upon in a former part of this letter. The arms of this Baron being so essentially different from those borne by his brother on this occasion, and from those afterwards used by the family of Hastings, might admit of the inference, that in the reign of Edward the First the arms of that house were not regularly settled, were it not for the evidence afforded on the subject in the Roll of Karlaverock, where, as it has been before stated, the arms of John de Hastings are described as having been *Or, a maunch Gules*; and this Edmund de Hastings is there said to have used the same coat with a label Sable.

“ Eymons ses freres li vaillans
Le label noir i fu cuellans

A ki pas ne devoit faillir
Honnours dont se penoit cuellir."

It is, however, impossible to explain the cause of the coat on the seal of this Baron being so materially at variance with that which is assigned to him. The place of which he describes himself was probably St. David's in Wales, in which province he had large possessions. To both documents the seals of John de Hastings and of his brother occur upon the same string, to which no other seal is attached.

The arms of Bogo de Knovill are generally described as *Argent, three estoils, Gules*; but from his Seal they appear to have been *Three mullets, two and one, with a label of three points*. As, however, his son Bogo de Knovill was then twenty-seven years of age, the label renders it likely that the seal used by this Baron belonged to his son.

Robert de Hastang is said to have borne *Azure, a chief Gules; over all a lion rampant Or*: but the arms on his seal are, *A lion rampant; over all, in chief, a barrulet*. A reverse to the signet of this Baron exists, no notice of which is to be found in the plate. It contains a small shield, with the same arms and legend as occur on the larger seal.

To the letter to the Pope, a Walter de Teye, Lord of Stengreve, and a Henry de Tyes, Lord of Chilton, affixed their signets; and from the similarity of their names it has been supposed that they were of the same family. The arms on their seals tend, however, to prove that they were not related; those of Henry de Tyes being *a chevron*, whilst the coat of Walter de Teye was, *on a fess between two chevronels, three mullets, pierced*. The Signet of Henry de Tyes is very imperfectly represented in the engraving; the head over the shield being very much larger on the seal, and was undoubtedly intended for a Saracen's or Blackamoor's head. The legend is likewise incorrectly given; as only

SIGILL : HENRICI : CIS

occurs on the plate of it, whilst after "Henrici," the words

DE : TEIHEIS :

are very distinct. His arms are thus noticed in the poem which has

been so often quoted, and which is corroborated by the coat on his seal;

“ Baniere ot Henris li Tyois
Plus blanche de un poli lyois
O un chievron vermeil en mi.”

The legend on the reverse of the Seal of Walter de Teye is deserving of attention, as it tends to confirm the remarks in the notice of the smaller seal of Peter de Mauley relative to the use of two seals; for the legend round the larger signet of Walter de Teye is

S : WALTERI : DE : TEYE : DNI : DE : STEYNGREYVE :

and the Reverse is inscribed

SECRETUM : WALTERI : DE : TEYE.

The Seal of John de Moels is accurately engraved in the Plate, excepting that the legend has been omitted; for the originals, which are in good preservation, are inscribed

S : JOHANNIS : DE : MOLIS.

As little or nothing is recorded of Walter de Muncy, Lord of Thornton, who was summoned to several Parliaments in the reign of Edward the First, his seal must be noticed, for it shews that his arms were *Checky*. Over the helmet is an animal like a fox, lying dead or asleep, and bent to the form of the helmet, but of which the Plate gives but an imperfect idea. The inscription differs from the original with respect to the spelling of his name, the latter being MOUNCI instead of MOUNCY.

The Seal of John de Greystock proves that his arms were *three lozenges, two and one*, and that the coat usually deemed that of Greystock, namely, *barry of six Argent and Azure, three chaplets Gules, two and one*, or as they are described in the Roll of Karlaverock, “*trois chapeaus de rosis vermelles*,” was that of Ralph Fitz-William, Lord of Grimethorp, whose seal with those arms is also attached to the letter to the Pontiff. John de Greystock died in 1305, leaving Ralph Fitz-William, just mentioned, his cousin and heir, he being son and heir of William

Fitz-Ralph by Joan de Greystock, the aunt of the said John Baron Greystock, and whose posterity, though they assumed the name of Greystock, retained the coat of Fitz-Ralph.

William Touchet, who also subscribed the letter to the Pope, was summoned to Parliament from the 28th to the 34th of Edward I. He is said by Collins to have been *succeeded* by William Tuchet, the ancestor of John Tuchet who acquired the Barony of Audley *tempore* Henry IV.; but Dugdale, after noticing this William Baron Touchet, merely says, that in the 4th of Edward II. 1310-11, there was *another* William Tuchet. The arms on his seal tend to establish that he was of a distinct family; the coat of the one being *Ermine, a chevron Gules*, whilst the arms on the signet of this Baron, are *crusilly of crosses patée, a lion rampant*. In the Plate his seal is inscribed

SIGILLVM : WILLIELMI : TOVCHET :

but the legend appears to be

JESUS : EYDE : AMVR : LEL ^b

and which is remarkable from its presenting the only inscription upon these seals of a pious import.

The inscription on the Seal of Henry de Tregoz, is described in the engraving of it as being

SIGILLVM : HENRICI : TREGOZ :

but the actual legend appears to be

LA : SECRET : TREGOZ :

and which presents another instance of the use of the SECRETUM or COUNTER-SEAL.

^b Ex. Inform. John Caley, Armig. My attention has been recently drawn by an ingenious friend, to the engraving of a curious ancient Seal, with a motto somewhat similar, in the Gentleman's Magazine, Suppl. p. i. 1810, and October 1823. That Seal represents a cross formed of four leaves, conjoined in the centre, with a Dove between each leaf, and is inscribed.

✠ JE SUY SEL DAMVR LEL

a motto strictly applicable to the charges. It was of brass, and was found with several coins, on pulling down an old mansion at Redwick, in Monmouthshire in 1810.

On the Seal of Walter de Huntercumbe no legend is given in the Plate, but it is inscribed

S : WALTERI : DE : HUNTERCUMBE.

John de Suley's Seal is likewise inscribed with his name

S : JOHANNIS : DE : SULEYE :

but no legend appears in the engraving of it.

Many other variations between the Seals themselves and the engravings of them occur, and as some of them are important, the following will be pointed out.

The engraving of the Signet of William Martin is imperfect in many parts ; the chief of which is the omission of the legend,

S. WILLIELMI : MARTINI.

On the Seal of John le Strange his name is spelt differently from the manner in which it is engraved.

The Signet of Walter de Beauchamp is stated in the plate to have been inscribed,

S : WALTERI : DE : BELLOCAMPO : DNI : DE : ALCESTRE :

but the only letters now legible are,

✠ ALTE BELLOCAMPO : D

To this Seal there is, however, a reverse, which is not noticed in the plate ; and which is much smaller than the signet on the other side. It contains an escutcheon with the same arms as occur on the large seal, and is inscribed,

S : WALT : DE : BELLOCAMPO :

The inscription given in the engraving of the Seal of Edmund Stafford is only

EDMUNDI : STAF

but the remaining letters

FORDIE

are also visible.

A curious reverse to the Seal of William Paynell is not noticed in the plate. It is a small round seal, and is apparently an antique intaglio,ⁱ exhibiting a naked man, with his arms extended: in the right hand he seems to grasp a branch of a tree, and in the left a sword: near his left foot is a cross very similar to the form of an anchor. This Seal has an inscription, but the only letters visible are

ANINEL

The large signet of William de Paynell is also remarkable from his arms being introduced in a lozenge, and which is the only instance of the kind that appears among the seals to which these remarks refer. The arms on this Baron's seal as engraved, are *eight martlets, 3, 2, and 3, between two bars*, but on the seal itself the bars appear to be *fretted*.

John le Breton's Seal is inscribed

A : TE : SALVS,

though in the engraving of it the legend is,

SIGILLVM : JOHANNIS : LE : BRETOVN.

This inscription, like that on the seal of Brian Fitz-Alan, was certainly intended for a motto, and may be considered as allusive to his shield; namely, that he derived safety from its protection.

The arms of Roger de Huntingfield are usually considered to have been *A fess, charged with three plates*; but his seal appears to contain *A bar above and below the fess*; though it is not so represented in the engraving.

In the plate of the Seal of John Fitz-Marmaduke the legend is

S : JOHANNIS : FILII : MARMADVCI :

but the actual inscription, as in the instances of Brian Fitz-Alan and John le Breton, appears to have been a motto, the words being

CREDE : MICHI.

ⁱ Mr. Dallaway, in his able *Inquiries into the Origin and Progress of the Science of Heraldry in England*, p. 398, gives an example of the use of antique intaglios as COUNTER-SEALS as early as the 12th century, in the instance of Thomas Bredon, Abbot of Gloucester, in the reign of Henry the Second. Several engravings of COUNTER-SEALS, some of which are exceedingly curious, will be found in the *Vetusta Monumenta*.

The Seal of Robert Fitz-Payne which is very perfect, but on which no inscription is given in the plate of it, is inscribed

S : ROBERTI : FILII : PAGANI.

Roger de Mortimer's Seal has likewise a legend, though it is now very indistinct, but no notice of it appears in the engraving.

To the Seal of John de Kingeston there is a reverse, which is not noticed in the plate. It consists of a smaller shield with the same charge and inscription as occur on the other side.

The arms on the Seal and reverse of Henry de Percy are deserving of attention, because they exhibit the coat of Brabant *only*; a proof, and which is further corroborated by the description of his banner in the Roll of Karlaverock, that that family entirely relinquished their paternal coat on marrying the heiress of Brabant, and that the combination of the arms of Percy *Azure five fusils in fess Or*, with those of Brabant did not take place until the principle of quartering arms became fully established; notwithstanding that the seals of the Earls of Hereford and Warwick afford an example of using the arms of more than one family either on the same signet or on the reverse.

In addition to what has been said in this Paper respecting the arms of the Barons who were parties to the letter to Pope Boniface VIII. it is material that a few short remarks should be submitted on the inferences which may be drawn relative to CRESTS and MOTTOES from the manner in which they appear on many of the seals attached to that document.

It has been observed that CRESTS were in the first instance assumed by the leaders of armies;^k that after the Institution of the Order of the

^k Mr. Dallaway remarks on this subject, "Crests were originally of the highest importance, conceded by Royal grant, and confined to very few persons," in proof of which he cites the grant of a Crest of an Eagle by King Edward the Third to William de Montagu, afterwards Earl of Salisbury.—*Inquiries into the Science of Heraldry*, p. 388. Nisbet considers the earliest proof of the usage of them to have been in the reign of David I. 1125 to 1135, upon whose seal, as well as upon those of the Earls of Angus and Sutherland they appear; but he informs us that *feathers* were the general ornament of the helmet, and which is fully supported by the seals under consideration.

Garter, all the Knights of that Order adopted them ; and that they soon afterwards became generally used. This statement, so far as it relates to the usage of Crests at the period contemporary with the letter to which the Baronage of England affixed their seals, would lead us to expect that on those signets which contained the effigies of their owners on horseback, the helmets of such individuals only, as were most celebrated by their rank, or for their military prowess would be surmounted by Crests. We accordingly find that although on *fourteen* seals, those to whom they belonged are represented on horseback in complete armour, only three of them, namely, Thomas Plantagenet Earl of Lancaster, Ralph de Monthermer Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, and John de St. John are depicted with Crests on their helmets ; the helmets of the other ten either being plain, or terminated at the top in a plume, and which plume is always exactly alike.

One of the personages so distinguished was of the Blood Royal, and Earl of Lancaster, and the second Ralph Earl of Gloucester, was also nearly connected with the reigning Sovereign, the Earl having married his daughter Joan Plantagenet the widow of Gilbert de Clare Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, in whose right he assumed those titles. The curious account of the Earl of Gloucester in the Roll of Karla-verock would alone justify the quotation of it in this place ; but the concluding lines imperiously require its admission, because they support the hypothesis which has been more than once submitted in this communication, that about the reign of Edward the First, the individual who acquired an Earldom by inheritance or marriage, either assumed the arms of the family from whom he derived it in conjunction with his own, or entirely relinquished his paternal coat for them.

“ Celi dont bien furent aidies
 Et achievees les amours
 Apres granz doutez et cremours
 Tant ke dieus l'en volt delivre estre
 Por la Contesse de Gloucestre
 Por ki long tens souffri granz maus
 De or fin o trois chievrons vermaus

I ot baniere soulement
Si ne faisoit pas malement
Kant ses propres armes n'estoit ^a
Jaunes ou le Egle verde estoit
Et ot nom Rauf de Monthermer."

Thus the rank of two individuals of the three explains any distinction which indicated an elevated station; and John de St. John, the third, was undoubtedly a person of high military reputation, a fact proved by Dugdale's account of him. In the 53rd Henry III. 1269, that accurate writer states, that he was constituted Governor of the Castle of Porchester; that in the 21st Edw. I. 1293, "having the reputation of an expert soldier, he was appointed the King's Lieutenant in the Duchy of Aquitaine," and that he particularly distinguished himself on numerous occasions in the wars of Gascony, France, and Scotland. In the 29th Edw. I. 1301, he was one of the Ambassadors sent to treat with those of the King of France for a Peace with the Scots, and died very aged in the following year. Whether it was this John de St. John, or his son of the same name, who was summoned to the previous Parliament, that was a party to the letter to the Pontiff in the 29th Edw. I. cannot positively be decided; but as John de St. John, the celebrated warrior was never summoned to Parliament, it is more probable that it was his son; and from the many similar instances which have been adduced, it is by no means unlikely that he should have used his father's seal on that occasion. The following allusion to the Barons St. John in the Roll of Karlaverock is introduced because it shews that the seal of John de St. John, the son, was distinguished by a label; and hence, if he was one of the persons who addressed Boniface on that occasion, he must, as I have suggested, have affixed his father's signet to that document.

^a Sic in the copy in the College of Arms, but apparently *vestoit* in Cottonian MSS. Caligula, A. xviii. In the *Antiquarian Repertory* it is printed *o estoit*.

" Li preus Johan de Saint Johan
 Fu par tout o lui^r assemblans
 Ki sur touz ses guarnemens blancs
 El chief rouge ot de or deus molectes

Johan de Seint John son hoir
 Lour ot baillie a compaignon
 Ki de son pere avoit le non
 Et les armes au bleu label."

From these facts it is certain, that the only person not connected with the Blood Royal who is depicted on those seals on horseback with a Crest upon his helmet, was one of the most distinguished military commanders of his age; consequently the statement that Crests were at that time only used on helmets by the leaders of armies, or the principal commanders in them, is very strongly confirmed. On the seals of other Barons we find, however, several examples of animals being placed over the shields of their arms, from which we may suppose that the modern custom of using them in that manner, is not derived from the assumption of Crests on helmets in the field; for in addition to the many cases here alluded to, some of which have been incidentally pointed out in former parts of this letter, the helmet of Humphrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford and Essex is without a Crest, though a swan, which became the Crest of the house of Bohun, is placed over his shield on the reverse to the seal on which he is represented on horseback.

With respect to MOTTOES, Mr. Dallaway and other writers of reputation consider that they arose from the *CRIZ DE GUERRE*, or exclamation

^r Edward the King's son, afterwards King Edward the Second, who is described as having then been seventeen years of age; as commanding the fourth squadron; and as bearing his father's arms with a blue label. Edward the Second was born 25th April 1284, and was consequently in his seventeenth year in June 1300, the period when the event described in this poem took place.

of triumph or encouragement peculiar to victorious commanders, and that they became hereditary in their descendants in commemoration of them; but no instance has been given of the adoption of any thing corresponding with a Motto, in the present acceptation of the word, before the reign of Edward the Third. That monarch, however, as well as his son the Black Prince, used several; in proof of which it is only necessary to cite the existence of the words, *Ich Dien*, and *Woumont*, on the tomb of the latter in Canterbury Cathedral. The inscriptions on the seals of John le Breton, John Fitz-Marmaduke, William Touchet, and Brian Fitz-Alan, and probably also on that of Henry de Grey, tend to shew that Mottoes were at that time occasionally assumed from motives precisely similar to those in which they have now their origin; for it is very unlikely that either of the expressions, "*Crede Michi*," "*Tot capita tot sentencie*," "*Jesus eyde amur lel*," or "*A te Salus*," could have been a *CRIE DE GUERRE*.

We may therefore, it is presumed, infer that if *MOTTOES* arose from the *CRIE DE GUERRE*, it must have been long prior to the fourteenth century; since we have evidence of their being used at the commencement of that period, in allusion to the disposition or opinions of those who assumed them, or with reference to the charges on their escutcheons.

A few words will now be offered upon the form of the shields on the seals affixed to the letter to the Pontiff. The shape which was most generally used is triangular, for of the whole number there are but nine of a different form—of these, one is in the shape of a lozenge,^s one is an oval,^t and the others^u are rounded at the bottom, or deviate in some other way from those which are generally termed *triangular*. Whether the same varieties of form existed in the shields used in the

^s That of William de Paynell.

^t Robert Fitz-Payne.

^u Those of Lovel, Carew, Roche, Greystock, Neville, Teyes, Montacute, and Clifford. The charges on the seals of Botetourt and Fitz-Alan were clearly not intended to represent shields.

field, it would, perhaps, be difficult to determine; but as the public have been lately favoured with a work on Armour * which fills a most important chasm in historical and antiquarian literature, by affording every possible information that talent and industry could produce on the subject, it is unnecessary in this place to enter into the inquiry.

The most rational deductions which the examination of those seals seems to admit with respect to the use of Mottoes and to the form of the shield on seals are, that they both then depended upon the taste of the bearer rather than upon any established principle; and with relation to Crests, it may be at least inferred, if it has not been satisfactorily demonstrated, that the usage of them on the helmet in the field was confined to the leaders of an army, or to persons of extraordinary rank; upon whom, indeed, commands were generally conferred. But it is certain that it was at that time usual to place the figures of animals on the top of the shield in the same manner as is done at the present day, a custom so very similar to the constant practice of surrounding it with various quadrupeds, birds, branches of trees, &c. that it seems as just to attribute the placing of an animal in that situation to the mere object of ornamenting the seal, as to deduce it from Crests having been borne in the field on helmets for the purpose of distinction. Nor is it at all improbable that the representation of animals on each side of the escutcheon, and which we now term *SUPPORTERS*, were, at the period in question, introduced with the same intention, without their being at all indicative of superior rank, or of the Royal favour—a conjecture which has the support of more than one Heraldic writer.

It is proper to observe that a beautiful copy of the Letter to Boniface, with drawings of the Seals attached to it, is preserved in the College of Arms; and which appears to be nearly a fac-simile of that from which the engravings published by the Society were taken; hence it has many, if not all, the omissions which I have pointed out in those plates.

* *A Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armour*, by Samuel Rush Meyrick, LL. D. F. S. A. 3 vols. folio.

Before this Letter is concluded it is desirable that a correct list of the individuals who were parties to the Letter to Pope Boniface in 1301 should be introduced, and which has been taken from the *first* copy in the Appendix to the Fourth Report of the Lords' Committees on the Dignity of a Peer of the Realm, every material variation between which and the *second* copy in the same Report are carefully pointed out in the notes. These copies are verbatim transcripts of the two documents preserved in the Chapter-house, before alluded to.

*Johannes Comes Warenne; *Thomas Comes Lancastrie; *Radulphus de Monte Hermerij, Comes Gloucestr̃ & Hertford; *Humfridus de Bohun, Comes Hereford & Esseṡ & Constabulari⁹ Anglie; *Rogerus Bigod, Comes Norff' & Marescallus Anglie; *Guido Comes Warrewik; Ricardus Comes Arundeḷ; *Adomarus de Valencia, Dñs de Montiniaco; Henricus de Lancastre, Dominus de Munemue; *Johannes de Hastings, Dñs de Bergaveny; *Henricus de Percy, Dñs de Topclive; Edmundus de Mortuomari, Dñs de Wiggemoṛ; Robertus filius Walteri, Dñs de Wodeham; *Johannes de Sṡo Johanne, Dñs de Haunak; *Hugo de Vere, Dominus de Swainschaumpis; *Wittus de Breuhosa, Dñs de Gower; Robertus de Monte Alto, Dñs de Hawardyn; Robtus de Tatteshale, Dñs de Bukēham; *Reginaldus de Grey, Dñs de Ruthyn; *Henricus de Grey, Dñs de Codenore; Hugo Bardolfe, Dñs de Wirmegeye; Robtus de Touny, Dñs de Castro Matiff; Wittus de Ros, Dñs de Hamlake; *Robertus de Clifford, Castellanus de Appelby; *Petrus de Malolacu, Dñs de Musgreve; Pñs Dñs de Kyme; Robertus filius Rogeri, Dñs de Claveryng; *Johannes de Mohun, Dñs de Dunsterre; Almaricus de Sṡo Amando, Dñs de Widehayc; *Alanus la Zuche, Dñs de Assheby; *Witts de Ferrarijs, Dñs de Groby; *Theobaldus de Verdun, Dominus de Webbele; Thomas de Furnivatt, Dñs de Shefeild; Thomas de Multon, Dñs de Egremont; Witts le Latimer, Dñs de Corby; Thomas Dñs de Berkele; Fulco filius Warini, Dñs de Whit-

* The Seals of the individuals to whose names this mark is prefixed, are noticed in this letter.

† The name of William de Ferrers immediately precedes that of Alan le Zouche in the *second* copy.

ington; *Johannes Dominus de Segrave; Edmundus de Eyncourt, Dñs de Thurgerton; Petrus Corbet, Dñs de Cauz; *Wifus de Cantilupo, Dñs de Ravensthorp; *Johes de Bello Campo, Dñs de Hacche; *Rogerus de Mortuo Mari, Dñs de Penketlyn; Johes filius Reginaldi, Dñs de Blenleveny; *Ranulphus de Nevitt, Dñs de Raby; *Brianus filius Alani, Dominus de Bedale; *Wifus Marescallus, Dñs de Hengham; *Walterus Dñs de Huntercombe; *Wifus Martyn, Dñs de Camesio;^y *Henricus de^z Tyes, Dñs de Chilton; Rogerus la Warre, Dñs de Isefeld; Johannes de Riparijs, Dñs de Angre; Johannes le^a Lancastre, Dñs de Grisdale; *Robertus filius Pagani, Dñs de Lannuer; *Henricus Tregotz, Dñs de Garynges; Radulphus Pipart, Dñs de Linford;^b *Walterus Dñs de Faucomberge; *Rogerus le Estraunge, Dominus de Ellesmere;^c Johannes le Estraunge, Dñs de Cnokyn; Thomas de Chaurces, Dñs de Norton; *Walſus de Bello Campo, Dñs de Alceſtre; *Ricardus Talebot, Dñs de Eckleswell; *Johannes Botetourte, Dñs de Mendesham; Johes Engayn, Dñs de Colum; *Hugo Poynz, Dñs de Corimalet; Adam Dñs Welle;^d *Simon Dñs de Monte Acuto; *Johes Dñs de Sullee; *Johes de Moeles Dñs de Caudebury;^e *Edmundus Baro Stafford; *Johannes Lovel, Dominus de Dackingg; *Edmundus de Hastingg, Dñs de Enchuneholmok; *Radulphus filius Wifmi, Dñs de Grimthorp; Robtus de Scales,^f Dñs de Neuseles; *Wifus Touchet, Dñs de Leuenhales; Johes Abadam, Dñs de Beverstone; Johes de Haveringes, Dñs de Graston; Robtus la Warde, Dñs de Alba Aula; *Nichus de Segrave, Dñs de Stowe; *Walterus de Teye, Dñs de Standgreve; Johes de Lisle^g Dñs de Wodeton; Eustachius Dñs de Hacche; Gĩbertus Pecche, Dñs de Corby; *Wifus Paynell, Dñs de . . . yngton;^h *Bogo de Knovill, Dñs de Albomonasterio; Fulco le Estraunge, Dñs de Corsham; Henricus de Pynkeny, Dominus de Wedone; Johannes de Hudleston, Dñs de Aneys;ⁱ *Rogerus deld,^k Dñs de Bradenham; Huġo filius Henrici, Dñs de Raveneswath; *Johannes le Breton, Dñs de

^y Cameis.^z le.^a de.^b Limford.^c Dñs Ellesmere.^d Dñs de Welle.^e Candeburi.^f de Scalariis.^g Johes de Insula.^h Dñs de Fracington.ⁱ Haneys.^k Rogerus de Huntingfeld.

Sporle ; *Niçus de Carru, Dñs de Mulesford ; *Thomas Dñs de la R . . . ;
*^m de Moncy, Dñs de Thornton ; *Johes filius Marmeduci, Dñs
de Hordene ; *Johannes Dñs de Kingeston ; *Robertus Hastang, Dñs
de la Desiree ; Radulphus Dñs de Grendon ; Witts Dñs de Leyborn ;ⁿ
*Johes de Greystok,^o Dñs de Morpath ; Mattheus filius Johis, Dñs de
Stokenhame ; Nichus de Meynill, Dñs de Wherleton ; & *Johes Paynell
Dñs de Otteleye.

The preceding observations have, I am sensible, caused me to com-
mit a great trespass upon the time of the Society ; but I shall be
highly gratified if what has been advanced be deemed worthy of its
attention.

I have the honor to be, my dear Sir,

your very faithful servant,

NICHOLAS HARRIS NICOLAS.

HENRY ELLIS, Esq.

ⁱ Thomas Dñs de la Roche.

ⁿ Leyburne

^o Graistok.

^m Walterus de Muncy.

XXIV. *Letter from THOMAS AMYOT, Esq. F. R. S. Treasurer, to the EARL OF ABERDEEN, K. T. President, accompanying a transcript of two Rolls, containing an Inventory of Effects formerly belonging to Sir John Fastolfe.*

Read 19th May, 1825.

James-street, Westminster, 19 May, 1825.

MY LORD,

BY the kindness of the present possessor, Andrew Fountaine, Esq. of Narford, I am enabled to lay before the Society of Antiquaries a domestic Record, which will probably be considered as having a legitimate claim to their attention. It is an Inventory of the Effects of Sir John Fastolfe, who stands enrolled among the heroes of Agincourt, and obtained still further renown as a brave and successful commander in the French wars of Henry the Sixth. His name, however, is now perhaps better remembered by its near resemblance to the fictitious one which Shakspeare bestowed on the wittiest and most delightful character of the comic Stage. This resemblance indeed, which, whether accidental or otherwise, has given rise to much fruitless controversy, begins and ends with the name, for the gravity of Sir John Fastolfe appears to have been as remarkable as his courage, prudence, piety, and hospitality.

The two ancient parchment Rolls, from whence the present transcript was made, were originally in the possession of Blomefield, the Historian of Norfolk. They appear to have escaped the vigilant researches of Sir John Fenn, by whom they would otherwise have been published, as suitable illustrations of the Paston Letters, nor are they to be found in the recently printed supplemental volume of that singularly curious and

amusing Collection. But a report of their having been preserved among the old family writings is noticed in the *Life of Fastolfe*, written originally by Oldys for the *Biographia Britannica*, and greatly enlarged from documentary authorities by Mr. Gough. His additions indeed, though printed, were never published, but the sheets have been placed in my hands through the kindness of Mr. Ellis. From one of Mr. Gough's notes, it appears, I think, that he had seen the inventory, which might have fallen into his possession with Blomefield's other collections, though it is not noticed in the printed catalogue of his topographical bequests to the Bodleian Library.^a But whatever may have been the fate of the original Rolls after Blomefield's death, their absence or loss, as far as the present purpose is concerned, would call for very little regret, since the autograph attestation of that diligent writer, affixed to the copy now before us, will amply vouch for the laborious and exact fidelity of the transcription. It was made by him, in the year 1744, for Sir Andrew Fountaine, whose fine library and very valuable collection of works of art have been carefully, and I might almost add, piously preserved, in the family mansion at Narford, by his two successors, as memorials of that elegant and correct taste for which in his day he appears to have been justly celebrated.

Interesting as this Record must be considered, from its exhibiting very minute particulars of the furniture, plate, wardrobe, and entire personal property of a highly distinguished English Gentleman of the fifteenth century,^b and desirable as it may be that we should avail ourselves of Mr. Fountaine's obliging permission to print it among our Transactions, it must be obvious that its length and the minuteness of its details render it unsuitable to be read to the Society. I am inclined to believe, however, that a short summary of its contents may not be wholly unacceptable.

^a Since the above was written, Dr. Bliss, after an obliging search made at my request, among Blomefield's papers in the Gough Collection, has assured me that the original Rolls in question are not to be found among them.

^b In Strutt's *Horda* (vol. iii. p. 63 et seq.) some Inventories of the time of Henry the
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The first class of property described consists of Coin in gold and silver, amounting in the whole to £2,643. 10s., which certainly in those days must have been a sum of no inconsiderable value. Part of this was found in Fastolfe's houses in Caister and London, but the greater portion of it, exceeding £2,000, had been deposited by him in the Abbey of St. Bennet of Hulme, which afterwards became the place of his burial. This mitred Abbey, which owed much to his pious munificence, was, as it is well known, left undissolved at the Reformation, and now forms a part of the possessions of the Bishop of Norwich, its Lord Abbot, as he is sometimes still designated. The money had been undoubtedly placed there for safe custody, the sanctity of monastick walls being in that age deemed a sufficient protection against depredators.

Sir John Fastolfe's plate is next described, and it will give some idea of the magnificence of his castellated mansion at Caister near Yarmouth, when it is stated, that it contained, besides some gold plate, not fewer than 13,400 ounces of silver! The venerable walls of this castle still present a picturesque ruin near the banks of the Bure, and it may give additional importance to it, as well as to the Inventory before us, to remark that Fastolfe had the royal licence to employ five vessels in bringing over materials for building and furnishing it.* Besides the plate at Caister, more than 3,000 ounces were deposited by him, probably for the reason before assigned, at St. Bennet's Abbey, and a quantity exceeding 2,500 ounces had been removed from Caister to his town mansion at Bermondsey. Many of the articles appear to have been of a rich and massive description; such, for instance, as a Salt-Eighth, are described and quoted, but they will be found much inferior in interest to that under consideration. The Inventory of Effects at Skipton Castle, printed in Whitaker's Craven, was taken in 1572, more than a century after Fastolfe's, and that given by Mr. Gage, in his elegant History of Hengrave, bears the date of 1603.

* The Royal Licence for this purpose is preserved in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xi. p. 44. The object is described "pro expeditione operationum suarum ædificationis & stuffuræ hospitii sui," and the vessels which Fastolfe was allowed to employ, are oddly designated "duas naves vocatas *Playtes*, quandam navem vocatam a *Cogship*, unam aliam navem vocatam a *Farecoft*, necnon duas *Balingeras*."

cellar "like a *Bastell*, alle gilt with roses," weighing 77 ounces, and another of greater bulk, "gilt with many windowes;" a spice plate of 110 ounces, "well gilt like a double rose," with Fastolfe's "helmet and rede roses of his arms," and four "cuppes gilt like founteyns, with one columbine floure enameled in the myddes." The heaviest article is a flagon weighing 368 ounces, which, when filled according to the measure of Fastolfe's hospitality, would in these "degenerate days," hardly be raised or circulated on the board without some difficulty.

The Chapel, also, of the mansion appears to have been well furnished with suitable plate, of a costly and curious kind.

The second Roll commences with an ample wardrobe, so minutely described as to furnish the artist and antiquary with a rather acceptable addition to our stock of information respecting the costume of the later Plantagenet reigns. It is classed with systematic precision under the heads, *Toga*, *Tunica*, and *Capucia*, and the great proportion of velvet of which the dresses were composed shews them to have been of no light description.

Next follows a list of "clothis of arras and of tapstre worke." With the exception of two pieces, pourtraying the Assumption and the adoration of the Shepherds, the subjects are either of a familiar or romantic kind. Hawking, hunting, and duck-shooting, come in for their share of celebration; but we meet also with a "cloth of nine conquerors;" and another of the siege of Falaise. Nor should I omit to notice a "geyaunt beryng the legge of a bere in his honde," and a gentlewoman *harping* by a castle.

This list is succeeded by one of "Canvass in the Wardrop, and syne lynen and clothe of divers sortes." It would appear from the abundant supply of clothing materials given under this head, that it was the practice in houses remote from the metropolis, to hoard up large stores of such articles in readiness for use.

The furniture of all classes is next described, in the order of the respective rooms in which it was arranged. Among the articles in the Steward's-room, I find "three grete brass pottys of *Frenche* making," and "four chaferne's of the *Frenche gyse* for sewys." There is also a

"fountayne of latyne to sette in pottys of wine." It is evident, therefore, that French fashions, and many of the luxuries which are now prevalent, were then equally prized. Not only featherbeds are found in most of the chambers, even down to the porter's, but pillows of down and of lavender appear in all the principal ones, except that occupied by Sir John Fastolfe. The old warrior himself, however, did not disdain to repose on a feather-bed, covered with blankets of fustian. The cook slept under a coverlet of roses and blood-hounds' heads.

At the castellated abode of so distinguished a commander, the catalogue of armour may be expected to be copious, and in attempting to illustrate and explain it, I have been obligingly promised the valuable assistance of Dr. Meyrick. The great hall was furnished with eleven cross-bows, a boar-spear, and a target; and the winter-hall was decorated with a cloth of arras of the "Morysch," or, as Blomefield interprets it, the Morris dance. This etymology, though disputed by Strutt,^d has been sanctioned by the authority of Mr. Douce.^e

It is remarkable that, in a mansion so celebrated for its hospitalities, the cellar should be found to contain only two pipes of red wine, and none of any other description. The buttery had its gallon pots, and pottles of leather, with two "grete and hoge botellis." It had besides, some plate not before described, including six "chacyd pecys gilt by the bordurys with the *touche of Parice*."

After describing the contents of the chapel, bakehouse, brewhouse, kitchen and larder (each of which may deserve some attention), the copy of the Inventory is closed with Blomefield's attestation of its fidelity.

I cannot conclude this summary without adverting to what may appear a remarkable omission. I allude to the absence of books of every description. The Inventory, it is true, bears date a few years before the introduction of printing in England. Still it might have been expected that an extensive library of manuscript volumes would

^d Sports and Pastimes, p. 207, edit. 1810. ^e Illustrations of Shakspeare, vol. ii. p. 433.

have been found in the mansion, in addition to two Missals, a Psalter, and a Martyrology,^f which are noticed among the furniture of the chapel. Had no classics appeared, we might yet have looked for stores of Divinity, both scholastick and practical, as well as for the popular native poetry of Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, and for no inconsiderable supply of French Chronicles and Romances; the probable acquisitions of the continental warfare in which Fastolfe had been so long engaged. His learned Secretary, William of Worcester, whose studies he encouraged, and whose chamber is noticed in the Inventory, does not seem to have directed his patron's taste to the acquirement of a library, though in his own person he engaged in the pursuit of books with the ardour of a modern Bibliomaniac. It appears, indeed, from a passage in one of the Paston Letters, that Worcester was as eager to procure a good book of French or of Poetry, as his master, Fastolfe, was to purchase a fair manor.^g Another letter in the same collection shews that the secretary had obtained possession of two volumes which had belonged to his patron, though they are not described in the present Inventory, one of them a Chronicle of Jerusalem, and the other a History of Fastolfe's own military achievements.^h On the whole, it is probable that Sir John, while he was a liberal benefactor to Magdalen College at Oxford, as well as to the Sister University, contented himself, as his contemporaries of high rank probably did, with promoting literature by his bounty, without partaking of its enjoyments.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

THOMAS AMYOT.

The EARL OF ABERDEEN, K. T. President.

^f Or Obituary. See Mr. Gage's explanation in a note on this article.

^g Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 173.

^h Ibid. vol. iv. p. 79.

[The following pages contain the *entire* Inventory, as transcribed by Blomefield. In attempting to illustrate it by explanatory notes, and by the interpretation of obsolete or obscure words, I have thankfully availed myself of the friendly and valuable aid of Dr. MEYRICK, Mr. GAGE, Mr. MARKLAND, and Mr. PALGRAVE, to whose names I have very great satisfaction in being permitted to add that of Mr. DOUCE. The reader, however, will still perhaps find much that may seem to require elucidation or correction. I can only entreat his candid appreciation of the difficulties which have attended my undertaking. EDITOR.]

MEMORANDUM.

"That here aftir foloweth an Inventarye of the Gold and Silver in Coyne and Plate and othir godes and catells that sumtyme were Sir John Fastolfs, knyght, whiche the said Sir John Fastolf gaf to John Paston, squier, and Thomas Howys, clerk, of trust and confidence that the same godes shuld the more sauflly be kept to the use of the said Sir John duryng his lif, and aftir his decesse to be disposed in satisfiing of his duetees and dettes to God and Holy Chirche, and to all othir, and in fulfillyng and execucion of his Legate, last Wille and Testament, withoute eny defraudyng of the said Holy Chirche, or of eny Creditours or persones."ⁱ

Ffirst. In goold and silver, founden in th' Abbey of

Seynt Benet^k aftir the decesse of the said Sir

John Fastolf ^{l l xx ll s d}
m.m.iiij. xiiij. iiij. iiij.

ⁱ The disputes and difficulties which arose in the execution of Fastolfe's will, form the subject of many of the letters in the Paston Collection. A copy of the will, in the original Latin, has been obligingly placed in my hands by Mr. Fountaine. It is, however obviously incorrect and imperfect. An English translation of it was printed by Mr. Gough in his notes on Oldys's *Life of Fastolfe*, in the *Biographia Britannica*.—ED.

^k Sc. of Holme in Norfolk, where Sir John lies buried.—BLOMEFIELD

l Where his country-house was.—**BLOMEFIELD.**
 m At his city-house.—**IBID.** It is remarkable that no notice is taken in this Inventory of the furniture and effects in Sir John Fastolfe's house at Norwich, of which some curious relics were preserved till the present century.—**ED.**
 n Probably a flasket or small flagon.—**ED.**
 o Spikes to hold candles, in oppositon to sockets. Mr. Douce refers me to the following article in *Promptuarium Parvulorum*. "Pryket of a candell weyke, *Faga*." He adds that *Faga* is not found in any Latin glossary that he has yet examined. Mr. Palgrave, on the authority of a passage in "*Spectacle de la Nature*," observes, that some candles were formerly made with hollow bottoms, in order to be fixed on spikes. And Mr. Gage remarks, that in the *Stafford Household Book*, 23 Hen. VII. the liveries from the Chandlery consist of *sises*, *quariars*, and *prikets*, whence he infers that the name became applied both to this species of candle, and to the staff or spiked stand on which it was placed.—**ED.**

Item, xij flat peces bolyond ^p in the bothom weiyng	^{xx} viiij. ix. unc ^s .
Item, vj. Bolles, with oon coveracle ^q of silver, the egges gilt, with my maisters helmet enameled in the myddes, weiyng	^{xx} viiij. iiij. unc ^s .
Item, a Candilstick, a Pricket, and ij Sokettys of silver, weiyng	xvij. unc ^s .
Item, ij Potell Pottes of silver, wrethyn, the verges gilt with braunches enameled with j tree in y ^e lyddys, weiyng	^{xx} vj. xij. unc ^s .
Item ij Gallon Pottes of silver, wrethyen, the verges gilt, enamelled in the lyddes with iij flours, weiyng	^{xx} xj. ix. unc ^s .
Item, j Roste Iren, ^r with vij staves and j foldyng stele of silver, weing	lxxiiij. unc ^s .
Item, ij Flagons of silver, with gilt verges, and the cheynes enameled in the myddes, with j hoke, weiyng	^{ix} ix. unc ^s .
Summa	^{ix} ix. lxxij. unc ^s .
Item, a Saltsaler like a bastell, ^s gilt with roses, weiyng	lxxvij. unc ^s .
Item, a paire of Basyns, alle gilt, with an antelope ^t in the myddys, weiyng	^{xx} xj. unc ^s .
Item, ij Ewers gilt, pounsed with flowers and braunches, weiyng	xxxix. unc ^s .
Item, j Spice Plate, well gilt like a double rose, my	

^p Bulging, as Mr. Douce observes, i. e. raised, or embossed.—ED.

^q A cover or lid.

^r It is not easy to guess at the construction of the roasting or toasting-iron here mentioned; but such an instrument of silver, weighing 73 ounces, must have been a culinary utensil of rather a splendid description.—ED.

^s A small tower.—Dr. MEYRICK.

^t Mr. Gage remarks that the antelope here noticed, and the columbine flower described in the next page, are badges of the house of Lancaster and of Margaret of Anjou.—ED.

maister's helmet in the myddes, with rede roses, of my maister's arms, weiyng	^{xx} v. x. unc ^a .
Item, ij Galot Pottes ^u alle gilt enameled in the crownes with violet floures, weiyng	^{xx} x. xiiij. unc ^a .
Item, vj Bolles with oon coveracle, gilt, with my maisters helmet enameled in the myddes, weiyng ^{xx}	^{xx} viij. vj. unc ^a .
Item, j Stondyng Cup, all gilt, with a coveracle, with my maister's helmet enamyled in the myddes, weiyng	xlj. unc ^a .
Item, another Cuppe of the same facion all gilt, weiyng	xliij. unc ^a .
Item, iiij Cuppes gilt like founteyns with j colum- byne floure enameled in the myddes, weiyng ^{xx}	^{xx} iiij. xvj. unc ^a .
Summa	<hr/> dcccc. lxv. unc ^a .
Item, one grete flagon with stuf thereyn, weiyng ^{xx}	^{xx} xviij. xj. unces.
Summa	<hr/> ccc. lj. unces.
Item, vj Platers, weiyng	^{xx} viij. vnces.
Item, xiiij Dishes, weiyng	^{xx} ix. vnces.
Item, xij peces of diverse sortes, weiyng	^{xx} viij. xiiij. vnces.
Item, ij grete Galon Pottes, playn, with gilt verges, my maister's helmet in the kever, ^x weiyng	^{xx} xij. xij. vnces.
Item, j paire Basyns, the verges gilt, Harlyng's ^y armes in the bottom, weiyng	^{xx} v. xv. unces.
Item, ij Quart Pottes with gilt verges, with the same armes in the lydde, weiyng	lxx. unces.
Item, ij Ewers, the oon di gilt, and the othir the bordures gilt, weiyng	lj. unces.

^u Mr. Douce thinks this should be *galon*. See below.—Ed.

^x Cover, still pronounced *kever*, or *kiver*, in the provincial dialect of Norfolk.—Ed.

^y Sir Robert Harling, of East Harling, in Norfolk, was Fastolfe's companion in arms during the English wars in France, and was killed at Paris in 1435.—Ed.

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Item, j Spice Plate dī gilt, my master's terget^a

enamyled in ye myddes, weiyng . . . lxxj. vnc.

Sum^a . . . dcccc^a xxxij. vnces.

Item, j stondyng Cuṑ gilt, with j kever with j rose

in the toppe, weiyng . . . xl. vnces.

Item, anothir Cuppe of ye same facion, gilt, weiyng xlj. vnces.

Sum^a . . . ^{xx}iiij. j. vncez.

Item, three grete chargeours, weiyng . . .

^{xx}vij. ij. vnc^a.

Item, xij platers, weiyng . . .

^{xx}xj. xij vnces.

Item, xij dishes, weiyng . . .

^{xx}ix. viij. vnces.

Item, xj Sausers, weiyng . . .

^{xx}lxxvj. vnces.

Sum^a . . . dcxxxviij. vnces.

Item, j paire Basyns with gilt verges, and j rose with

my maister's helmet enameled and gilt, in the

myddes, weiyng . . . ^{xx}viiij. vj. unces.

Item, ij Ewers gilt and enameled in lyke wise,

weiyng . . . lxxv. unces.

Item, xij flatte peces pounsed^b in the bottom, the

verges gilt, sortely, weiyng . . . ^{xx}vij. xvj. vnces.

Item, j Spice Plate dī gilt, wrethyn, weiyng

^{xx}lxxij. vnces.

Item, vj Bolles with oon Kever, the verges gilt,

my maister's helmet in the myddes, weiyng ^{xx}viiij. iiiij. vnc^a.

Item, ij grete Pottes, eche of a galon, wrethyn, the

verges of bothe gilt, with popy leves, with j tre
leved roses in the lidde, enameled, weiyng ^{xx}xj. xvj. vnces.

Item, ij Potelers, with gilt verges enameled in the

liddes, weiyng . . . ^{xx}iiij. ix. vnc^a.

^a Circular shield.—Dr. MEYRICK

^a [Ita.]—BLOMEFIELD.

^b Meaning, as Mr. Douce remarks, punched, i. e. hollowed.—ED.

Item, ij Flagons with gilt verges, and the cheyne enameled in the myddes, weiyng	^{xx} vij. j. vnce.
Item, j Candelstik with j Priket and ij Soketts, weiyng	xvij. vnce.
Summa	<u>xj. xxxvj. vnces.</u>

Item, j Salt Saler, with j kever, well gilt, with many wyndowes, weiyng ^c	ⁱⁱⁱ ij. vj. vnce.
Item, vj Bolles, all gilt, with j kever, and rose in the toppe, eche enameled in the bottom with my maister's helmet, weiyng	^{viii} ij. xj. vnce.
Item ij Galon Pottes, gilt playn, anameled in the lyddes with my maister's target, weiyng	^{xx} vij. xiiij. vnces.
Item, j stondyng Cup pounsed with floures, well gilt, weiyng	xlij. vnces.
Item, j gilt Cuppe stondyng covered, pounsed with j rose in the toppe, weiyng	xlviij. vnces.
Item vj Gobelettes wele gilt with j Columbyne floure, weiyng	^{xx} vij. vj. vnce.
Sum ^a	<u>dcxlj. vnce.</u>

CHAPELL.

Item, vij Prikettes with gilt verges, weiyng	^{xx} vj. vj. vnces.
Item, ij stondyng Candel Stikkes with gilt verges, weiyng	ⁱⁱⁱ ij. j. vnce.
Item, j Ship with gilt verges, weiyng	ix. vnces.
Item, j Box, for syngyng brede, ^d weiyng	iiiij. vnce.

^c This large salt-cellar, and that before described to be like a "bastell," were probably used on the table as barriers between guests of superior and inferior rank, according to the well-known custom of our ancestors.—ED.

^d "Pain à chanter," i. e. the host or unleavened bread, consecrated by the priest *sing-*

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Item, j Haly Water Stop with j Sprenkill, and ij	
Cruets, weiyng	xij. vnces.
S'm ^a	^{xx} ciiiij. xij. vnces.
Item, j brode pryket alle gilt, weiyng	
Item, j paire Basyns alle gilt, enameled in the	xl. vnces.
bottom with roses, weiyng lx vnces	lx. vnces.
Item, j Pix di gilt, weiyng	xxx. vnces.
Item, j Crosse all gilt, weiyng	xlj. vnces.
Item, j Ewer all gilt, weiyng	xvij. vnces.
Item, j Chalice alle gilt, weiyng	xxvij. vnces.
Item, j lesser Chalice all gilt, weiyng	xiiij. vnc ^a .
Item, ij roses over gilt, waying	xv. vnces & di.
Item, j image of Seynt Michell, weiyng	^{xx} vlij. x. vnc ^a .
Item, j image of oure Lady, and hir childe in hir	
armes, weiyng	^{xx} v. x. vnc ^a .
S'm ^a	^c v. xxix. & di. vnc ^a .
Item, j grete Flagon, weiyng	
Item, j almesse Disshe, weiyng	^{xx} xviij. viij. vnces.
	^{xx} vj. xij. vnces.
Summa	^c d. vnces.

ing. In the very curious Chapter "Of the negligences happening in the mass, and the Remedies," which is preserved only in His Majesty's copy of Caxton's "Doctrinal of Sapience," I find a direction to the priest, "that if in the host be any form of flesh, or other form than bread, he ought not to use that host, but ought to *sing* again." Mr. Douce refers me to Queen Elizabeth's injunctions, (Wilkins's Concilia, vol. iv. p. 188.) where it is ordered, that the sacramental bread shall be "of the same fineness and fashion, though somewhat bigger in compass and thickness, as the usual bread and water heretofore named *singing-cakes*, which served for the use of the private mass." It was made into small round cakes, impressed with the cross. The iron instruments used for that purpose will be noticed hereafter, among the tools in the bake-house.—ED.

Item, j Sensour of silver and gilt, weiyng	xl. vnces.
Item, j Ship, weiyng	xviiij. vnces.
Item, j Pece with j keil, ^e weiyng	xx. vnces.
Item, j Gobelet gilt, weiyng	xj. vnces.
Item, j stondyng Cup, with j kever, weiyng	xij. vnces.
Sum ^a	c.j. vnc.
Item, iij grete Chargeours of oon sorte, weiyng	^{xx} xj. xviiij. vnc ^a .
Item, j chauffer ^f to sette upon a table for hote water, weiyng	^{xx} iiij. xiiij. vnc ^a .
Item, iij holowe Basyns, wherof oon is bolyons, weiyng all	^{xx} x. xiiij. vnces.
Item, iij Botelles of oon sorte, weiyng	^{xx} vij. xiiij. vnces.
Item, vj grete peces of oon sorte, weiyng	^{xx} v. xvij. vnces.
Item, xij peces all of oon sorte, weiyng	^{xx} xj. xiiij. vnces.
Item, iij smale peces, weiyng	xxv. vnces.
Item, j grete Bolle, with j kever, weiyng	lxij. vnces.
Item, iij Gobelettes pounsed, weiyng	xiiij vnces & di
Item, j powder Box, and j kever to j cup, weiyng	xxij. vnc ^a .
Item, ij Basyns, the verges gilt with popy leves, enameled with my maister's helmet in the bot- tom, weiyng	^{xx} viiij. ix. vnces.
Item, ij Ewer gilt, enameled in the same wise, weiyng	^{xx} iiij. vnces.
Item, iij Ewers of the olde facion, weiyng	lxxvij. vnces.
Summa	^c xvxxij. vnč & di
Item, j litill flat pece, gilt, with j kever, weiyng	xxvij. vnces.

^e The low, flat coal barges in use between Yarmouth and Norwich, are provincially called *keels*. As the preceding article represented a ship, this may have been in the form of one of the coal vessels here described.—ED.

^f Chaufer, Chaferne, or Chafron, a kettle or cauldron.

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Item, j stondyng pece all gilte, with j kever,	
weyng	xxxviiij. vnces.
Item, j litill stondyng pece gilt, with j kever,	
weyng	xxj. vnc ^a . & di
	<hr/>
Sm ^a	iiiij. vj. vnc ^a . & di
	<hr/>

Item, APUD SANCTUM BENEDICTUM.^g

Item, ij Basyns with gilt verges and my maister's helmet in the botom with ij Ewers with gilt verges, and my maister's helmet on the lyddes, weyng togider	cc. xxxj. vnces.
Item, iiiij Prikettes with gilt verges, weyng .	xxxj. vnces.
Item, ij lesser Prikettes, weyng	v. unc ^a .
Item, j Basyn and j Ewer with my maister's armes in the botom, weyng	lxiiij. vnces.
Item, ij littill Ewers of ij sortes, weyng .	xxiiij. vnces.
Item, j Spice Plate with gilt verges, weyng .	xliiij. vnces.
Item, ij Galons with gilt verges with my maister's armes in the liddes weyng	iiiij. xvj. vnces.
Item, ij Potellers of oon sorte, weyng	iiiij. iiiij. vnces.
Item, ij othir Potellers of oon sorte, weyng .	iiiij. xiiij. vnces.
Item, j Potell Potte of anothir sorte, weyng	xxxv. vnces.
Item, ij Quartellets of diverse sortes, weyng	xlviij. vnces.
Item, j litill Botell with j cheyne and j stopell, weyng	xxxviiij. vnces.
Item, j brode Priket ^h with gilt verges, weyng	xxiiij. vnces.
Item ij Candilstikkis, ij Priketts, and iiiij Soketts, weyng	xxxviij. vnces.
Item, vj Gobeletts of diverse sortes, weyng .	xxviiij. vnces.
Item, xiiij peces of diverse sortes, weyng .	vj. xiiij. vnces.

^g N. B. All the foregoing was in his own capital mansion-house at Caister by Yarmouth; the following were repositied in St. Bennet's Abbey at Holme in Norfolk.—*Blomefield*.

^h This was probably intended to hold a torch.—*Ed.*

Item, j old pece with j kever, and j knop, weiyng	xxxij. vnces.
Item, ij chargeours of oon sorte, weiyng	lxxviij. vnces.
Item, vj Platers of oon sorte, weiyng	^{xx} vij. vij. vnces.
Item, xvij Disshes of dyverse sortes, weiyng	^{xx} x. xvj. vnces.
Item, vj Sawzers of oon sorte, weiyng	xxviij. vnces.
Sum ^a	^{xx} xv. xvij. vnces.
Item, j Saltsaler all gilt, with j kever, weiyng	xxxvij. vnces.
Item, j pece with j kever all gilt, with j knop, weiyng	xxxj. vnces.
Item, j playne pece gilt, with j kever, weiyng	xxvj. vnces.
Item, j litill pece gilt, with j kever, weiyng	xviij. vnces.
Sum ^a	^{xx} v. xij. vnces.
Item, j Chargeour, weiyng	xlvi. vnces.
Item viij Platers, weiyng	^{xx} ix. xj. vnces.
Item, viij Disshes, weiyng	^{xx} vi. v. vnces.
Item vij Saucers, weiyng	xlvi. vnces.
Item, j potell potte, with gilt verges, enameled in the top with violet leves, weiyng	xlvi. vnces,
Sum ^a	cccc. ^{xx} iii. iij. vnces.
Item, one stondyng Cup with j kever all gilt, weiyng	xxxviij. vnces.
Item, j Founteyne all gilt, with j columbyne floure in the bottom, weiyng	xxiij. vnces.
Sum ^a	lxj. vnces.
Item, ij Saltsalers, weiyng	xxxix. vnces.
Item, j Candilstik with ij soketts, weiyng	xxj. vnces.
Item, iiij flat peces pounsied in the botom, weiyng	xl. vnces.
Item, ij Gobeletts pounsied, weiyng	ix. vnc ^e .

Item, xiiij Spones, wherof oon is gilt, weiyng	xvij. vnces.
Item, j Ewer with j knop, weiyng	xiiij. vnces.
Item, ij Potellers ⁱ with my maister's armes on ye liddes, weiyng	lxxij. vnces.
Item, j potell Potte ⁱ with braunches on the lidde, enameled, weiyng	xlx. vnces.
Item, iij Pottes enameled, with j garlond, weiyng	^{xx} v. vij. vnces.
Item, j Quart pott, weiyng	xxix. vnces.
Item, j grete Chargeour, weiyng	lxxix. vnces.
Item, iij Lesser Chargeours, weiyng	^v x. xi. vnces.
Item, v. Platers of oon sorte, weiyng	^{xx} v. xv. vnces.
Item, xij dishes of oon sorte, weiyng	^{xx} x. ix. vnces.
Item, ix Sausers of oon sorte, weiyng	lxiij. vnces.
Sum ^a .	m. ^{xx} iiij. vij. vnces.

Item, j Gobelet, gilt, with one Columbyne in y ^e botom, weiyng	xxiiij. vnces.
Item, j stonding cup, with j kever, weiyng	xxxv. vnces.
Sum ^a .	lix. vnces.

CASTRE.^k

Item, ij Prykettys with gilt verges, weiyng	xvij. vnces.
Item, ij Cruettes, oon lakkyng a lydde, weiyng	viiij. vnces.
Item, j litill Crosse with j fote all gilt, weiyng	vij. vnces.
Item, j Sakeryng Bell, ^l weiyng	xj. vnces.
Item, j Chalice, weiyng	xviiij. vnces.

ⁱ Pottles, holding two quarts. In Henry IV. part i. Justice Shallow says to Bardolph and Davy, "By the mass you'll crack a quart together," to which Bardolph waggishly replies "Yes, Sir, in a *pottle-pot*;" meaning they would thus each have a quart.—ED.

^k N.B. The following were at his grand mansion-house of Caister by Yarmouth, as was all those aforesaid, except what is specified before to be in St. Bennet's Abbey.—BLOMEFIELD.

^l The bell rung in processions, and on other solemn occasions.

Item, j Saltsaler, weiyng	v. vnces.
Item, j Paxbrede, ^m weiyng vnces.
Item, j grete Saltsaler, with j kever, weiyng	xxvij. vnces.
Item, j playn Basyn with j Ewer, weiyng .	liij. vnc ^a .
Item, ij flat peces of oon sorte, weiyng .	xxij. vnces.
Item, xvij Spones of ij sortes, weiyng . .	xviiij. vnces.
Item, iiij Platers, weiyng	iiij. xiiij. vnces.
Item, vj Disshes, weiyng	iiij. xiiij. vnces.
Item, iiij Sausers, weiyng	xviiij. vnces.
Item, j Candilstik withoute soketts, weiyng .	xviiij. vnces.
Sum ^a	ccccx. vnces.

Memorandum of xlvj unces gold, and ^m ^{ij} ^d xxv. vnces
of silver plate, taken from Bermondseye.^a

Golde.	xlvi. vnces.
Silver plate	ii. ^d xxv. vnces.
In primis, a peson ^o of gold, it fayleth v balls, weiyng	xxiiij. vnces gold.
Item, j paire Basons geyng, both weiyng . .	v. ij. vnces.
Item, j paire Ewers geyng, bothe weiyng . .	xlvi. vnces.
Item, j paire of new Flagons cheyned, everiche weiyng lxxiiij vnc ^a	vij. viij. vnc ^a .
Item, iiij Platers parcell of ix platers not sortelye, ^p weiyng in all ix. ix. vnces. So iche weieth xxiiij vnces. So y ^e weight of the same iiij platers	iiij. xij. vnc ^a .
Item, xij Disshes, weiyng in all	ix. ix. vnc ^a .

^m The box or case for the consecrated water; properly, as Mr. Douce observes, *pir-bread*.—Ed.

^a Sir John had a house of retirement at Bermondsey.—*Ibid*.

^o *Peson*, Fr. An instrument in the form of a staff, with balls or crockets, used for weighing before scales were employed for that purpose. It was also called *Romaine*. *Romana*, *trutinae species*. Supplement to Du Cange.—Ed.

^p Not uniform.—Ed.

250 *Transcript of two Rolls, containing an Inventory of Effects*

Item, xij Sauzers, weiyng in all	iiiij. xviij. vnc ^a .
Sum ^a . vnč. argenti.	dcxxiiij. vnc ^a .
Et de auro.	xxiiij. vnc ^a .
Item, j Cup of golde, with an ewer, weiyng	xxiiij. vnc ^a .
Item, ij Spice plates, weiyng bothe	iiiij. xij. vnc ^a .
Item, ij olde Chargeours of oon sorte, weiyng	iiiij. viij. vnc ^a .
Item, j grete Plater, weiyng	xxxviij. vnc ^a .
Item, v olde Disshes, weiyng in alle	lxxvj. vnc ^a .
Item, v Sauzers, weiyng	xxix. vn ^{ces} .
Item, ij quart pottes, weiyng	liiij. vn ^{ces} .
Item, ix Platers, weiyng	xxvj. iiij. vnc ^a .
Item, a flat pece playne of silver, weiyng	xvj. vn ^{ces} .
Item, a Quart Pot of silver, with gilt verges, weiyng	xxvj. vn ^{ces} .
Item, an holowe Basyn of silver, weiyng	xxviij. vn ^{ces} .
Sum ^a . vnč. de Auro	xxiiij. vnc ^a .
Et de Argento	ccc. lxx. vnc ^a .
Item, ij stondyng Cuppes gilt, of oon sorte, iche weiyng xxiiij vn ^{ces}	lxviij. vn ^{ces} .
Item, vj Gobeletts uncovered, weiyng	xxiiij. vnč & dī.
Item, j Layer, weiyng	xxiiij. vn ^{ces} .
Item, j Saltsaler gilt, weiyng	xxxiiij. vnč.
Item, ij lesse Chargeours, weiyng	lxx. vnc ^a .
Item, v Platers, not sortely, pcell of ix platers, weiyng in all ^{xx} ix. vnc ^a , so iche plater weyeth by estymacion, xxiiij vnč, so ye weight of v platers	cxv. vnč.
Sum ^a	cccxxxiiij. vnc ^a . dē.

Item, j Saltsaler gilt, with a cover, weiyng .	xxxj. vnces.
Item, iiij. Peces gilt, with ij covers, weiyng .	lxxiiij. vnces.
Item, vj. Parys Cuppes of silver of the Monethes, with lowe fete, the bordures gilt, weiyng .	iiij. x. vnces.
Item, j white stondyng Cup, with a couer of silver, weiyng	xij. unc ^s . di.
Item, j knop ^a for a covere gilt, weiyng .	j. unce.
Item, j Flagon of silver and gilt, accordyng with the olde Inventorie, weiyng	x. xviiij. vnc ^s .
Item another Flagon of the same sorte, & of the same weight ^r	x. xviiij. vnc ^s .
Sum ^a	dc. xliij. unc ^s , di.
Item, j pair of olde Flagons, iiij pynts, fayleth j Stopell, weiyng	iiij. x. vnc ^s .
Item, j grete Sawser, weiyng	vj. unc ^s . di.
Item, ij olde Cruetts, waiyng	vj. unces.

[Indorsed on the Roll]

"The Inventorye of Sir John Fastolfe, Knight, of all the
Gowlde & Sylver, & other Coyne."

^a A knob or handle for the cover.

^r According to Bishop Fleetwood (*Chronicon Preciosum*, p. 81), a flagon at this period held four quarts. It appears, however, that the pair of *old* flagons described in the next article, contained but three pints each. It was probably therefore a vessel of variable capacity.—ED.

Rot. ii.

MEMORANDUM.

That the last day of Octobre, the yere of the reyne of King Henri the Sixt, Sir John Fastolf, Knyght, hathe lefte in his Warde-rope, at Castre, this Stuffe of Clothys, and othir Harnays that followith. That is to wete.

Toga remanenciæ hoc tempore in Garderobâ Domini.

- Ffirst, a Goune of clothe of golde, with side slevis, sirples wise.
 Item, j nothir Gowne of clothe of golde with streyght slevys, and lynyd
 withe blak clothe
 Item, halfe a Gowne of rede felwett.^r
 Item, j Gowne of blewe felwett upon felwet longe furrid withe martyrs
 & perfold^s of the same, slevys sengle.
 c. Item, j Gowne, clothe of grene, of iij yerds.
 Item, j side Scarlet Gownys, not lynyd.
 Item, j Rede Gowne, of my Lorde Coromalé,^t is leverey lyned. c.
 Item, j Chymere^u Cloke of blewe satayne lynyd with blake silke.
 Item, iij quarters of scarlet for a gowne, dī quarter of the same.
 Item, j broken Gowne of sangweyne, graynyd with the slevys.
 Item, j Gowne of Frenche russet, lynyd with blak clothe.
 Item, j Chemer of blak, lynyd withe blak bokerame.
 Item, j Gowne of blak; lynyd with blak lynyng.
 Item, iij quarters of a Russet Gowne with ought slevys.
 Item, j jagged Huke^s of blakke sengle, and dī of the same. c.

^r Or velvet.—BLOMEFIELD.

^s From the French *pourfiler*, to work on the edge. Tyrwhitt's notes on Chaucer.—ED.

^t Meaning, perhaps, Ralph Lord Cromwell, a friend of Fastolfe's, who died in 1455. See Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. ii. p. 44.—ED.

^u The *Chammer*, or *Shamew*, is described in Strutt's *Dress and Habits of the People of England*, vol. ii. p. 359. as being in effect a gown cut in the middle.—ED.

^s The *Hucca*, *Hucque*, or *Heuke*, was a mantle, with the peculiarities of which Strutt does not seem to have been acquainted. See *Dress and Habits*, vol. ii. p. 363.—ED.

U.

5

Tunice Remaĩn iſm.

Item, j Jakket of blewe felwett lynyd in the body with smale lynen clothe, and the slevys withe blanket.

Item, j Jakket of russet felwet, lynyd with blanket clothe.

Item, j Jakket of red felwet, the ventis bounde with red lether.

Item, j Jakket of blakke felwet upon felwet lynyd withe smale lynen cloth.

Item, j Jaket, the bret and slevys of blak felvet, and the remanent of russet fustian.

Item, ij Jakketts of russet felwet, the one lyned with blanket, t'other with lynen clothe.

Item, ij Jakketts of chamletts.^y— Item, j Jakket of sateyne fugre.^a

Item, j Dowblettis of red felwet uppon felwet.

Item, j Jakket of blak felwet, the body lynyd with blanket, and the slevys with blak clothe.

Item, j Dowbelet of rede felwet, lynyd with lynen clothe.

Item, ij Jakketts of derys lether, with j Coler of blak felwet.

Item, j Dowbelet of white lynyn clothe.

Item, j Pettecote ^a of lynen clothe stoffyd with flokys.

Item, j Petticote of lynen clothe withought slyves.

Item, ij payre hosyn of blakke keyrse.

Item, iij payre bounden with lether.

Item, j payre of Blake Hosyn vampayed wth lether.

Item, ij payre of Scarlet Hosyn.

^y Camlets, the manufacture of which was introduced at Norwich by the Flemings in the preceding century.—Ed.

Figured or branched satin. By an act passed in the 3rd year of Edward IV. *saturn fugery* or *fugerie*, was forbidden to be worn by any person under the rank of a knight.—Ed.

^a This petticoat, or *petite cote*, appears to have been a half coat, worn by males. See Strutt's Dress and Habits, vol. ii. p. 354.—Ed.

U
V

Capucia et Capellæ.

- Item, j russet Hode with owgt a typpet of satyn russet.
 Item, j Hode of blakke felwet with a Typpet halfe damask and halfe felwet y jaggyd.
 Item, j Hode of depe grene felwet jakgyd uppon the rolle.
 Item, j Hode of russet felwet with a Typpet, halfe of y^e same and halfe of blewe felwet, lynyd wth the same of damaske.
 Item, j Hood of depe grene felwet, the Typpet blake and grene felwet.
 Item, j Hood of russet felwet wthought a typpet.
 Item, j Hode of damaske russet with j Typpet fastyd wth a lase of silke.
 Item, j Rydyng Hode of rede felwet with iiij jaggys.
 Item, j Hode of skarlet with a rolle of purpill felwet, bordered with the same felwet.
 Item, j Hode of blake satayne, the rolle of blake felwet.
 Item, j of purpill felwet with owten rolle and typpet.
 Item, j Hode of russet felwet, the typpet lynyd with russet silke.
 Item, j Typpet, halfe russet and halfe blake felwet, with j jagge.
 Item, j Rydynghoode of blakalyere lynyd with the same.
 Item, j Rydynghoode of blakke felwet. — j lynyd with blakke clothe.
 Item, j Hatte of bever lynyd withe damaske gilt, girdell, borkell, and penaunt with iiij barrys of the same.^b
 Item j gret rollyd Cappe of sangweyn greyned.
 Item, ij Skarlet Hoodys. — Item, iiij Hodys of sangweyn graynyd.
 Item, ij Hodys of perce blewe. — Item, ij Hodys blaka lyre.
 Item, j Knitte Cappe. — Item, j Unsette Poke.^c

^b Buckle and pendant with 4 bars.—Dr. MEYRICK.

^c This perhaps means an unstarched or unplaited pocket. Mr. Douce, however, thinks it may have been a "poking stick," for starching ruffs, without a handle. See Steevens's note on Autolycus's song, and Mr. Douce's additions to it, in the *Illustrations of Shakspeare*, vol. i. p. 358.—ED.

- Item, ij Poyntys of a hood of skarlot.
 Item, j Blake Rydyng Hooode sengle. — Item, ij Strawen Hattis.
 Item, j Blewe Hooode of the garter.^d—Item, j Gowne of my ladys sengle.
 Alie Res necessario ibidem.
 Inprimis, j Canope of grene silke borderyd with rede.
 Item, iij Trapuris, with iij Clothis of the same sute.
 Item, ij old Cheses plis of rede.*
 Item, ij Pokkettis^f stuffyd and embraudyd with white rosys after his devyce of rede with crossis leten with silver.
 Item, j pece of skarlot embraudit in the myddell, containing in length iij yerds and di.
 Item, j pece of blewe contaynyng in length iij quarters, and in brede v quarters.
 Item, j pece of skarlot for trappars for horsys with rede crossis and rosys.
 Item, ij stripis of the same trappuris sutly.^g
 Item, j pece of Seynt George, leveray for j hode.
 Item, j Ball of copergilt embrauded rechely with j skogen^h hongyng therbi.
 Item, ij pencellisⁱ of his armys.
 Item, ij yerds and j quarter of white damaske.
 Item, j pece of white felwet ij yerdis longe.

^d N.B. he was Knt. of ye Garter.—BLOMEFIELD.

* Chasubles or Chesibles, the priests ordinary outer garment used at mass, which is now, as Mr. Gage remarks, always called *the vestment*. Mr. Douce supposes the words to have been separated in the transcript, and that *cheseblis* may have been in the original Roll. But in a copy of the "Illustrations of the manners and expences of antient times in England," 4to, 1797, with MS. notes, obligingly lent to me by Mr. Bowyer Nichols, I find the word *cheseplies*, in a manuscript extract from the accounts of the Churchwardens of St. Martin's Church at Dover.—ED.

^f The altar-pockets, to hold the linen cloth called the *corporale*, on which the sacred elements are laid. The term "*corporal oath*," is derived, as Mr. Markland observes, from the ancient custom of touching the *corporale* while in the act of swearing. See Paley's Moral Philosophy, Book iii. part 1, chap. 16.—ED.

^g Sutly appears to mean suitable or suitly, i. e. to match the trappings.—ED.

^h Probably a corruption of *escutcheon*.—ED.

ⁱ Penonsels, i. e. narrow flags.—Dr. MEYRICK.

Item, j pece of rede Satayne branden^k with *me faunt fere*.
 Item, ij Strypes of the same.
 Item, ij Cote Armour of silke aftir his own armys.
 Item, j Cote Armour of whyte silke of Seynt George.
 Item, ij pecys of Clothe of Golde of tyssent.
 Item, j pece of Blak Kersey with rosys, and embraudit with *me faunt fere*.
 Item, ij stripis of the same sute.
 Item, ij peces of Blewe Canvas of xliij yerds.
 Item, j pece of Linnen cloth steyned.
 Item, j pece of Grene Wurstet xxx yards longe.
 Item, iiij Clokys of Murry^l derke.
 Item, j bollok haftyd Dager harnessyd wyth sylver,^m and j chape thertoo.
 Item, j lytyll Schort Armyng dager withe j gilt schape.ⁿ
 Item, iiij payre Tablys ° of Cipris being in casys of lether.
 Item, j payre Tablys of .G. enrayed withowght. and here men in
 baggys longyng ther too.

. E .

Imprimis, v pellowes of grene silke.
 Item, j pellow of silke the growund white wyth lyllys of Blewe.
 Item, ij pellowes of Rede Felwet and the growund of Ham Blakke.
 Item, v pellowys of Rede Felwet.
 Item, ij pellowys of Rede Felwet beten upon Satayne.
 Item, j littill pellow of Grene sike full wythin of Lavendre.
 Item, j pellow of purpyll silke and golde.
 Item, ij pellowes of blew silke with a schelde.—Item, v large carpettys.
 Imprimis, j longe pillowe of fustian.—Item, iiij brode pillowes of fustyan.
 Item, ij pillowys of narwer sorte and more schorter of fustyan.

^k Probably, as Mr. Douce suggests, a mistranscription for *brauden*, i. e. braided or interwoven with the family motto. It seems to be the same as *embraudit*, which occurs frequently.—Ed.

^l A dark or brownish red colour.—Ed.

^m Silver twisted round the haft or hilt.—Dr. MEYRICK.

ⁿ The schape or chape was the ferule of the scabbard.—*IBID.*

^o For the game of chess.—*IB.* More probably, Mr. Douce thinks, for backgammon.—Ed.

Item, j longe pellow of linnen clothe.—Item, j pellow of a lasse sorte.
Item, j brode pyllow of linnen clothe
Item, ij pillowes of linnen clothe of a lasser assyse.
Item, viij pelowes of linnen clothe off a lasser assyse.
Item, v of the lest assyse.

In primis, j Cover of grene silke to a bedde, lynynd with blewe silke.
Item, j close Bedde of palle grene and whyte, with levys of golde.
Item, j Covyr of the same.
Item, j Covyr of rede silke lynynd with bokerame.
Item, j Cover of white clothe, fyne and well-wrought purpeynte ^p wyse.
Item, j Cover of Raynis, wrowght withe golde of Damaske.
Item, j Donge of purle sylke.—Item, j seler of white linnen clothe.
Item, j testur of the same.—Item, iij Curtaynys sutely.
Item, iij Cartaynys of linnen clothe.—Item, iij Blankettis of fustian.

Clothis of Arras and of Tapstre warke.

In primis, j Clothe of arras clyped the Schipherd's clothe.^a
Item, j of the Assumption of Oure Lady.
Item, j newe Banker of arras,^r with a bere holdyng j spere in the middys
of the clothe.
Item, j Tester of arras withe ij gentlewomen, and ij gentlemen, and one
holdyng an hawke in his honde.
Item, j Clothe withe iij gentle women.
Item, j Testour of arras with a lady crouned, and a grete rolle aboughte
her hede, the first letter N.
Item, j Clothe of ix conquerouris.^s
Item, j Cover for a bedde, of newe arras, and a gentlewoman beyng ther

^p Pourpointé, i. e. stitched.—Dr. MEYRICK.

^a Describing, as Mr. Douce observes, the adoration of the shepherds.—ED.

^r Mr. Douce, as well as Mr. Gage, supposes this to be a covering for a bench. It occurs
also in the Promptuarium Parvulorum.—ED.

^s The nine worthies, as Mr. Douce remarks.—ED.

in the corner with a whelp in hir honde, and an Agnus Day abought hir nec.

Item, a Seler of arras frangyd with silke, red, grene, and white.

Item, j Testir of the same red, grene, and white.

Item, j Testur frangyd with grene silke.—Item, j Seler of the same.

Item, j Clothe, for the nether hall, of arras, with a geyaunt in the myddell beryng a legge of a bere in his honde.

Item, j Clothe of arras for the dese^t in the same halle, with j wodewose^u and j chylde in his armys.

Item, j Clothe of the sege of Faleys^x for the west side of the halle.

Item, j Clothe of arras with iij archowrys on scheting a doke in the water withe a crosse bowe.

Item, j Clothe of arras withe a gentlewoman harpyng by j castell in myddys of the clothe.^y

Item, j Cover of arras for a bedde, with a mane drawyng water in the myddel of the clothe ought of a welle.

Item, j lytell Tester of arras, whith j man and a woman in the myddyll.

Item, j Banker of arras withe a man schetyng at j blode hownde.

Item, j Clothe of arras withe a lady crouned, and j rolle abought her hedde with A. N. lynyd with gray canvas.

Item, j Clothe of arras withe a condite in the myddill.

Item, j Clothe of arras with a gentlewoman holding j lace of silke, and j gentlewoman a hauke.

Item, ij Clothis portrayed full of popelers.

Item, j Testyr of blewe tapistry warke with viij braunchys.

^t That part of the hall in which the floor was elevated for the high table.—Dr. METRICK.

^u A wild man.—Ed.

^x The town of Falaise surrendered to Henry V. in December 1417, but the castle held out till the following February. Walsingham, p. 447. A long and particular account of the siege will be found in Thomas of Elmham's *Life of Henry V.* p. 126, et seq. Sir John Fastolfe was a commander in the king's army, and appears to have caused the siege to be commemorated by the tapestry here described.—Ed.

^y Mr. Douce informs me that an incident was here described from the *Romance of Tristan de Leonnois*, a favourite volume in the middle ages.—Ed.

- Item, j blewe Hallyng of the same sute.
Item, j rede Clothe of v yerds & dīm. of lenthe.
Item, j Banker of rede with iij white rosys and the armys of Fastolf.
Item, j nothyr Clothe of rede withe v roses sutly.
Item, j Hallyng^a of blewe worstet contayning in lenthe xiiij yerds, and in bredthe iij yerds
Item, j Hallyng with men drawen in derke grene worsted.
Item, ij pecys of whyte worsted, bothe of one lengthe.
Item, j Hallyng of depe grene, contayning in lenthe xi yerds and in bredthe ij yerds and one halfe.
Item, j Hallyng of the same sute lengthe and brede.
Item, j Hallyng of rede worstet, contaynyng xiiij yerds.
Item, j Tester of grene and whyte wyth braunchis sutely.

F.

Clothis of Arras.

- Item ij clothis of Arras for the chamboure over the nether halle, of huntyng & of haukyng.
Item, iij clothis of grene and whyte withe braunchis sutely to the other wreten before.
Item, a Coveryng of a Bedde of Aras, withe hontyng of the bore, a man in blewe with a jagged hoode white and rede.

G.

Canvas in the Warderop and fyne Lynen Clothe of dyvers sortes.

- First ix Berys^a for fetherbeddys.—Item, iij Transomers.^b
Item, j pece of lynen Clothe, countyng lenthe and brede ^{xx}ij.ellys, and the tone ende kit^c and nought enselyd^d & the other ende hole.

^a Mr. Gage concurs with me in conjecturing that, as a *banker* meant the covering for a bench, a *halling* may have been a hanging used for the hall. But this explanation is very doubtful, though the length and breadth of these articles would seem to countenance it.—Ed.

^b Biers, i. e. bedsteads.—Ed.

^c Mr. Douce conjectures these to have been cross-

bars.—Ed.

^d Cut.—Edit.

Sealed.—Ed.

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Item j pece of lynen Clothe yerde brode, contaynyng xiiij yerds & more, and not sealed.

Item j pece of grete lynen Clothe yerde brode of xxij yerds.

Item, j pece of yerde brode xxiiij yerds iij quarters pro Willmo' Schipdam.

Item, j pece of a yerde & an halfe quarter brode, of xxv yerds & iij quarters, pro Willi Schypdam.

Item, j pece of yerde brode of xij yerds & 1 quarter.

Item, j pece of fyne lynen Clothe yerd brode of lvj yerdys of lenthe.

Item, j pece of grete Clothe yerd brode of lvij yerds.

Item, j pece of grete Clothe of xxiiij yerds.

Item, j pece of Clothe leke of xxviiij yerds.

Item, j pece of Clothe of xxxvij yerds & diñi.

Item, j pece of grete Clothe of xxij yerdys per Willm' Schypdham.

Item, j pece of Clothe lyke of xxxij yerds & j quarter.

Item, j pece of lyke Clothe of xxxvj yerds, per Willm' Schypdam.

Item, j pece of Clothe of xxxiiij yerds & j quarter, per Willm' Schypdam.

Item, j pece of xxvij yerds j quarter.—Item, j pece of x yerds diñi.

Item, j pece of viij yerds.—Item, j pece of xxviiij yerds iij quarters.

Item, j pece of xix yerds diñi.—Item, j pece of xxij yerds j quarter.

Item, j pece of xiiij yerds j quarter.—Item, j pece of xxiiij yerds.

Item, j pece of xxvij yerds j quarter.—Item, j pece of xxx yerds diñi.

Item, j pece of xxxij yerds diñi.—Item, j pece of xlv yerds & j quarter.

Item, j pece of xxxj yerds diñi.—Item, j pece of xviiij yerds iij quarters.

Item, j pece of xiiij yerds.—Item, j pece of xiiij yerds.

Item, j pece of xlv yerds.—Item, j pece of viij yerds diñi.

Item, j pece of xiiij yerds diñi.—Item, j pece of xxij yerds j quarter.

Item, j pece of xxxix yerds.

Item, j pece of xxxiiij yerds j quarter of beter clothe.

Item, ij rollys of lynen Clothe, both not moten.—Item, lx yerds of Clothe.

Item, j pece of Seland Clothe* with dyverse sealys at the endys.

Summa totalis xl peces.

* Probably from Zealand in Holland.—Ed.

Summa totalis istius folij ultra ij rolles conc' lx
virg' & in pece Sigillat cum Domini Secreto Sigillo
uti in fine pagine m^{li}.xxxvij. virg'. ij
quart. diñ. per C. que re.

Manent, cum tribus pecijs restitutis.

H.

Adhic in Garderoba in domo Superiori.

Item, iij grete brasse Pottys of Frenche makyng.^f
Item, j grete Chafron of brasse.—Item, ij Chafernes of a lase sorte.
Item, iij Chafernes of the Frenche gyse for sewys.^g—Item, j Panne.
Item, j litell Potte of brasse.—Item, ij Chamber Basons of pewter.
Item, iij Chargeourys.—Item, vj Platowres.—Item, vj Sawyers of pewter.
Item, iij Candylstyckes of my Mayster is armys, and my Ladyes, copper, and gilt.
Item, j Fountayne of Latayne to sette in pottys of wine.^h

^f These great brass pots, as Mr. Douce remarks, may have resembled the ancient hunting-pot described and engraved in the 14th volume of *Archæologia*, page 278, having a French rhyming couplet for one of its inscriptions. Mr. Markland adds that great brass pots of this description seem to have been regarded as articles of some value at a late period. In the will of a gentleman of family and fortune in the North of England, dated 1718, after bequeathing to his son and heir many articles, he states, "the great brass pot in the kitchen is an heir loom."

^g Sewes, i. e. broth; according to Mr. Douce. Gower, in the *Confessio Amantis*, describing Progne's inhuman banquet, says,

"The fleshe, when it was so to hewe,

She taketh, and maketh thereof a sewe.

I cannot help remarking that Mr. Tyrwhitt, in his note on a line in the *Squire's Tale*, appears to have mistaken this word, which he supposes to mean a dish.—ED.

^h This article of luxury, Mr. Markland observes, was used on state occasions by Pepys, as we learn from his amusing *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 208. Latayne or Latten was a compound metal; but there appear to have been some doubts entertained whether it was brass or

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Item, ij Hangyng Candylstykkys.—Item, ij Maundys. ⁱ

Item, j basket of Wykers.—Item, xxj Bowys.

Item, viij Schefe Arrowys of swanne. ^k

Camera ultra Buttellarium pro Extraneis.

Item, j Feder Bedde.—Item, j Bolster.—Item, j Pillowe.

Item, ij Blankettys.—Item, j payre of Schetys.

Item, j Purpeynt of white.—Item, j Seloure. ^l—Item, j Testoure.

Item, ij Curtaynys of the same sute.—Item, j cobbord Clothe of the same.

Magna Camera ultra aulam Estevalet.

In primis, j Fetherbedde.—Item, j Bolster.—Item, j Seler.

Item, j Tester, withe one gentlewoman in grene, taking a mallard in hir hondes.

Item, j Coveryng, with j geyaunt smytyng a wild bore withe a spere.

Item, iij Courtaynes of grene silke.

Item, j Clothe of arras of the Schipherds.

plate-tin. See notes on *latten bilbo*, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act i. Scene i. That it was, however, of a bright gold colour is evident from the following passage, which I find in Chaucer's *Frankleyn's Tale*, v. 11557:

"Phebus waxe old, and hewed like *laton*
That in his hote declination
Shone as the burned gold.

Dr. Meyrick calls it copper gilt. Mr. Douce says the word is always used for brass.—ED.

ⁱ Baskets.—ED.

^k With swan's feathers.—Dr. MEYRICK.

^l Seloure, or seler, is probably the head of a bed. *Celura* is rendered by Du Cange "*lecti supremum tegmen*. Lat. *Calum*. Gall. *Ciel de lit*." In Kelham's *Norman Dictionary*, *celure* is incorrectly called a coverlet. Mr. Douce, however, thinks it may here mean a covering for a seat or stool, *selle*, Fr.—ED.

The White Chambour next the gret Chaumbur, sumtyme Nicholas
Bokkeyng^m is Chaumbre.

In primis, j Fedderbedde.—Item j Bolster.—Item, j Pyllowe of down.
Item, ij Blankettys bon.
Item, j payre of Schetys, every schete iiij schete iiij webbes.
Item, j Coveryng of whyte linnen clothe.—Item, j Purpoynt.
Item, j Tester.—Item, j Seler.—Item, iiij Curtaynys of whyte.
Item, j Fedderbedde.—Item, j Bolster.—Item, ij Blankettys.
Item, iiij payre of Schetys.—Item, ij Coverlettes of grene warke.
Item, j Cobbord Clothe.

The Chaumboure sumtyme for Stephen Scrope,ⁿ hangyng clothys portrayed with the Schipherds.

Item, j Federbedde.—Item, j Bolster.
Item, ij fustian Blanketts, every of hem vj webbys.
Item, j Pyllowe of downe.—Item, j Pyllowe of lavendre.
Item, j Cover of apres^o lynyd wth linnen clothe.
Item, j Tester & j Seler of y^e same.—Item, iiij Curtaynes of rede Saye.
Item, j clothe hangyng of Schovelers.^p

^m Nicholas Bocking was, in 1448, one of Fastolfe's attorneys to deliver seisin to certain feoffees of his very large landed property.—Ed.

ⁿ Stephen Scrope was the son-in-law of Sir John Fastolfe, who married the widow of Sir Stephen Scrope. In the Paston Collection, (vol. iii. p. 42.) there is a letter from Fastolfe to Stephen Scrope, in which he calls him his "*worschepeful* and right wel beloved sone." Stephen, it appears, was an author. Mr. N. H. Nicolas has obligingly pointed out to me a MS. translation of the Dictes of the Philosophers (Harl. 2266.) made from the French by Scrope, for the "*contemplacion and solas*" of his father-in-law, Fastolfe.—Ed.

^o Quere, of boar's skin? a leather pillow appears in a subsequent page. Mr. Douce, however, supposes it to be cloth of *Ypres* in Flanders, famous for its woollen manufacture.—Ed.

^p This may have been a representation of persons playing at shovel board, a very popular game at that period. But Mr. Douce thinks it may be the name of some place in Flanders, where tapestry was made.—Ed.

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Item, j rede Curtayne o Saye for the chayre.
 Item, iiij Cosschonys^a of rede say.—Item, j Cobbord Clothe.
 Item, j rynnyng^r Bedde with a materas.
 Item, j Bolster.—Item, ij Blankettis.—Item, j payre of Schetys.
 Item, j Coverlet of yellow clothe.

Raffman is Chambour.

Item, j Fedderbedde.—Item, j Bolster.—Item, j Blanket.
 Item, j payre of Schetys.—Item, j redde panne of kinyng skynnys.
 Item, j Testour.—Item, j Selour of rede saye.
 Item, j Hangyng Clothe of popelers.—Item, ij Tapettis with clowdys.^t
 Item, j Coveryng of grene saye.—Item, j Coverlet of other warke.

The Yeomen is Chambur for Straungers.

In primis, ij Fetherbeddys.—Item, iiij Bolsterys.—Item, j Materas.
 Item, v Blankettys.—Item, iiij payre of Schetys.
 Item, j Coverlet of grene warke.
 Item, ij Coverynges of white, grene, and blewe.
 Item, ij Hangyng Clothys of the same.

The white Hangyd Chambre next Inglose is Chamboure.

In primis, j Feddebedde.—Item, j Bolster.—Item, ij Blankettys,
 Item, j payre of Schetys.—Item, j Pillowe of downe.
 Item, j Purpoynt white hangyd.—Item, j hangyd Bedde.
 Item, j Selere.—Item, j Testoure.—Item, iiij Curtaynys of white.
 Item, j Curtayne of the same.

^a Cushions.

^r A moveable bed.

^t Mr. Douce conjectures this to have been made at Popering in Flanders, celebrated for its cloth. But in a preceding page we find two cloths "portrayed full of popelers." I should therefore guess it to be a representation of poplar trees.—ED.

[†] Mr. Douce considers this to mean tapestry. Chaucer uses *tapite*, to cover with tapestry. *Tapetum* is often used for a carpet. Mr. Gage observes that Kelham explains *tapets* to be blankets or coverlets.—ED.

^a Inglose Chambre.

In primis, j Fedderbedde.—Item, j Bolster.
 Item ij Blanketts of fustian, everyche of them vj webbes.
 Item, j peyre of Schetys, every schete iij webbys.—Item, j hed Schete.
 Item, j Pillowe of downe.—Item, j Pillowe of lavendre.
 Item, j Covering, of aras.—Item, j Testoure.
 Item, j Seleure of the same.—Item, j Pane furryd with menevere.^x
 Item, iij Courtaynys of rede saye.—Item, v Clothes of Tapseray warke.
 Item, j Bankere Clothe of the same.—Item, j Cusschen of redde silke.
 Item, iij of rede saye.—Item, j Cobbordclothe.—Item, j Paylette.
 Item, j Bolster.—Item, j Blanket.—Item, j payre of Schetys.
 Item, j Coverlyte.—Item, j grene Carpette.

The white hangyd Chambour next the Warde-Robe.

In primis, j Fedderbedde.—Item, j Bolster.—Item, ij Blankettys.
 Item, j payre of Schettys.—Item, j hed Schete.—Item, j Pillow of downe.
 Item, j Pillow of lavendre.
 Item, j Purpoynt white, with a seuchon after an horse wyse, visure & braunchis of grene.
 Item, j Selour.—Item, j Testour.—Item, iij Curtaynys of lynyen clothe.

Cole and Watkyn is Chaumboure, that was for the two Auditourys.

Item, ij Materasse.—Item, ij Blankettys.—Item, ij Schetys.
 Item, j Bolster.—Item, j Coverlet of white warke withe burdys.
 Item, j Testour of red saye.—Item, j Seler of canvas.

^a Probably either Henry or Robert Inglose, the sons of Sir Henry Inglose, whose death, in 1451, is noticed in the Paston Letters, vol. iii. p. 126.—ED.

^x The fur of the weasel or squirrel, or perhaps of any other small animals, so called from the French *menne vair*, or the Latin *minutus varius*, in opposition to the furs of large animals. See Strutt's Dress and Habits, vol. ii. p. 139. Also Archd. Nares's Glossary.—ED.

The Porter is Chambour.

In primis, j Fedderbedde.—Item, j Bolster.—Item, j payre of Schetys.
Item, j Blankett.—Item, j Coveryng Cloth.
Item, j Curtayne of rede saye.

The Chambour agenest the Porter, is Chamboure.

Inprimis, j Feddir Bedde.—Item, j Bolster.—Item, j payre of Schetys.
Item, j payre of Blankettys. — Item, ij Coverlettys of grene & yolowe.
Item, j Seler of blewe panes & white. — Item, ij pecys of Saye.

The Chamber over the Draught Brigge.

Inprimis, j Fedderbed cover'd withe gray canvass. — Item, j Bolster.
Item, ij Blankettys, j payre of schettys.
Item, j Rede Pane furryd withe connyngs.^y
Item, j Testour, & j Selour of rede saye with “me faunt fere.”

Schipdam, is chambre.

Inprimis, j Ffedderbedde. — Item, ij Blangettis. — Item, ij Schetys.
Item, j Bolster.
Item, j Coverlet of white rosys, at every corner iiij, and one in the myddell.
Item, j Seler of redesay.
Item, j Testour of rede say lynyd wythe canvas. — Item, j chayre.
Item, j pece of Rede Say for accomptyng borde.
Item, iiij Cosschonys rede say. — Item, j Aundiren.—Item, j Firepanne.^z
Item, j payre of Tongus. — Item iiij Formys. — Item, j Junyd Stole.^a

The Inner Chaumbour over the Gatis.

In primis, j Federbedde. — Item, j Bolster. — Item, ij Blankettes.

^y Rabbit skins, French *connin*.—Ed.

^z A fire-shovel is to this day called in Norfolk, a fire-pan.—Ed.

^a Joint stool.

Item, j Gardevyaunt.^b—Item, ij Cosschonys of blewe say.
Item, j Junyd Stole.

The myddell Chambour.

In primis, j Federbedde. — Item, j materas. — Item j Quylt.
Item, ij Coverletts of rede say. — Item, j Testour withe a selour.
Item, ij Courtaynys of rede say. — Item, j Testoure of the same.
Item, j payre of Tongys.

Camera Bokkyng^c in le Basecourte.

Inprimis, j Fedderbedde. — Item, j Bolster.
Item, ij payre of Schetys. — Item, ij Blankettys.
Item, j Coverlete of popelers lynyd with whyte lynnyng clothe.
Item, j Selour. — Item, j Testour of rede saye.

The Coke is Chambour.

Item, j Feder Bedde. — Item, j Bolster. — Item, ij Schetys.
Item, j redde Coverlyte of rosys and blood houndys hedys.

Feraufe (or Fitz-rauf) is chambre.

Item, j Fedderbedde. — Item, j Bolster. — Item, j payre of Schetys.
Item, ij Blankettys. — Item, j Coverlyte. — Item, j Testour.
Item, j Selour of blewe clouded.

Thomas Fastolff Chamboure.

Item, j Fedderbed. — Item, j Bolster. — Item, j payre of Schetys.
Item, ij Blankettis. — Item, j rede Coverlet.
Item, j Coveryng of worstet. — Item, j Testour.
Item, j Selour of rede say withe the armys of Fastolf.

^b A meat-safe, as it is rendered by Mr. Nichols in the "Illustrations of ancient Manners and Expences," and as the name would indicate, yet it seems oddly placed in a bed-chamber. In the Hengrave Inventory, however, it appears that some of the bed-rooms had coverings for "little bords," and for "coobards." Gardeviande might, as Mr. Douce observes, have been eventually used for a cupboard of any kind, in like manner as *buffet* originally meant a place to keep drinking vessels in, but was afterwards called *garde-manger*.—Ed.

^c This was probably John Bocking, who appears to have managed Fastolfe's law business. See Paston Letters, vol. i. p. 133.—Ed.

The Bedde in the grete Stabull.

Item, j materas. — Item, j payre of Schetys.

Item, j Coverlyt of blewe and rede.

The Bedde in the Sumer Stabull.

Item, j materas. — Item, j payre of Schetys.

Item, j Coverlyte of blewe & rede.

The Gardinares Chambre.

In primis, j Bolster. — Item, j Materas. — Item, j payre of Schetys.

Item, ij Blankettys, — Item, j Coverlet, of blewe.

Item, j nother of better blewe. — Item, j materas. — Item, j Bolster.

Item, j Carpet. — Item, j Coveryng of grene say.

Item, j Coveryng of popelerys. — Item, j Selour of blewe.

My Maister is Chambre and the withe draughte withe the Stable.

In primis, j Fedderbedde. — Item, j Donge^d of fyne blewe.

Item, j Bolster. — Item, ij Blankettys of fustians.

Item, j payre of Schetis. — Item, j Purpeynt.

Item, j hangyd Bedde of arras. — Item, j Testour. — Item, j Selour.

Item, j Coveryng.

Item, iij Curtaynes of grene worsted.

Item, j Bankeur of tapestre warke.

Item, iij peces Hangyng of grene worsted.

Item, j Banker hangyng tapestry worke. — Item, j Cobbord Clothe.

Item, ij staundyng Aundyris. — Item, j Feddefflok.*

Item, j Chafern of laten. — Item, j payre of Tongys.

Item, j payre of Bellewes. — Item, j litell Paylet.^f — Item, ij Blankettys.

Item, j payre of Schetys. — Item, j Coverlet.

^d Mr. Douce informs me that *donge* means a mattress or featherbed. *Culestra*, Prompt Parvulorum.—Ed.

* A *featherflock*, Mr. Douce supposes to be a bed stuffed with feathers and wool. Mr. Gage conjectures it to be a staff to beat the featherbed; which interpretation, as Mr. Douce observes, would be confirmed, if the word in the original roll had been *fedderstok*, which may have been the case. A stock is a staff. A staff to beat the beds with occurs, as Mr. Gage informs me, in one of the MS. Hengrave Inventories.—Ed. ^f A pallet.

Item, vj white Cosschynes. — Item, ij lytell Bellys.
Item, j foldyng Table. — Item, j longe Chayre. — Item, j grene Chayre.
Item, j hangyng Candylstyck of laton.

In Camera et Warda nuper pertineñ dne Mylcentie Fastolf.^s
In primis, j Fedder Bedde. — Item, j Bolster. — Item, j Materas.
Item, j Quelte. — Item, smale Pyllowes of downe.
Item, j hongyd Bedde of fyne whyte. — Item, ij smale Payletts.
Item, j rede Coverlet. — Item, j leddre Pyllewe. — Item, j Baayn.
Item, j Ewer. — Item, ij Pottys.
Item, ij lyttyll Ewers of blew glasses powdered withe golde.

The Chambure there Margaret Hodessone laye.
Item, j Fedderbedde. — Item, j Bolster. — Item, ij Fustians,
Item, j Chayre withe j pece of palle white and grene.

The utmost Chambur nexte Winter halle.
Item, j Fedder Bedde. — Item, j Bolster.
Item, j Coveryng of grene worsted. — Item, ij staundyng aundeirys.^h
Item, j hangyng Candylstyck of laton.
Item, j Cobbord clothe. — Item, j rede Chayre.

The White Draught Chamber for Lewys and William Worcester.ⁱ
In primis, j fedderbedde. — Item, j Donge. — Item, j Bolster.
Item, j hangyd bedde. — Item, j Testour.

^s Milicent, second daughter and co-heiress of Robert Tibetot, was first married to Sir Stephen Scroope, and afterwards in Ireland to Sir John Fastolfe, in whose life-time she died without issue.—Ed.

^h Andirons, or cob-irons. See Strutt's *Horda*, vol. iii. p. 68, where a highly ornamented pair of andirons is described.—Ed.

ⁱ It appears, from the comparatively scanty furniture of this chamber, that William of Worcester was not sumptuously lodged, nor had he even the whole of the room to himself. His humble station in the castle is humourously described in a letter in the Paston Collection, vol. III. p. 318, in which he requests his correspondent not to call him "Master" Worcester.—Ed.

Item, j Selour of rede worsted, j hangyd w^t clothe of pale, blake, white, and grene.—Item, j arstellawe.

G.

In primis, ij pecys of satayne after the fassion of a dowblet to were under gownes.

Item, viij quarters of Silk, the slevys of the same rolled to gedder for jakketts.

Item, j Jakke of blakke lynen clothe stuffyd with mayle.^k

Item, vj Jakkes stuffyd with horne.^l

Item, j Jakke of blake clothe lyned with canvas mayled.

Item, xxiiij Cappes stuffyd withe horne and sum withe mayle.^m

Item, vj payre Glovys of mayle, of schepys skynne, and of doos.

Item, iij grete Crosbowes of stele with one grete dowble wyndas ther too.ⁿ

Item, j coffyre full of Quarrellys of a smale sorte.

Item, xij Quarrellis of grete sorte feddered with brasse.^o

^k Dr. Meyrick informs me that Jacks of black linen were used by the Scotch as late as the time of Charles I. as they are mentioned in an ordinance for their equipment in Rushworth's Historical Collections. The practice of lining them with mail was borrowed from the Asiatics, and is the fashion of some of the modern armour in India.

^l Dr. Meyrick says he is not aware of another instance in which this kind is mentioned. Small pieces of linen were sewed within the jacket by one edge, so as while overlapping each other to be quite flexible. This material had the advantage of strength and lightness combined.

^m These caps, Dr. M. observes, belonged to the before-mentioned jacks respectively. Their form did not differ from that of the human head. The same remark may be made of the gloves which form the next article of the Inventory.

ⁿ The Cross-bows were of the kind which had been used by the Genoese in the time of our Henry V. and beginning of Henry VI; being furnished at the end with a stirrup, in which the foot was inserted to keep them steady, when being wound up. They were bent by means of the "grete dowble wyndas" or moulinet and pulleys with two handels, which apparatus was removed when they were about to be used.—Dr. MEYRICK.

^o The great Quarrels (so called because their heads were *carrés*,) were the arrows used for the above bow, the small ones for the then lately invented smaller arbalests, which are

Item, vj payre Curassis.—Item, j payre of Breggandires.^p
 Item, iij Harburyones of l'milayne.^q
 Item, v Ventayletts for bassenetts.^r—Item, vj peces of mayle.
 Item, j Garbrasse.^s—Item, j Polleson.^t—Item, vj payre Grevys.^u
 Item, iij payre thyes.—Item, xi Bassenetts.—Item, j payre Coschewes.^v
 Item, j payre Bregandines helyd with rede felwet.^w—Item, j Spere.
 Item, ij Bassenetts.—Item, ij Saletts withe ij Visers.^x
 Item, viij Saletts white withe oute Vesoure.—Item, v payre Vambras.^y

afterwards mentioned in this inventory. Quarrels were feathered with leather, wood, and, as it here appears, brass, as well as with ordinary feathers.—Dr. MEYRICK.

^p Brigandirons, or Brigandines, were jackets with pieces of iron quilted in them, and were generally used by archers.—Is.

^q Haubergeons de l'acier Milayne. Milan and Naples were famous for the manufacture of coats of mail of steel.—Is.

^r The Ventaylette was the diminutive of ventayle or aventaille, which was a covering for the face, at first occasionally put on the cylindrical helmet, but, on the invention of the basinet, used in the same manner with it. The basinet was a conical skull-cap reaching to the temples in front, and to the neck behind, and the ventayle, or ventaylette, was attached to it by means of hinges, on withdrawing the pins of which, it was removed. For the tournament the heaume was put over it, the ventayle having been previously taken away.—Is.

^s The Garde-de-bras. The name was sometimes given to the rere-brace or part of the armour which protected the arm between the pauldron and the elbow-piece, and sometimes to a kind of small shield which was screwed on the elbow-piece.—Is.

^t This evidently means the pauldron, and, if correctly copied, must be a contraction of epauleson, the armour for the shoulders.—Is.

^u Armour for the legs.—Is.

^v Cuish-chewes, Cuisses, armour for the thighs.—Is.

^w Edged with red velvet.—Is.

^x The Salette, or Salade, was a kind of skull-cap, the distinguishing characteristic of which, was the rim projecting greatly behind. It was generally worn at this period with the knight's cap and crest upon it, and so appears on the seals of the time. Allowing freer motion for the head and more convenience for breathing, the salade and gorget à la mentonnière were preferred to the helmet. Some salades worn by the infantry were without any visors; others for the cavalry had either moveable vizors or the ocularium cut in them.—Is.

^y The Avant-bras or vambrace was the armour for the arm between the elbow-piece and wrist.—Is.

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Item, iij Spere heddys.—Item, j Swerde with a gyld chape.^b
 Item, j prikkyng Hat cover'd withe blake felwet.^c
 Item, ij tarcellys on hym be hynde.—Item, iij Gounes called Serpentins.^d
 Item, ij white payre of Brigaundiris.—Item, ij payre hosyn of blak kersey.
 Item, payre bounde wyth lether.—Item, ij payre of skarlat.
 Item, j payre of blake vampayed withe leder.
 Item, ij Jakketts of russet felwet.—Item, ij Aundyrys grete of one sorte.
 Item, ij lasse of anothyr sorte.—Item, iij lesser Aundiris.
 Item, xi Aunderis for lecchen.—Item, j iren Spitte.
 Item, ix Barrys of iren for curtaynes.
 Item, ij Chaynes for the draught brigge.^e

Magna Aula.^f

xj Crosbowes, wherof iij of stele and v wyndas.^g—Item, j Borespere.
 Item, vj Wifles.^h—Item, j rede Pavys.ⁱ—Item, j Target.
 Item, xxj. Speris.—Item, j Launce gay.^k—Item, iij pecys of rede worsted.

^b The Ferule at the end of the scabbard is still so called.—Dr. MEYRICK.

^c A riding-hat.—In.

^d Guns or cannons were in imitation of the tubes for the Greek fire, called by the names of monsters, reptiles, or birds of prey.—In.

^e Draw-bridge. Bridge is still corruptly pronounced *brig* by the peasantry of Norfolk. Ed.

^f The great hall, according to William of Worcester, was 59 feet in length and 28 in breadth. Itin. ed. Nasmith, p. 332.—Ed.

^g The Arbalastes here enumerated were of much less size than those before-mentioned, and were wound up with one hand by means of an iron windlas. Some had their bows of steel, others of wood. Specimens of all these and the other kind of cross-bow are in Mr. Llewelyn Meyrick's collection.—Dr. MEYRICK.

^h Probably swords of wood for practice. In Queen Elizabeth's time those who taught the soldiers their exercise were called "wyfflers."—In. To this I may add, that persons called Whiffers, carrying wooden swords, still attend the Mayor of Norwich in his annual procession to the Cathedral on the day of his being sworn into office.—Ed.

ⁱ This red Pavoise was a great shield, the height of a man, which was held before the cross-bow-man, generally the son of a knight, by one of his father's retainers. Dr. MEYRICK.

^k Grose observes that many commentators declare their inability to explain this weapon, which he absurdly derives from *aigüe*, sharp or pointed, without considering that all lances

Item, j grene Chayre.—Item, j red Chayre.
Item, j pece of rede worsted in the Toure parloure.
Item, j Banker of tapestry worke
Item, j nothir of tapestry warke newe, in the halle wendewe.
Item, vj Cosschenys of tapestre.

Aula Yemalis.

Item, j clothe of arras of the morysch daunce.¹
Item, ij Chayrys ffraungyd.—Item, j rede Chayre dī doš.^m
Item, dī došn of tapestrye warke.—Item, j Banker of aras.
Item, ij Audyris stondyng.

Celar.

In the Seler, certayn vessell whiche John Ouresby is chargid withe by
an endenture wherof the copy is annexed to this lese.^a
Item, ij pypes of rede wyne.

The Bottre.

Item, ij Kervyng Knyvys.
Item, iij Kneyves in a schethe, the haftys of every^o withe naylys gilt.
Item, j payre galon Bottels of one sorte.
Item, j payre of potell Botellys of one sorte.
Item, j nother potell Bottell.—Item, j payre Quartletts of one sorte.
Item, iij galon Pottis of lether.—Item, iij Pottelers of lether.
Item, j trencher Knyfe.—Item, j grete Tankard.
Item, ij grete & hoge Botellis.—Item, xiiij Candylstykkys of laton.

are sharp and pointed. Launcegay is a corruption of *Lance-zagaye*, a weapon borrowed from the javelin of the Moors of Spain, called *zagaye*, *arzegaye*, *assagay*, or *hassegay*.—Dr. MEYRICK.

¹ Moorish or Morrice dance.—BLOMEF. See a remark in the introductory letter.—Ed.

^m i. e. half-dozen small.—BLOMEFIELD.

^a Lost.—IBID.

^o Ivory.—IBID.

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Item, certayn pecys of napre ^p accordyng to a bylle endentyd annexed to this lese. ^q

Item, j Quartelet for wine.

In primis, iij Chargerres argenti de parvo sorte.—Item, v platers argenti.

Item, xij Dissches argenti unius sort'.

Item, viij dissches argenti minoris sortis.

Item, xj Sawseris argenti unius sortis.

Item, iij Crateras argenti, quarum j dat' Margarete Hoddsonne.

Item, iij Covertorijs argenti enamelid and borage floures in les botimes. ^r

Item, vj chacyd Pecys gilte bi the bordurys, withe the towche ^s of Paryce.

Item, ij Pottis argenti potlers, percell gilte & enameled with violettis & dayseys.

Item, ij Pottis of sylver, of the facion of goods enamelyd on the toppys withe hys armys.

Item, j quarteler argenti percel gilt withe j chase a bought of rosys & levys.

Item, j rounde Salt Seler gylt & covered withe a wrethe toppe with this wordys wreten "Me faunt fere," ^t a bowght.

Item, j Salt Seler, pacell of the same fassion sengle.

Item, ij Salt Selers of sylver, playne & smale with a dowble rose graven withe armys.

Item, j Basyn of sylver, percell gylte with a dowble rose, his armis enamelid in the bottom be with his helme and his crest.

Liberat' Londoñ cum Domino.

Item, j nother Bacyn white of the same facion, enameled with his armys in the bottom.

Item, ij Ewars ther withe.

Item, j lytyll sylver Bacyn playne, withe j flat Ewer.

Item, j Goboleit chaced the bordours gilt.

^p Napery, i. e. table linen.—ED.

^q Lost.—BLOMEFIELD. In this and the former instance he means that the indenture was lost.

^r Quere, at the bottoms?

^s Handling.

^t Sir John's Motto.—BLOMEFIELD.

formerly belonging to Sir John Fastolfe.

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- Item, xvj Sponys of sylver withe knappys^a gylt lyke perle.
 Item, j Candylstyck of sylver percell gylt dowble nosyd.
 Item, j rounde Basyn argenti cum j Ewer argenti playn.
 Item, ij grete Bacyns of sylver, the bourdour is gylt and wretyn about,
 "Me faunt fere."
 Item, ij Ewers accordyng ther to.—Item, j lytyll Stert Panne of sylver.
 Item, ij Disschys of sylver founden in my Lady is Chambre.
 Item, ij smale pecys.
 Item, j Saltseles boliouned inwarde, cover'd and gylt.
 Item, j stondyng Coppe gylte, withe j knappe in maner like perle.
 Item, ij playn borde Clothys for my maister is table, counte ix yerds in
 lengthe.
 Item, ij playne Clothys for my maistres table, ece counte vj yerds.
 Item, vj napkyns playn.
 Item, iiij Tewelles^x playn warke eche cont' in lenthe ij yerds, diñ.
 Item, iiij playne Clothys for the Hall, eche of vj yerds.
 Item, ij Wasschyng Tewellys^x of warke, eche of x yerds.
 Item, j Pocter.^y—Item, j Overpayn of Raynes.^z

Capella.

In primis, ij Antyfeners.^a—Item, j Legande^b of hoole servyce.

^a The heads or tops of the spoons, probably from the Saxon Cnæp.—Ed.

^x Towels.—Ed.

^y In this article, I suspect some mistake in the transcription. It should perhaps be *pocter*, a corruption of *pocalis*, a wine measure (see Du Cange). Or it may have been a cloth or towel for cleaning the cups, it being found among articles of linen.—Ed.

^z In the Northumberland Household Book the pantry has its towels, purpaines or portpaines, and coverpaines. Mr. Gage supposes this to have been a table cloth, but Mr. Douce calls it a covering or counterpane, and conjectures it to have been manufactured at *Rennes*.—Ed.

^a Antiphoners or Antiphonaries, anthem or choral service books, so called from the alternate repetitions and responses. Lindw. 251.—Ed.

^b The Legend contained the Lessons from the Holy Scripture, the Lives of the Saints, and extracts from the works of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church. Lindw. 251.—Ed.

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- Item, ij Myssayles, the one noted and closyd wyth sylver, and the other not noted.
- Item, j Sauter^c claspyd wyth sylver, and my maysters is armys and my Ladyes ther uppon.
- Item, j Mortellege^d cover'd withe white ledes.^e
- Item, j Vestement cover'd withe crownes gilt in the myddes, with all the apparayle.
- Item, j Vestement hole of redde damaske warke.
- Item, j Vestement of blak clothe, of gold, withe the hole ornaments.
- Item, j Auter^f Clothe, withe a Frontell^g of white damaske, the Trynete in the myddys.^h
- Item, j Vestement of tunekelell.ⁱ—Item, j Cope of white damaske withe y^e ornam^{ts}.
- Item, j Awbe.^k—Item, j Stole.
- Item, j Favon,^l enchekek white and blewe.—Item, j Auter Clothe.
- Item, ij Curtaynes of white sylke, withe a frontell of y^e same, withe fauchonns of golde.

^c Psalter.—ED.

^d Martyrology.—BLOMEFIELD. Mr. Douce thinks this was probably the "Martilogie, after the use of Salisbury," afterwards printed by Wynkin de Worde. Mr. Gage, however, informs me that Mortellege means an obituary. See Du Cange, voc. *Martyrologium* and also *Martilegium* immediately following. He remembers to have seen the Mortellege belonging to the convent of the Sion Nuns, and commencing, he believes, in the reign of Henry V. Mr. Gage adds, that an Obituary or Register of this description is commonly found in the chapels of Catholic families.—ED.

^e Lids.—ED.

^f Altar.—ED.

^g A veil or hanging in the front of the altar, now called the *Antependium*.—ED.

^h To which this chapel was dedicated; and erected into a free chapel after Sir John's death according to his order, endowed and continued to the dissolution.—BLOMEFIELD.

ⁱ The tunic is described as the Sub-deacon's garment, used by him in serving the minister at the mass. Lindw. 252.

^k Albe.—[IBID.] i. e. a surplice or white linen vestment. See Du Cange, voce *Alba*.—ED.

^l The word is properly *Fanon*, as Mr. Douce observes, and is a covering worn by the priest at mass. See Macri Hierolexicon and Du Cange.—ED.

formerly belonging to Sir John Fastolfe.

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Item, j Vestement of divers colurs, withe a Crosse of golde to the bakke, iiij birdys quartelye.

Item, j Crosse of sylver & gylt, withe oure Lady and Seynt Iohn.

Item, j Chales sylver & gylt.—Item, j Pax brede.

Item, j Crucyfyxe, thereon withe oure Lady and Seynt Iohn enamelyd, and full of flour delys.^m

Item, ij Candylstykkys of sylver, the borduris gilt.

Item, ij cruettyes of sylver, percell gylt.ⁿ

Item, iij Pyllowes stondyng on the autre, off rede felwet withe flowrys enbrawderid.

Item, ij Carpettis. — Item, iij Cosschenys of grene worstede.

Item, j Chayre in the closet of Fraunce fregid.^o

Item, j Cosschon of redde worsted. — Item, j sakeryng Bell of sylver.

Pistrina.

Item, j Bulter. — Item, j Ranell. — Item, ij payre Wafer Irens.^p

Item, ij Basketts. — Item, j Seve. — Item, j payre Trays cum j coler.

Item, j materas. — Item, j Blanket. — Item, j payre of Chetis.

Item, j Coverlyte.

Brewhouse.

Item, xij Ledys.^q — Item, j Mesynfate.^r — Item, j Yelfate.^s

Item, viij Kelers,^t &c.

Coquena.

Item, j gret bras pote. — Item, vj cours Pottys of brasse.

^m From France.—BLOMEFIELD.

ⁿ Parcel or partly gilt. Dame Quickly, it will be remembered, in her passionate reproaches to Falstaff, says, "Thou didst swear to me on a *parcel-gilt* goblet." Henry IV. part 2.—ED.

^o Quere, broken?

^p Probably used for impressing on the Host or consecrated bread the sign of the cross.—ED.

^q Leads.—ED.

^r The mashing-tub.—ED.

^s Ale-fat.—BLOM. Vat is commonly pronounced fat in Norfolk.—ED.

^t Coolers; small tubs used for cooling beer, are still called in Norfolk *keclers*, from the Saxon *Celan*, to be cold. This is one of the numerous instances of Saxon words preserved in the East Anglian districts. The late Rev. R. Forby, of Fincham, informed me, that he

Item, iiij lytyll brasse pottis. — Item, iiij grete brasse Pottis.
 Item, iij Pike Pannys ^a of brasse.
 Item, ij Ladels & ij Skymers of brasse.
 Item, j Caudron, j Dytyn Panne ^z of brasse, j Droppyng Panne.
 Item, j Gredyren, iiij Rakkys, iij Cobardys, iij trevitts.
 Item, j fryeyng Panne, j Sclyse.
 Item, ij grete square Spittys, ij square Spittys cocnos.
 Item, ij lytyll Brochys rounde, j Sars ^y of brasse.
 Item, j brasyn Morter cum j Pestell, j Grate, j Sarche ^z of tre.
 Item, j flessche Hoke, ij Potte Hokys, j payr tongys.
 Item, j Dressyng Knyfe, j Fyre Schowle, ij Treys, j Streynour.
 Item, j Venegre Botell.

Larderia.

Item, iij grete standere Pannes, j Bochers Axe.
 Item, ij Saltyng Tubbes.—Item, viij Lynges.^a—Item, iiij Mulwellfyche.^b
 Item, j Barett diñi aleč alb.^c dī.
 Item, j Barrell Anguiff. unde car. cc. anguill.^d

had made considerable progress towards a Glossary of the Norfolk dialect, which would prove how much it retained of the pure Saxon. It is to be hoped, that by his sudden and lamented death, the public will not be deprived of the fruits of his learned industry.—ED.

^a Pans for dressing pike, a fish caught in great abundance in Norfolk, and of large dimensions.—ED. ^z Quere, from the Saxon *dittan*, to shut?—ED.

^y A brass sieve or cullender.

^z A wooden sieve.

^a Lings.

^b Greenfish or Haddock, according to Spelman's Glossary, voce *Mulvellus*. The mulvel is noticed in an ancient statute for buying and selling poultry and fish, quoted in Stow's London, by Strype, by which it was directed that a better mulvel should be sold for 3d. a middling one for 2d. and a less for 1d. The haddock, however, is described in the same statute as a fish of less value. I suppose the mulvel therefore to have been a larger kind of cod-fish. Mr. Douce refers me to Fleta, (lib. ii. c. 12.) where it is said, "*Certena autem mulvellorum et durorum piscium constitit ex octies viginti piscibus*."—ED.

^c White herrings, which are brought in great quantities to the neighbouring port of Yarmouth.—ED.

^d The eel is also a favourite and abundant fish in Norfolk.—ED.

formerly belonging to Sir John Fastolfe.

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Item, j Ferkyn anguitt hoole. — Item, j Barrell.
Item, j Busschell Salt albi. — Item, j Quart alb. sal.

[*Indorsed.*]

Inventory.

[And in a hand later than the Roll, which was copied from a book, the folio's be mention'd, & then referr'd to by the several letters, A. B. C. &c.]

A Remembraunce of such thyngs as Sir John Fastolf, Knyght, left in his Warderope, at Castor, (in Henry y^e Sixth reign, 145 . .^e)

March 27, 1744.

This Book contains a true Copy of the two ancient parchment Rolls, now among my own collections.

FRANCIS BLOMEFIELD, *Rector of Fersfield in Norfolk.*

^e The date of the year is imperfect, but it must have been 1459, the year of Fastolfe's death. The Inventory was prepared by the advice of William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, one of Fastolfe's executors, as appears by his Letter, printed in the Paston Collection, vol. iii. p. 358. The disputes which afterwards arose among the executors, in the execution of the Will, are fully detailed in that work, and are also noticed in Chandler's Life of Waynflete. One of the consequences of those disputes was the siege of Caister Castle by the Duke of Norfolk, the history of which presents a curious picture of the state of society in that age.—ED.

I N D E X

OF WORDS ATTEMPTED TO BE EXPLAINED IN THE NOTES TO THE

INVENTORY OF SIR JOHN FASTOLFE'S EFFECTS.

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ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR,
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
RELATING TO
ANTIQUITY.

DA20
A65
V. 21 2

XXV. *A Survey of Egypt and Syria, undertaken in the year 1422, by Sir GILBERT DE LANNOY, Knt. translated from a Manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, with an Introductory Dissertation, and Notes of illustration and reference to the Croisades: By the Rev. JOHN WEBB, M.A. F.S.A. addressed to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 17th May 1821.

Gloucester, April 19, 1821.

MY DEAR SIR,

I BEG leave to transmit to you the accompanying volume, which in the absence of more important objects of attention, you will, perhaps, do me the favour to lay before the President and Society of Antiquaries.

It is a Copy of a MS. preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, which from curious circumstances that I perceived were attached to it, I was induced some years ago to transcribe and attempt to elucidate. It contains a military Report drawn up by a soldier of ability and experience, who was sent by Henry the Fifth of England towards the close of his reign, into Syria and Egypt, to ascertain the state of those countries with a view to a Croisade.

As the intention of that prince to carry his arms into the Holy Land is but incidentally noticed by historians, I have endeavoured from the groundwork with which the manuscript furnished me, coupled with

other circumstantial evidence, to establish that point: and though taken by itself, it may be considered as one of minor importance; yet it may not probably be thought unworthy of notice as illustrative of the character of that monarch.

It should be premised that the manuscript is made up of matter purely topographical and statistical, with reference to war. In order to do justice to the writer it must be considered in this light only; for however desirable it might have been to the reader to have found an account of the incidents attendant upon his hazardous attempt, yet, as he has confined himself exclusively to the objects above alluded to, he has entirely omitted his personal narrative; and the interest to be looked for will of course be of a different kind. In the notes, which I have added, I have quoted no traveller whose accounts have been published within the last ten years; the volume having lain by me during that period without any material alteration or correction.

Such as it is, I shall have great satisfaction in hearing that it has not been thought unworthy of the notice of that learned Body to which I have the honour to submit it; and I remain,

My dear Sir,

very truly yours,

JOHN WEBB.

TO HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S.
Sec. S. A. &c.

INTRODUCTORY DISSERTATION.

THE part which the British Princes took in the various Croisades is not unknown to posterity; and history and romance have abundantly celebrated the exploits of Richard and Edward against the Saracens in the Holy Land.

From the reign of the latter to the opening of the fifteenth century, few notices of this subject occur in the annals of our country. But it is then revived once more. Henry the Fourth is represented as having contemplated an undertaking of this nature; and the circumstance is frequently adverted to by Shakspeare, the copyist of our ancient historians.^a It would not, perhaps, be difficult to form a plausible conjecture on the motives of his attachment to a project, which appears to have been among the earliest entertained by him after his acquisition of the regal power, and upon which he dwelt to the very last: for though many causes conspired to set it aside from time to time, still "the sepulchre in stubborn Jewry" was the object of his political regards or devout affection to the final hour of his existence.

If we may credit the accounts of some writers,^b he had in his earlier days borne arms against the Infidels, and had commanded a body of archers in the combined attack of the French, Genoese, and English, in

^a Henry IV. part i. act i. sc. 1. and act iv. sc. 8. 11.

^b Polidor. Verg. Angl. Hist. lib. xx. p. 419, and Froissart, vol. x. c. 12, p. 131, 8vo edit. translated by Johnes. This fact is generally credited upon the above authorities. See Hakluyt, and Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, vol. i. pp. 382. 384; yet it is observable that Froissart speaks only of a *bastard son* of the Duke of Lancaster. In opposition to this it is stated (see Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, vol. i. p. 450. Walsingham, Hist. Angl. p. 343) that in the same year, 1390, he was instrumental in taking Vilna, the capital of Lithuania, where he was serving against the Infidels with Thomas Duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward the Third. It is not worth while to attempt to reconcile these matters, since the fair inference, and the only one which is material to our purpose, will be, that he was actually at this time employed in some Croisade.

the year 1390, upon what Froissart calls the city of Africa. And his wish to proceed with Marshal Boucicault into Turkey,^c a wish repressed by his father, and prevented shortly afterwards by the death of that prince, proves that he had conceived a passion for those expeditions in which a sentiment of meritorious piety heightened the love of military glory. This desire, as he advanced in life, might have been additionally incited by the arrival of the Greek Emperor in London, in the latter end of the year 1400, the year in which Henry ascended the throne.^d The presence of Manuel was highly advantageous at such a season to divert the attention of the people. His tale of distress and Turkish invasion was attended to with commiseration; he was received with sumptuous hospitality; and dismissed, at least, with promises of assistance. Whatever were the motives which induced the King of England to cherish the design, whether they originated in policy or remorse, he did not survive to see the accomplishment of them: yet in his last moments recollecting a prophecy which had declared that he should die in the holy city, he is said to have derived consolation from the reflection that the chamber in which he was expiring bore the title of Jerusalem.^e

A disposition of the same kind appears to have descended to his son, and to have terminated in a manner equally fruitless. The resolution of Henry the Fifth, whose pretensions to religion seem less questionable than those of his father, was probably more sincere. But he never made this purpose a matter of ostentation; nor did he even divulge it till the close of his life; and it was then avowed under such circumstances as have failed to obtain for it that credit, which in an historical point of view it fully deserves.

Monstrellet, relating the mortal sickness of this prince at Bois de Vincennes, has given some interesting particulars attendant upon his departure.

“The king sent for his physicians, and earnestly besought them to

^c Froissart, vol. xii. c. 12, 13.

^d Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, c. lxvi.

^e Shakspeare's *Henry IV.* part ii. act. 4. sc. 11. from Holinshed.

inform him, from observation of the symptoms of his disorder, how long it might be possible for him to live. For some time they hesitated to tell him, only giving him hopes, and saying, that God was sufficiently able to restore him to health. Dissatisfied with this, he repeated his earnest desire that they would tell him the truth. They then held a consultation; and afterwards one of them kneeling before him, said in the name of the rest, 'Sire, prepare your soul; for it is our opinion, that unless God should signally interpose, you cannot possibly survive more than two hours.' Upon this he called for his confessor, with others of his family, and some ecclesiastics, and bade them repeat the seven *penitential* Psalms. When they came to 'Benigne fac Domine,'^f in which occurs the passage 'muri Hierusalem,' he stopped them, and declared aloud, upon the words of a dying man, that he intended, had it been the pleasure of his Creator to prolong his life, after establishing peace in the kingdom of France, to proceed to the conquest of Jerusalem. Having said this, he desired them to finish; and soon after, according to the term assigned by the physicians, breathed his last."^g

The account which Hume has given of this event, is derived in part from the author already quoted; but it is accompanied by the following observations: "So ingenious are men in deceiving themselves, that Henry forgot in those moments, all the blood spilt by his ambition; and received comfort from this late and feeble resolve, which, as the mode of those enterprises was now past, he certainly would have never carried into execution."^h

The judgment of Hume, as an historian, has been generally allowed: but he here steps aside to assume a tone of decision upon a subject of the most delicate kind. Without enquiring whether these remarks be made in the true spirit of history, the writer conceives that implicit assent may fairly be withheld from opinions delivered in so unqualified a manner, and upon various accounts objectionable.

^f Ps. li. ver. 18.

^g Chroniques de Eng. de Monstrellet, tom. i. c. 266.

^h Hume's Hist. of England, 8vo edit. 1767, vol. iii. p. 123.

That Henry forgot upon so solemn an occasion the blood that might be laid to his charge, is a supposition, in charity better abandoned than indulged. We have the concurrent testimony of historians, that his piety was exemplary, however mingled with the mistaken, inconsistent notions of the age; and his behaviour may induce us to imagine that penitence was excited in his bosom by the prospect of his approaching dissolution. But leaving a matter as sacred as it is impenetrable, and upon which it is equally unnecessary and unbecoming that we should affect to decide; if we confine ourselves simply to his assertion of an intended Croisade, we may discover sufficient evidence to lead us to the conclusion, that his resolve did not merely arise from a sense of his situation, and that it was not so late or so feeble as has been supposed. We readily admit that in some respects the mode of those enterprises was past; but it does not appear altogether certain that the inclination or ability for those expeditions had so entirely ceased, as to afford ground for the positive assertion that the pious, warlike, and victorious Henry would never have carried his purpose into execution.

In treating the word of the dying prince with greater consideration, these opinions of the historian will supply matter of enquiry.

If by "the mode of those enterprises" be understood an exclusive allusion to those general undertakings which by way of eminence have been historically denominated the Croisades, these unquestionably had already long been past. After the loss of Acre no expedition of any serious magnitude had been directed against the Holy Land: but in the lapse of more than a century from that event to the period of which we are treating, the spirit of croisading exhibited itself upon various occasions: shows of magnificent preparation had attracted the attention of Europe, and many military operations upon a smaller scale had been conducted against different parts of that vast line which the Mahometans occupied upon the shores of the Mediterranean, and with which they were in another quarter gradually contracting the limits of the Greek empire. The fashion of assuming the cross still prevailed; though this badge was taken not merely for the recovery of those places

which were the objects of superstitious veneration, but against Infidels in general, as well the Moors of Spain and Barbary, as the Emperors of the Turks and the Sultans of Egypt; and even against those unfortunate but conscientious sufferers, who dissented from the tenets of the Church of Rome. Any effort, whether directed against Mahometans or Heretics, alike stigmatised as "the enemies of God," was considered a Croisade. In a cursory view of the fourteenth century, as far as relates to this matter, we may discover that the subject had been frequently agitated, and may enumerate several of these minor Croisades.

Though the Princes of Europe furnished the fuel of these undertakings, the Popes had constantly fanned the flame. No sooner had the miserable and profligate remnant of the Franks been driven from Syria by the successful arms of the Sultan Khalil, than Nicolas IV. endeavoured to revive the cause.¹ A long list of his successors might be made out, down to the capture of Constantinople, who assiduously laboured to keep alive that ancient discord between the Mahometan and Christian world, upon which much of their influence, and latterly their security, seemed to depend. Their exertions were in many instances attended with considerable effects. In this manner the zeal of Clement V. as well as that of John XXII. was eminently displayed; and the multitudes who obeyed their call gave ample testimony to the temper of the times.² The preparations made by Philip de Valois, at the instigation of Clement VI. were upon a larger scale than had ever been known: upwards of three hundred thousand persons put on the cross;³ measures of precaution had been adopted, and a party had been sent to explore the country; who obtained some advantages, the earnest of successes which might have ensued, had not circumstances set aside the undertaking. Towards the middle of the century, according to Vertot,⁴

¹ Maimbourg's Hist. of the Croisades, at the end.

² Froissart, vol. i. c. 26, 27.

³ Le Grand D'Ausey in his Preliminary Discourse to the Travels of Bernardon de la Brocquiere. Memoires de L'Institut, an. xi. tom. v. p. 451.

⁴ Hist. of the Knights of Malta, vol. i. p. 257, folio edit. under Helion de Villeneuve.

expeditions beyond sea were still as frequent as ever ; and what rendered the enterprise more easy was, that for a sum agreed on with the masters of ships, they never wanted vessels in most of the ports of the Mediterranean ready to put to sea, and provided with all necessaries either for navigation or fighting.

The designs of Peter King of Cyprus^a were warmly seconded by Urban V. and though he met with more verbal encouragement than actual assistance in his visits to the different Courts of Europe, yet he raised a sufficient armament to attack and pillage the city of Alexandria in the year 1365.

Under the general head of Croisades may be instanced that confederacy which was formed against the Moors, and that attack upon the city of Africa, which Froissart, towards the conclusion of his history, has described at large.^o

But the greatest endeavour of the age was the holy league set on foot by Boniface IX. It was to arrest the victorious course of the haughty Bajazet, that the Greek Emperor, the Knights of Rhodes, the Venetians, the Kings of Hungary and France, united their forces.^p France alone sent forth above a thousand knights, or chieftains of companies, and as many esquires ; but in the fatal battle of Nicopolis (Sept. 28, A. D. 1396) this army was annihilated, and most of the croisaders destroyed.

The gallant Boucicault, a prisoner in this unfortunate affair, and hardly escaping with his life, avenged his captivity by an attack upon the Saracens. In 1408, with seven great vessels and nine gallies, he harassed the coast of Syria ; and Scanderoon, Tripoli, Beirut, Seide, and

^a See an entertaining account of his reception by the different princes of Europe in Froissart, vol. iv. c. 213, 214, 215.

^o Froiss. vol. x. c. 12, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22. This city was perhaps Tunis. The historian says expressly that the Duke of Lancaster sent his son thither *out of devotion*.

^p Vertot, vol. i. p. 290, and Gibbon, c. lxiv. Jerusalem and the holy sepulchre were given out and received as the ultimate object of this proceeding. Froissart, vol. ii. c. 29, p. 207 ; see also c. 34 and 41.

Lydda, felt the power of his arms.^q This nobleman was afterwards taken prisoner at Azincourt, and being rescued from the subsequent massacre, ended his life in England.

Other partial attempts might be enumerated; but these may be sufficient to illustrate the disposition which prevailed during the interval in question. Restless and predatory, no doubt, it was in part; and partly excited by jealousy of the increase of the Mahometan power; but not unmixed with that religious or fanatical sentiment which had in former times led so many millions of adventurers from their homes. Various facts might be adduced to prove that in the reign of Henry V. the Holy Land was still the object of devout attention throughout Christendom. The Sepulchre of Christ continued to be the annual resort of the western pilgrims,^r nor would an effort to rescue it have disagreed with the feelings of the times. Such on the other hand was the dread of the Syrian and Egyptian Saracens, that they had scarcely recovered sufficient confidence to restore those cities upon the sea-coast, which their policy had rendered untenable by invaders. Acre and Jaffa, nearly destitute of inhabitants, were still guarded; Alexandria subject to the strictest regulations, and the mouth of the Nile at Damietta protected by a nightly watch.^s

Had the Christian powers at the beginning of the fifteenth century cordially united in a common cause, they might, perhaps, have expelled the Turks from the provinces newly won from Europe, or retarded the miserable fate of Constantinople:^t the fall of this city excited universal

^q *Memoires de Boucicault*, c. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.

^r Charles VI. of France, unable himself to repair thither, sent three companies at different times to present his oblations. *Regnaut, Discours du Voyage d'outre mer au Saint Sepulcre*, 1573, p. 208. Henry V. is said by Thomas de Walsingham, p. 457, to have been "in peregrinationibus frequens;" but this must allude to pious journeys which were more within his reach.

^s See the following Report under the articles.

^t A similar sentiment is expressed by the Historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, c. lxviii. but he alludes even to a much later period.

dismay ; and though even after the event there were not wanting those who vowed to expose their fortunes and persons in a holy war ;^a yet the condition of affairs was then decidedly adverse to a general league, and no subsequent attempt could be made to re-establish the Emperors of the East, or to recover Palestine.

Nor are we to attribute it to a want of inclination in the people, that, after so much negotiation and public parade, so little, comparatively, was really performed. It is not immediately to our purpose to enter at large into the causes which occasioned the decline and abandonment of the Croisades ; but among others, one prominent feature connected with the present subject may arrest our attention,—the want of an eminent and able leader. Perhaps the disasters which befel Saint Louis might have operated to discourage princes who otherwise would have entered with ardour into the design. Such, however, appears to have been the fact : many preparations upon this account proved abortive ; it is a circumstance lamented by contemporary writers ; and the complaint made by Mandeville^s of old, was repeated by Æneas Sylvius^r in

^a Gibbon, c. lxviii. ; see also *La Vie de Cesar Borgia* par Tomaso Tomasi. Leiden, 1712. p. i. pag. 161, for a vow of Charles VIII. of France.

^s The prologue of this extraordinary traveller contains an invitation to a Croisade. After commending the excellence of that land in which Christ appeared and suffered, he urges that every good Christian, who has it in his power, should endeavour to recover it ; but thinks that the corrupt state of Christendom is a serious obstacle to an event so much to be desired. Besides, “ the people want a Cheventeyn, or chief Lord,” —“ but if all Lords were of good accord, and with the comon peple woulde taken this holy Viage over the See, thanne I trowe wel, that within a lityl time our right Heritage before seyd scholde be reconsyled, and put into the hondes of the right Heires of Jesu Crist.” *Travels*. London 1727. In another place, speaking of his visit to that part of the world, he says, “ Now have the Hethen Men holden that Lond in here Hondes 40 Zeere and more ; but thei schull not holde it longe, zif God wole.” Sir John was not so good a prophet, as a writer of romance. In this respect his talent is well known ; and the old adage is exemplified in the discredit which he has almost universally obtained, even when he speaks the truth. Yet in some points he is, perhaps, not so undeserving of attention as is generally supposed. He set out on his travels in 1322, and was absent 34 years.

^r The celebrated statesman and orator, Æneas Sylvius, had been secretary to the Empe-

a later age, when the spirit of the Croisades had actually expired. To this cause may briefly be added those of political and religious dissensions, and that of commerce, which had established relations between the most powerful of the maritime states and the Sultans of Egypt. Besides these, the theatre of this species of warfare was gradually changing; and when the conquests of Orchanes and the threats of Bajazet^x had made the Pontiffs tremble in the papal chair, their exhortations, and the effects of them, were pointed towards those provinces which the Turks were gradually annexing to their growing empire.^a Then, the influence of the Popes, and the attraction of the sepulchre declining, the discovery of a passage to the East round the Cape of Good Hope, and the opening of a new world in the West, found employment for

ror, and was afterwards promoted to the holy See, under the title of Pius II. In both capacities he possessed ample opportunity of ascertaining the true state of affairs; and he has thus described the political condition of Europe about the year 1454. "It is a body without a head; a republic without laws or magistrates. The Pope and the Emperor may shine as lofty titles, as splendid images; but they are unable to command, and none are willing to obey: every state has a separate prince, and every prince a separate interest. What eloquence could unite so many discordant and hostile powers under the same standard? Could they be assembled in arms, who would dare to assume the office of general? What order could be maintained? What military discipline? Who would undertake to feed such an enormous multitude? Who would understand their various languages, or direct their stranger and incompatible manners? What mortal could reconcile the English with the French, Genoa with Arragon, the Germans with the natives of Hungary and Bohemia? If a small number enlisted in the holy war, they must be overthrown by the Infidels; if many, by their own weight and confusion." Gibbon, c. lxviii. His death in 1465 has been attributed to the failure of his unseconded measures against the Turks. Machiav. Hist. Flor. l. 7.

^x Bajazet threatened to subdue Italy, plant his standard upon the Capitol, and feed his horse with oats upon the altar of St. Peter. Froissart, vol. ii. c. 29, p. 204.

^a The exhortations against the Turks were so numerous, and frequently issued with so palpable a design of extorting money under pretext of a holy war, that Erasmus has touched upon them satirically in his *Encomium Morie*; though he himself has composed a treatise upon the subject. "*Consultatio de bello Turcis inferendo*." This piece, and that of Busbequius, "*De re militari contra Turcos instituenda consilium*," are, perhaps, the best of the kind. Luther wrote a tract, entitled, "*Vom krieg wider den Türcken*." Melchior Adamus, *Vitæ German. Theolog.* p. 136.

those martial and refractory adventurers whom ambition, or avarice, or a desire of novelty impelled to seek their fortunes in foreign lands.

But the taking of Constantinople gave a decisive blow to "the mode of these enterprises." Once masters of that capital, the Turks retained undisturbed possession of it; and the recovery of Jerusalem, which had long been a secondary object, was entirely laid aside. From about this period we hear of Croisades no more.

To return to the project of Henry V. At the season in which he appears to have cherished these ideas, a disposition towards pilgrimage and religious chivalry still existed in considerable vigour; and the juncture seems, upon the whole, to have been unusually favourable, both with respect to conspiring circumstances, and the sentiments of the Christian world.

The contest which had so long existed between England and France was drawing to a close. Those British veterans,^b with whom he had achieved such wonders, were of course entirely at his disposal; and it is not to be doubted but that the French, a high-spirited people, who had furnished the materials of many croisades, would have forgotten recent animosities, and would have entered into his views with their wonted ardour.^c A great part of these were already devoted to him;

^b The names of a great part of those brave men who fought at Azincourt are preserved in Bibl. Bodl. 7440, Ashmol. This list, made by a herald, contains all the captains and men at arms, or lances; but records only the number of the archers attached to each body. The minute observation that the military uniform of the army of Henry was red, may possibly gratify the curiosity of some readers. In a meagre catalogue of the events of this reign, entitled *Acta Regis Hen. V.* MS. 2159, Bodl. 496, is the following article, A^o Doi 1417. *Rex vestit suos rubro, et parat transire in Normaniam.* A^o 50.

^c The union of a political and religious motive might be expected to act with peculiar force: nor could a better method have been devised for extinguishing the sparks of discontent in his newly-acquired kingdom. Thus, according to the representation of the poet, he would have practised the policy, and fulfilled the advice of his father:

" I had a purpose now
To lead out many to the Holy Land,
Lest rest and lying still might make them look

and the army of this monarch consisted of the flower of the warriors of both nations, accustomed to act in concert, inured to danger, and familiar with victory.^d He might reckon under his banner the mercenaries of Portugal and Germany, and was leagued with, at least, one of the most warlike maritime states of Europe.^e Courted by all, he could not have wanted confederates upon such an occasion. His friend and ally, Philip Duke of Burgundy, surnamed the Good, was well affected to the cause: this prince is supposed to have seriously meditated an expedition to the East:^f like Henry IV. during the latter part of his life, he con-

Too near into my state. Therefore, my Harry,
Be it thy course to busy giddy minds
With foreign wars, that action, hence borne out,
May waste the memory of former days.

SHAKSP. Henry IV. p. ii. act iv. sc. 11.

^d See in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 117, his league with Genoa; pp. 161—163, application to the King of the Romans and Princes of Germany for mercenaries; pp. 167, 178, to Portugal for the same; pp. 176, 177, &c. league with the Count of Foix.

^e An alliance with Genoa was of great importance; for whatever might be the commercial pretensions of Venice, she was by no means equal to her rival in war. The Genoese had long been masters of the sea. Froissart, vol. vii. c. 44, describes them in his time as most adventurous navigators, and much superior to the Venetians: he says, that "they are more feared by the Saracens than any others, for they are excellent and determined seamen; and one Genoese galley would attack and probably conquer four galleys of the Saracens." Genoa alone, of all Europe, enjoys the lasting honour of having attempted the relief of Constantinople during the fatal siege.

^f Gibbon gives him credit for the sincerity of his intentions, though M. Legrand D'Aussy embraces an opposite opinion, deeming him too much enslaved to irregular pleasures. His vanity was, however, flattered by the assumption of a badge which drew upon him universal attention. Nor can his taste for pilgrimage and croisades be doubted. Of this he gave munificent proofs in erecting the strong tower of Saint Nicholas near the entrance of the port for galleys at Rhodes. Vertot, vol. i. p. 434; as well as a monastery for the reception of pilgrims, called Sion House, at Ramla in Syria. Sandys' *Travels*, l. 3, p. 152, and Rauwolff, in Ray, p. 2. c. 2. pag. 214. He also several times repaired at his own cost the church and chapel at Jerusalem. *Memoires d'Olivier de la Marche*, p. i. c. 37. The fashionable sentiment spread throughout his Court. Sir Gilbert de Lannoy himself was one of his confidential ministers; and B. de la Broquiere, with others of his household, set

tinued for several years under an unaccomplished vow ; and if he had not assisted the undertaking in person, he would freely have encouraged the disposition in his subjects, as he frequently did at other seasons. Philip would certainly have proved a powerful auxiliary ;^g and there were others of less moment, who yet might have added weight to the scale. It would have been more than countenanced by the reigning Pope ;^h and the Grand Masters of Rhodes were ever urgent to kindle hostilities against the Infidels. Looking to the condition of the adversaries, we may discover that little more than twenty years had elapsed since Syria and the adjacent countries had suffered from the scourge of Tamerlane : the strength of Egypt was weakened by military revolutions ; and the Ottomans, newly distracted by civil commotions, might have found it difficult to succour the Mahometans who might be attacked in a remote quarter. When we also take into consideration other circumstances which might favour the project, we are to recollect that the state of affairs in the Mediterranean was very different from what has since obtained there. Cyprus was still governed by the ancient house of Lusignan. Candia, and several parts of the Morea

out in 1432 to visit the Holy Land. The works of Brocard, relating to the country and the best mode of endeavouring to obtain it, he caused to be translated from the Latin into the French language. He gave a singular and sumptuous entertainment at Lille in 1454 ; when in the midst of a chivalrous pomp and pageantry emblematical of his purpose, he and all his knights solemnly pledged themselves to undertake the rescue of Constantinople. *Mem. d'Olivier de la Marche*, and *Hist. de Charles VII. par Mathieu de Coucy*, p. 676. But no active measures ensued. The knowledge of his disposition might have dictated the alluring turn given to the politic letter sent to this prince by the Pucelle d'Orleans, dated 16 July 1429. In which, trying to detach him from the English interest, she exhorts him to make peace with France, that they may proceed against the Saracens. Though it must be confessed that such a request is perfectly conformable to the enthusiastic character of "the Maid." See *Observations sur les Memoires de Jacques du Clerq*, in *Collection Universelle des Memoires particuliers relatifs a L'Histoire de France*, tom. ix. p. 502.

^g For the respectable force of the Duke of Burgundy at the decline of his life, and in peaceful days, see *Mem. de Commynes*, l. i. c. 2.

^h Martin V.

and the Archipelago, were in possession of the Venetiansⁱ or the Genoese; nor had Rhodes or Constantinople fallen beneath the Turkish yoke. These harbours would have afforded various facilities of shelter and refreshment to the croisaders; and Rhodes, the advanced post of Christendom, from her valiant society, might have furnished a band of brethren in arms, respectable in number and acquainted with the foe.

Matters being thus situated, it appears as though something might have been expected from the endeavours of a leader, who, like Godfrey of Bouillon, uniting the requisites of piety, conduct, and power, should direct his attention to this object.^k Formerly such a chieftain had been wanted, and such an one might at this time have been found in Henry V. of England. Though for the sake of the unsullied brightness of his military glory, which might possibly have experienced a reverse similar to that of Saint Louis in a former age; though for the honour of humanity, and above all, of the Christian religion, there is little reason to regret that this scheme was never carried into effect, yet we cannot but suppose, that had such a prince, with such an army, once found a

ⁱ I do not think that the open assistance of Venice, as a state, was much to be relied upon; for she was now in the meridian of her splendor, and had derived it principally from her intercourse with the Saracens. Probably she would not have closed her ports; and might have done much for the highest bidder; but she would have had a careful eye to consequences. Commerce had abated her enthusiasm for croisading. Fulk de Villaret complains of the assistance afforded to the Infidels by interested individuals of Genoa, Venice, and Pisa. Vertot, *Proofs*, vol. i. p. 42; and the continuance of Venetian treachery is confirmed by an incident which occurred in Boucicault's *Croisade*. Hist. de Boucicault, a la Haye, 1699, pp. 147. 151. After the capture of Alexandria by the King of Cyprus, the Sultan seized upon the effects of all the Christians in Egypt; and the Venetians, who were great losers, requested the king not to continue the war. De Guignes sur le Commerce des François au Levant, quoted in Brown's *Travels*, c. vii. p. 126. See also another instance of a later date, in which her communication with the Turks might be dictated by an immediate fear of such powerful and ambitious neighbours. Mem. de Commynes, l. vii. c. 14.

^k Eligatur unus homo, says Sanutus, diligens, et timens Deum, bonæ famæ, sapiens et disertus, largus et liberalis, fortis et constans, diligens et operans justitiam. *Secreta Fidel. Crucisig.* l. ii. p. i. c. 1. Most of these qualities were found in the King of England.

footing within the dominions of the sultan, they would have proved that the æra of religious chivalry was not altogether overpast.

But in endeavouring to rescue his avowed intention from the imputation of a feeble death-bed resolve, it will be to little purpose that we insist upon his ability, or the concurring state of the time, unless proof can be brought of his having entertained this design at a period prior to that in which he made it publicly known.

Villaret, as well as Hume, borrows his account of the death of Henry from Monstrellet; but in a note upon the passage exhibits greater candour to his memory. "Henry probably conceived the idea of this enterprise from the perusal of a work entitled 'The Chronicles of Jerusalem, or the Voyage of Godfrey of Bouillon.' This book, which the Countess of Westmorland had lent him, and which she demanded of the Duke of Gloucester, by a request inserted in the public acts of England, he retained in his possession till his death."¹

The request is to be found in the *Fœdera of Rymer*, vol. x. p. 317, and shall be here inserted :

A.D. 1424.
An. 2 H. 6.

"Concerning the restitution of books borrowed by the late king, may it please the most high and most puissant Prince, the Duke of Gloucester, and the other lords of the council of our sovereign lord the king, to order, by letters of privy seal, Robert Rollaston, clerk, keeper of the wardrobe to our sovereign lord, to deliver to the Countess of Westmorland a book (containing 'Les Cronikels de Jerusalem, et le Viage de Godfray Boylion,') lately lent by the said Countess, to the noble King Henry, father of our lord the king that now is, and still remaining in the custody of the said Robert."

The article proceeds to specify that the request was granted, and the book restored.^m

¹ Villaret, *Hist. de France*, vol. xiv. p. 157.

^m In the same document, the original of which is in French, the prior of Christchurch in Canterbury petitions also for the restitution of the works of Pope Gregory, lent to the king by the late Thomas Arundell, Archbishop of Canterbury. Henry, notwithstanding his evident attachment to the sword, was not indifferent to learning. An ancient portrait

It were idle to speculate upon the precise origin of his intention ; since we are only concerned to shew that it did not arise in his dying hour. Perhaps it may not be so readily imagined that he first imbibed his notion from the perusal of this book, as that he inherited the sentiment from his earlier years, and made the resolutions of his parent his own.^a We are thus, however, enabled to perceive that his studies had been directed to this point. But proof remains of his having advanced farther ; a proof hitherto little known, and now, as is presumed, first given from the obscurity of manuscript to the world.

The imagination of Henry V. had not only been warmed with the romantic recital of the exploits of the heroes of the first croisade ; but he had endeavoured to inform his judgment as to the existing practicability of such an undertaking. Their ignorance of geographical, political, and statistical matters relating to Syria and Egypt, had proved the cause of innumerable sufferings to the first invaders ; but when the Europeans, after their final expulsion, purposed to renew their attacks, they became cautious and diligent in informing themselves of the local circumstances and military character of their enemy. This is ascertained from several memoirs drawn up for the express purpose of instructing the leaders, and directing the best mode of operation of invading armies ;^o and travellers of the fifteenth and even sixteenth cen-

represents him as receiving a volume of divinity from the hands of an ecclesiastic. Granger's Biog. Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 17. Thomas Occleve, the disciple of Chaucer, dedicated to him his book, "De regimine principis." Speght's Life of Chaucer. The Ballad of John Lydgate, Monk of Bury, in honour of our Lady, in 4 books, was compiled at "the excitacioun of King Harry the Vth." Bibl. Bodl. MS. Hatton. 94. And "libros sæpe legens," is the encomium bestowed upon him by the anonymous author of his life, in monkish rhyme. MSS. Cotton, Cleopatra, XVII. A. fol. 175.

^a Thus Richard I. when he received the crown, took upon him the engagements of Henry II. his father, for the relief of Palestine. The anxiety of Henry V. to fulfil the penances enjoined by the Pope to his father for the deposition of Richard II. may be seen in Fabian. Chronicle, p. vii. fol. 178. Nor is it impossible that one secret article of expiation might have been a croisade.

^o Several tracts are extant, written in the fourteenth century, and chiefly under the
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turies introduce disquisitions of this nature, as generally interesting to their patrons and to the Christian world.

pontificate of Clement V. the object of which is the recovery and retention of the Holy Land. The following may here be enumerated :

1. A Treatise by an unknown writer, a native of Aquitaine, "*De recuperatione terræ sanctæ*," dedicated to Edward I. King of England, who died in 1307. It is printed at the end of *Gesta Dei per Francos*.

2. A Memorial composed at the request of Clement V. about the year 1306, by Fulk de Villaret, Grand Master of the Knights Hospitallers, and to be found in Vertot, *Proofs*, vol. i. p. 40. et seq.

3. "*Haythonus de Tartaris*." This author descended from the blood royal of Armenia, but embracing the monastic profession in Cyprus, wrote his book by order of the same pontiff in 1307. In this he delivers ample directions and strenuous exhortations for a crusade, affording much information upon the subject of Palestine and Egypt. It is inserted in the collection entitled "*Novus Orbis Regionum*," &c. by Grynæus, Basil. 1537. In some points it bears considerable resemblance to the report of De Lannoy; and one chapter is so applicable to our present question, and may serve to inform us so well of the standing notions and grounds of these holy quarrels that it shall be extracted. The conduct of Henry V. seems almost to have been framed after the considerations offered by Haythonus.

De conditione quam habere debet bellum incæpturus. Cap. 49.

Ratio postulat et requirit, quod quicumque contra suos inimicos guerram movere intendit, debeat quatuor prævidere. Primo quod justam causam habet guerram cum suis adversariis inchoandi. Secundo, considerare debet posse suum, utrum sufficiat in expensis et in aliis necessariis ad guerram manu tenendam, et ipsam sine debito terminandam. Tertio investigare debet sapienter inimicos, intentionem et statum. Quarto, guerram debet inchoare tempore competenti. Ego vero Fr. Haythonus qui ex mandato summi pontificis sum de hac materia loquuturus, dicere possum, quod Xtiani justam habent causam guerram movendi cum filiis Ismaëlis, quoniam hæreditatem eorum obtinent occupatam; videlicet terram sanctam, et sanctum sepulchrum domini nostri Jesu Xti, in quo fuit origo fidei Xtianæ, et alia sancta loca Xtianis plurimum reverenda. Insuper propter atroces injurias, et nimium horrenda opprobria, quæ cum multa nostri sanguinis effusione Agareni intulerunt Xtianis, temporibus retroactis, et etiam propter alias rationes et causas varias et diversas. De potentia vero dico, quoniam nemo debet penitus ignorare, quin sacrosancta Romana ecclesia, quæ totius orbis est domina et magistra, potentiam habet cum congregatione regum et principum Xtianorum et fidelium cruce signatorum, terram sanctam eruendi de servitute inimicorum fidei Xtianæ qui peccatis nostris exigentibus illam detinent occupatam. De cognoscendo vero statu inimicorum, hocque de tempore competenti,

Whatever may be the present sentiments of mankind upon the subject, no one at that time presumed to doubt of the justice or even merit

in quo guerra debet inchoare, oportet prolixius aliquid enarrare. Nam sicut bonus medicus, ut ad convalescentiam ægrum perducatur, causam debet ægritudinis perscrutari: Ita decet providum bellatorem, inimicorum investigare conditionem et statum, ut guerram possit incipere provide et audacter, et illi finem laudabilem imponere. Sapienti enim et strenuo duci, nihil debet esse occultatum de potentia inimici, quoniam prævisa non lædunt, et improvisa consueverunt sæpius animos perturbare, præcipue in discrimine ubi loci vel temporis spatium non habetur periculis occurrere tam paratis. In omni enim opere potest correctionis medela facilius adhiberi, quam in pugna, in qua poena errorem continuo sequitur. Ut igitur de his quæ dicturi sumus, super passagio terræ sanctæ clarior intelligentia adhibeatur, aliqua narrabimus de statu et conditione terræ Ægypti, de exercitu Babylonæ, et potentia inimici. *Novus Orbis*, &c. p. 411.

4. "*Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis super Terræ sanctæ recuperatione et conservatione*," printed in the second part of the *Gesta Dei of Bongars*. In this voluminous treatise of Marinus Sanutus, a Venetian nobleman, the subject of croisading is fully discussed, and the ways and means are laid down at large. The first two books relate wholly to this matter; but the remaining two are historical and geographical. He began to write it in 1306, and presented it to John XXIII. in 1321. He also laid it before many cardinals, prelates, and nobles, as well as the Kings of England, France, and Sicily.

5. An unpublished manuscript, sometime in the National Library of France; a description of which has been given by Legrand D'Aussy in *Disc. Prelim. Voyage D'outre mer de B. de la Brocquiere*, p. 455 et seq. The original is in Latin, and was compiled by a German monk named Brochard, of the order of Preaching Friars, and dedicated to Philip de Valois in 1322. The title of this piece is, "*Directorium ad passagium faciendum, editum per quendam fratrem ordinis predicatorum, scribentem experta et visa potius quam audita; ad serenissimum principem Philippum Regem Francorum, anno Domini M.CCC^{mo}.XXXII^o.*" The same person wrote a description of the Holy Land, in which, as a preacher, he had resided twenty-four years. These are the works that were translated by order of the Duke of Burgundy, and the translations, with the originals, having formed a part of the Brussels collection, were in the Library at Paris. But the "*Directorium*" had been before translated by John de Vignay in 1333, the year after it was presented to the king; and there is a beautiful copy of it in the Library of the British Museum. *Bibl. Reg. xix. D. 1. p. 299*. His description of the Holy Land has been several times printed, and occurs in the *Novus Orbis* of Grynæus. This writer was held in high estimation. See *Itinerarium B. Saligniac. Lugd. 1526*, in the dedication, and the preface to *Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ, G. Brunii. Col. Agrip. 1589*.

of such a cause ;^p and Henry evidently considered it as matter of reli-

^p The opinion of Edward the Black Prince, the flower of chivalry, and his companions, in reply to the solicitations of Peter of Cyprus, is thus expressed by the historian : " The prince and knights made him a courteous answer, saying, that in truth it was an expedition, in which every man of worth or honour was interested." Froissart, vol. ii. c. 217. See Tyrwhitt's note on that passage of Chaucer in his description of the knight, " At Alysandre he was," &c. But the arguments of ecclesiastics carried the matter much higher even at a later period. The sentiments of a divine of the following age are curious, and may serve as a sequel to the extract from Haythonus, to display still farther the mode of reasoning upon these matters in the fifteenth century.

Part of Breidenbach's exhortation to the Princes to proceed against the Turks :

" O Christianissimi principes . si tantum pace data . compositis periculosos litibus vestris . firmatis treugis . rebusque in ordinem per eos quorum interesset . dispositis . pari voto . consensuque unanimi . eodemque decreto . ad humiles et supplices ac frequentes ecclesie et capitum summorum . videlicet pontificum aut imperatorum hortatus . sinceros . fideles . et paratos . vestre matris defensores vos exhiberetis . Quo nam pacto . quo alio modo . fidem obedientiam et devotionem vestram . sanctius ac fructuosius utilisque . aliter demonstrabitur unquam . An forte satis officiis vestris factum putatis . quod illa prohibita torneamenta . cruenta spectacula . sumptuosa tyrocinia . ars tum animabus tum corporibus periculosa . tanto ære et studio invanum frequentatis et amatis . Quis oro vobis inde honos . quæ utilitas . tantis militare laboribus et sumptibus . stipendiis vero nullis . nisi aut mortis aut criminis . Operitis equos sericis et pendulos nescio quos pannos lorice superinduitis . depingitis hastas . clipeos et sellas . frena et calcaria auro argenteove circumornatis . et cum tanta pompa pudendo furore ad mortem sæpe properatis . O quantum subsidii ex hujusmodi vestris superbis superfluisque apparatibus quos in vanitates et insanias falsas impenditis . in infidelium castigationem conferretur . si in eum sanctum usum converteretis."

In the wars which Christians wage against each other he tells them, " neque occidere neque occumbere tutum est sed ad prime periculosum. At vero Christiani milites qui contra infideles arma sumunt quam secure quam sancte . prælia domini sui et sponsæ ejus ecclesie præliantur . quibus metuendum nequaquam sit . aut de hostium cede peccatum . aut de sua nece periculum quandoquidem mors pro Christo vel ferenda sit vel inferenda . Miles inquam talis et securus interimit et interit securior . quia et sibi præstat obsequium cum interit et Christo cum interimit . neque dum occidit malefactorem . homicida . sed ut ita dixerim malicida et plane vindex ac defensor reputatur Christianorum . In morte enim pagani Christianus merito gloriatur . quia Christus glorificatur."

Afterwards moderating his ardour he confesses, " Non essent quidem necandi etiam ipsi infideles . aut occidendi . si qui modo aliter possent a nimia infestatione vel oppressione

gious consolation in his dying hour.^q But that, unquestionably, was not the period in which it first occurred to his mind. He appears to

fidelium cohiberi. Nunc autem multo melius est ut occidantur, dum nos perdere incessanter et jugulare quærunt." Breidenbach Peregrinatio.

The ground-work of his argument is evidently self-defence; and he differs in this respect from the earlier preachers of croisading, since his zeal does not arise so much from his religion as his fears; but his reasoning on the subject of slaying the Infidels, or of meeting death at their hands, is precisely the same; and appears rather worthy of the system of Mahomet than the Gospel of Christ.

^q Though we may turn with abhorrence in more enlightened times from the narrow and fanatical principle of these expeditions, in which human beings were slaughtered for the love of God, we may be induced by a milder spirit of toleration to make charitable allowance for the ideas of those who entered into them from motives mistaken but sincere.

Thus when we look at the state of religion in the fifteenth century, we may pity, though we should not reprobate the conduct of Henry V. in his last moments. To be "delivered from blood-guiltiness" had just been the tenour of his prayer, Ps. li. and he evidently thought his purpose in perfect unison with all that was holy. Nor do I know that he was ingenious in deceiving himself, considering the notions in which he had been educated. If pilgrimage was held out as obtaining pardon for sins, the taking of the cross for the rescue of the sanctuary itself, the object of that pilgrimage, might easily be imagined a higher pitch of piety, and almost meriting an eternal reward. Hence it became the vow of the sick, and the consolation of the dying. Godfrey of Bouillon and St. Louis both engaged in consequence of this description of vow. Under similar circumstances of extreme sickness Philip Duke of Burgundy resolved to proceed against the Turks; but he was dissuaded from it by his sister Agnes. Joan. Burgundio. *Annal. Rerum Belgic.* l. 15, pp. 371. 375. How far such a vow could operate, the anxiety to fulfil it, and what comfort the thought of it administered to a death-bed, is shown in the affecting narrative of Robert King of Scotland. Froissart (vol. i. p. 19.) thus describes it:

"He called to him the gallant Lord James Douglas, and said to him in presence of the others, 'My dear friend Lord James Douglas, you know that I have had much to do, and have suffered many troubles, during the time I have lived, to support the rights of my crown; at the time that I was most occupied, I made a vow, the nonaccomplishment of which gives me much uneasiness. I vowed, that, if I could finish my wars in such a manner, that I might have quiet to govern peaceably, I would go and make war against the enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the enemies of the Christian faith. To this point my heart has always leaned; but our Lord was not willing, and gave me so much to do in my life-time, and this last expedition has lasted so long, followed by this heavy sickness,

have been aware of the expediency of reconnoitring before he ventured to embark in so serious an affair.^r The fate of former attempts might have taught the most enthusiastic devotee that no signal interposition

that, since my body cannot accomplish what my heart wishes, I will send my heart instead of my body to fulfil my vow. And, as I do not know any knight so gallant or enterprising, or better formed to complete my intentions than yourself, I beg and entreat of you, dear and special friend, as earnestly as I can, that you would have the goodness to undertake this expedition for the love of me, and to acquit my soul to our Lord and Saviour; for I have that opinion of your nobleness and loyalty, that, if you undertake it, it cannot fail of success—and I shall die more contented: but it must be executed as follows:

‘I will, that, as soon as I shall be dead, you take my heart from my body, and have it well embalmed: you will also take as much money from my treasury as will appear to you sufficient to perform your journey, as well as for all those whom you may choose to take with you in your train; you will then deposit your charge at the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord, where he was buried, since my body cannot go there. You will not be sparing of expence, and provide yourself with such company and such things as may be suitable to your rank; and wherever you pass, you will let it be known, that you bear the heart of King Robert of Scotland, which you are carrying beyond seas by his command, since his body cannot go thither.’

“All then present began bewailing bitterly; and when the Lord James could speak, he said, ‘Gallant and noble king, I return you a hundred thousand thanks for the high honour you do me, and for the valuable and dear treasure with which you entrust me; and I will most willingly do all that you command me with the utmost loyalty in my power; never doubt it, however I may feel myself unworthy of such a high distinction.’

“The king replied, ‘Gallant knight, I thank you—you promise it me then?’

‘Certainly, Sir, most willingly,’ answered the knight. He then gave his promise upon his knighthood.

“The king said, ‘Thanks be to God! for I shall now die in peace, since I know that the most valiant and accomplished knight of my kingdom will perform that for me, which I am unable to do for myself.’

“Soon afterwards the valiant Robert Bruce King of Scotland departed this life on the 7th of November 1327.”

^r He was perfectly well skilled, says Carte, in every point of war; and never engaged in any enterprise till he had first considered all the difficulties attending it, contrived expedients to obviate or surmount them, and supplied himself plentifully with every thing necessary for his success. This was the reason why he was never baffled. *Hist. of Engl.* vol. ii. p. 692.

of Heaven was to be looked for even upon sacred ground, nor any miracles to be expected but what might be achieved by prudence and valour. He had accordingly, as a preliminary measure, ordered a survey of that land which he designed to invade, and the consequent report, which, it appears, he did not survive to receive, is that which is at present submitted to the Society.

If it is evident that he had turned his attention to "The Chronicles of Jerusalem," it is more than probable that the command upon which this inquiry was instituted, had been issued previous to his entertaining the slightest idea of his approaching end, when he was flushed with conquest, and increasing in power. Yet, since the king died in the same year in which the survey was made, should a suggestion be started that he had sent out the author of it during his last sickness,—it will be recollected that this sickness was short, and that it unexpectedly proved mortal. In such a case the traveller could hardly have quitted his dominions, before he would have been recalled. An expression in the Report leads to a fair presumption that he was actually in the fertile environs of Ramla in the month of July. Less than a year could scarcely be allowed for collecting such a body of information, and the conclusion of the preamble insinuates that at his return this monarch was no more. Henry died on the last day of August 1422.

Were any other testimony wanted besides the evidence already adduced, and the inference to be drawn from the contents of this volume; the matter is put beyond all doubt by a passage occurring in the Chronicle printed by Caxton, which, though it contains an error as to the Christian name of him by whom the task was executed, is in all other respects completely satisfactory upon the point in question. The dying words of Henry, according to this author, were, "O goode Lord thou knowest that myne entent hath bene and yit is if I myght leve to redȳfie the wallis of Jerusalem." Then, having described his death and drawn his character, he adds, "All the princes of Cristēdōm drad hī & also of hethenese, & he had deīmīned ī hī selfe if God wold have sparid hī to

have werid on the Sarisēs, & for to know the ayde of oð princes & all the passags ī y^t journey he sēt a knight of henaud named Sir Hugh de Lanoye un to Jerusalem, but or he returned he died at Boys du Vyncent in the xxxvi. year of his age; on whos soule God have merci, Amen.”*

The inaccuracy of the historian^t in substituting Hugh^u for Gilbert

* Hardyng, the rhyming Chronicler, has this expostulation upon the death of Henry V.

“ O good Lord, that art omnipotent,
Why stretched not thy power and thy might
To kepe this prince, that sette was and consent
With th’emperour, to convert Surrey right
And with Christen inhabite, it had hight.
Why favoured so thyne high omnipotence
Miscreaunce more, than his benevolence?

The Chronicle of J. Hardyng, c. ccxxii. fol. 218.

The authority upon which he makes the emperor a party in the scheme does not appear; perhaps it was a generally received opinion: but a hint of the design is certainly thrown out in the instructions given by the King to the Bishop of London, Sir William Coggeshale, knt. and Master Nichol Bildeston, ambassadors to the King of the Romans and the Electors of the Empire. “ They shall declare what good and profit myght ryse if there were pees and rest amongs Cristen Princes; for thanne myght they togeder entende ayeins Miscreants, in encrece of Christien Feith, aswel as to the good of the Chirche.” This may also include an allusion to the suppression of those who differed from the Church of Rome. Rymer, tom. ix. p. 161. A. D. 1421. An. 9 Hen. V.

^t Stowe has censured the Chronicle of Caxton as totally undeserving of credit; but its evidence upon this point is indisputable.

^u This mistake has been copied in other succeeding chronicles, as in that printed by Julian Notary in 1515, p. vii. fol. 122, and the Polycronycon, printed by Peter Treveris in 1527, fol. 334. Sir Hugh, Lord of Santes, the elder brother of Gilbert II. author of the Report, and eldest son of Gilbert I. de Lannoy, was a knight of high reputation, and in favour with the three sovereigns of England, France, and Burgundy. His conduct seems to have been characterised by valour and wisdom, and the virtuous qualities of his experienced mind are extolled by Oliv. de la Marche, who saw him only in his old age. He had been a traveller, as far as consisted with his profession and engagements; and had made pilgrimage and borne arms in foreign lands. It was in the holy city that he first received the honour of knighthood at the age of twenty, and he served with the Grand Master of Prussia against

is of no importance in the argument, nor can it tend to affect the general statement he has laid down. Sir Gilbert de Lannoy,* the person

the Turks on his return. A prisoner at Azincourt, he afterwards became Master of the Cross-bows to the Kings of England and France. He had been engaged in personal combats, particularly in one with John, Duke of Somerset, in which he acquitted himself with honour. He also signalised himself at a tournament with Richard, Earl of Warwick; and was one of the first who was admitted to the order of the Golden Fleece. He was equally celebrated in negotiation and in war; and being sent by the Duke of Burgundy to Henry V. in his sickness, was the last person with whom the King held a private conference before he expired. He died in the year 1456, aged 72, and was buried in the church of St. Peter at Lille. He married Margaret of Boncourt, by whom he had no issue. For several particulars respecting this distinguished character, see Monstrellet, c. 161. 178. 225. 260. 266. Mem. d'Olivier de la Marche, c. 15. St. Remi, c. 64. 115. 118. Mem. de Pierre de Fenin, pp. 492. 494. Rymer, tom. ix. pp. 323. 891. Dugdale, *Antiq. of Warwicksh.* p. 326. *La Mausolee de la Toison d'Or*, p. 10

* The De Lannoys derived their origin from the small town of that name, situated between Lille and Tournay in Flanders. Morery enumerates fifteen of them who obtained the order of the Golden Fleece, and his record honourably closes with that celebrated general, by whom Francis I. was taken prisoner at the battle of Pavia, and afterwards escorted on his return to France. (*Dict. Hist.* in the article Lannoy.)

The general accounts of the family begin with Hugh, the grandfather of the author of these Travels. Gilbert I. third son of this Hugh, and Lord of Santes and Beaumont, by marriage with Catherine St. Aubin, had, among other children, first, Hugh, of whom we have already given an account, and after him, Gilbert II. whose work is before us. (*Id.* and *Ponti Heuteri Genealogia*, p. 72.)

Of Gilbert II. the following particulars have been ascertained :

Although neither the period of his birth nor his precise age are noted in any of the authorities from which this brief notice is derived; yet, from comparison of dates, it appears probable that he was born about the year 1386; and as the family were always much attached to their sovereign, the Duke of Burgundy, it may be supposed that the sons were early initiated in arms.

The first striking circumstance of his apparently eventful life is that of his being taken prisoner in 1415, at the memorable fight of Azincourt. (*Monstrellet*, vol. i. c. 149.) The Duke of Burgundy had strictly forbidden the Duke of Charolois his son, to join the French with the army under his command (*Villaret*, vol. xiii. p. 353); and yet it is evident that some of the Burgundians were present in the battle, on the side of France. (See the reason of this circumstance given in *Joan. Burgundio. Annal. Rer. Belgicar.* l. 15. p. 281.) And among the few persons of rank who are stated to have been saved from the subsequent

actually employed upon this service, was of an honourable and distinguished house in Flanders, and appears to have been well qualified for

massacre are the brothers Hugh and Gilbert de Lannoy. St. Remi, who has given a particular account of that affair, says expressly, that he derived the chief part of his information from the details which they furnished of that sanguinary day. (*Memoires*, c. 64, p. 98. *J'ay oui parler plusieurs notables chevaliers de la partie de France, et par especial a Messire Huë, et a Messire Guillebert de Lannoy freres; qui furent a la dite bataille, qui en racomptoient bien au long.*)

In company with other prisoners of distinction they were soon removed from France, and a copy of the passport is still extant, which grants safe-conduct to Gilbert de Lannoy, attended by one domestic, to proceed to England. (*Rymer*, tom. ix. p. 323.) But their detention was not of long continuance. Henry V. had an interview with the Duke of Burgundy in the following year (*Monstrellet*, vol. i. c. 161); at which the brothers were probably restored; for Hugh is found in the train of the duke when in the course of the same year that prince visited the Dauphin at Valenciennes; and Gilbert is especially named in the muster held between Pontoise and Meulenc in 1417, when the Burgundian army marched towards Paris. (*Monstrellet*, vol. i. c. 178.) The connexion between the duke and the King of England is well known, and to this circumstance, doubtless, the De Lannoys owed their release, while French nobles of the highest dignity were still retained. The Count D'Eu did not regain his liberty till after a captivity of many years, and Marshal Boucicaut died unransomed in the land of his enemies. (*Id.* vol. i. c. 149.)

The assassination of the Duke of Burgundy by the partisans of the Dauphin took place in 1419; and Philip, son and successor of the deceased, united himself in the strictest amity with Henry V. Two articles in *Rymer* shew that Gilbert de Lannoy was selected as ambassador upon this occasion. (*Fœdera*, tom. 9. pp. 811. 827.) He also attended his master to the solemnities at Troyes (*Monstrellet*, vol. i. c. 225), and was most probably present during the campaign of 1420, at the sieges of Sens, Montereau, and Melun, at which Henry and Philip assisted with their combined powers. After the capture of these towns, the princes advanced to Paris, where Henry settled all affairs relative to his new kingdom, and his ally took leave of him to return home. But, before they parted, they determined that a church should be erected near the spot where the late Duke of Burgundy had been treacherously murdered: and that a placard declaring the reasons of this measure should, among other places, be set up at Jerusalem. (*Monstrellet*, vol. i. c. 232.) The reader, who bears in mind the date of the travels of De Lannoy, will, perhaps, be disposed to think that this purpose constituted a part of his mission: it might be ostensibly held out as the object of his journey, while a greater end was in view. It is indeed most likely that these confederate sovereigns, similarly disposed with regard to croisading, in their private conferences, in the cabinet and in the field, might agree to explore the dominions of the

so arduous an undertaking. His observations evince his judgment and acquaintance with the art of war ; and his perseverance is shewn in the

Sultan, as preliminary to a future enterprise. And this may serve to account for the otherwise singular fact of Henry having selected for so important and confidential a charge the subject of a foreign power.

It is besides worthy of remark, that the name of our author, which occurs occasionally in Monstrellet, up to the year 1420, is not to be found, as far as I have observed, after that time in the course of his history. I am therefore induced to fix upon this as the period when Sir Gilbert took his departure for the East. From the Chronicle of Caxton¹ it may be seen that he went to solicit the aid of other princes ; and though he might set out thus early, taking the different courts in his way, to which he was commissioned to repair ; it may easily be understood how his Survey, according to his own statement, might not be effected, or, (as the original "*faittes*" will bear to be rendered) entirely accomplished, till 1422, the year in which his employer died.

Whether any consequence may be attached to these conjectures, or whatever may have been the time employed in this expedition, it is certain that he was received into the service and favour of his sovereign upon his return. He was his counsellor and chamberlain, and was one of the first who was admitted to the order of the Golden Fleece. (Statutes of the Order of the Golden Fleece. MS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. E. 43, part 2.) Morery, in an indefinite manner tells us, that he was ambassador in England (Dict. Hist. in the article Lannoy) ; and he was unquestionably employed in that capacity at the celebrated Council of Basil in 1433. (*Voyage D'outre Mer* de B. de la Brocquiere, p. 635.)

At the extraordinary feast of the Pheasant given at Lille in February 1454, Hugh de Lannoy is mentioned among the lords of the Court who solemnly engaged to assist in an endeavour to recover Constantinople. And in the list of those who were present at this banquet, we find "Sieur de Lannoy, counsellor and chamberlain of the Duke of Burgundy, castellan of Thomicon, and his lieutenant in his countries of Holland, Zealand, and Friseland, knight of the order of the Golden Fleece, who makes his vow under the good pleasure of the king and duke." (De Coucy. *Hist. de Ch.* 7. p. 676.) Though the Christian name of this personage is not given, he may fairly be concluded to have been Gilbert de Lannoy ; unless he can be proved to have been Baldwin, Lord of Moulembais, governor of Lisle in 1427, and also knight of the Golden Fleece ; an individual of the same family, who has, especially by one writer, been confounded with the former. (Godefroy, *Memoires de Pierre de Fenin*, p. 492.) But the titles of Counsellor and Chamberlain, exclusively applied to Gilbert, confirm the opinion already given ; and especially his vow,—far more

¹ Refer back to p. 303. If this authority be admitted, it will form an additional presumption that the resolve of Henry was far from being "late."

acquisition of so much intelligence amidst the difficulties and dangers which the jealousy and ferocity of the Saracens must have thrown in his way. The internal evidence of his account proves that it was drawn up for the direction of military operations. He is chiefly employed in compiling materials which bear upon this point; he is diligent in ob-

ration than the generality of the pledges given upon that day,—“*Sous le bon plaisir du roy et duc.*” This closely corresponds with the motto of Gilbert, conceived in the true chivalrous spirit of loyalty to the prince, and attachment to the fair,—“*Votre plaisir.*” His vow is, besides, highly characteristic of the sober caution of the age which he must have attained.

He died April 22, 1462, and was buried in the church of St. Maurice at Lille, before the high altar, where the following inscription was to be seen upon his tomb. “*Cy gist Noble Chevalier Messire Guillebert de Lannoy, Seigneur de Willerval, et de Tronchiennes, frere et compaignon de la Toison d’or, qui donna mille Ecus de quatre s. de gros monnoye de Flandres pour l’entretienement du service divin en ladite Eglise, et trespasa anno 1462, le 22 Avril.*”

“*En la meme Tombe gist Dame Isabelle de Drinckam, Dame de Willerval, ma treschere et ma bien-aymee Compagne, laquelle trespasa anno 1452, le 11. de Febvrier.*”

On one side were quartered the arms of Lannoy, Moulembais, Maingoval, Mailly, Drinckam, Flanders, Gisteltes, Dixmude: and on the other side those of Lannoy, Moulembais, Maingoval, Mailly, Gisteltes, Dudseel, Craon, Chastillon. (*La Mausolee de la Toison D’or*, p. 13.)

Nothing has been ascertained respecting his private character; but of the qualities of his mind, as far as they were brought into action by his public life, some estimate may be drawn from the facts already cited, and the annexed production of his pen. Enough may be seen to prove his ability as a statesman; and his work shews that he was well acquainted with the theory of war; to this may be added, that he is enumerated among the wise and valiant of his family (*Lespinoy, Recherches des Antiquitez et Noblesse de Flandres*), and that his fidelity to his sovereign is manifested by the offices in which he was engaged.

He was thrice married; first, to Leonora des Quesnes, widow of John, Lord of Montigni in Ostrevant, by whom he had no issue; secondly, to Maria of Gisteltes, daughter of John of Gisteltes, Lord of Urzel, by whom he had two sons, Philip and James. His third wife was Isabella of Flanders, daughter of John Lord of Drinckam, mentioned in the epitaph; by her he had four children, Peter, Margeret, Ferri, and Louisa. (*Morery*, in the article.)

The name of this family is variously spelt by different authors, and Launoy and Launey are sometimes substituted for Lannoy. Meyer in the *Annales Burgundicæ*, and Joannes Burgundio in *Annales Rerum Belgicarum*, render it in Latin by *Alnetanus*. (See *Menes-*

serving where a fleet may ride in safety, or an army may land to advantage; the supply, as well as quality of the wood and water; the fortified or defenceless condition of the towns upon the coast; the soundings of rivers and harbours; the arms and character of the nations. Though he is not totally uninterested with the face of the country, where it exhibited features of beauty; yet his notices of this kind are brief: only casually, and in a very slight manner has he spoken of the sacred Sepulchre, at a time when it was devoutly adored; nor has he once alluded to the Pyramids or the column of Pompey, the astonishments of the travellers of all ages.

Doubtless, enquiry into mere matters of common curiosity entered not into his instructions. His mission was of high importance; and much was to have depended upon the fidelity of his representations. He had to consider the country with the eyes of a soldier and a spy; and to draw up as accurate an account as possible of what he had been

trier. (*Origine des Ornaments des Armoires*, vol. ii. p. 451.) The writer has been informed that, at an early period of the late revolutionary troubles, the present descendants of this ancient race emigrated from the land of their fathers; and he has observed that the name of De Lannoy is still preserved in England.

The arms are, three lions rampant Gules, upon a field Argent.



able to learn from his own personal observation, or, where that failed, the most credible information of others. He has rarely made mention of himself, and never introduced the fatigues and perils to which he must necessarily have been exposed in a land of barbarous and fanatical strangers. His relation is purely official; and though it may be discovered to contain some few inaccuracies of little consequence, it will not be found mixed with any tale of superstition, or a single fable.

If in the course of the present enquiry it should be thought that too much scope has been allowed to uninteresting conjecture, it is trusted, that, upon the whole, enough has been advanced to establish these positions:—that, since it appears that the spirit and practice of croisading still existed in the reign of Henry V. and never entirely ceased till after the capture of Constantinople, we are warranted in withholding our assent from the conclusion peremptorily drawn by Hume:—farther, that the declaration of the expiring monarch was not the consequence of a late and feeble resolve excited by the immediate prospect of death:—and lastly, that, had he lived, considering his own character and that of the times, there is some reason to conclude, in opposition to the positive declaration of that writer, that he would, at least, have attempted the recovery of the Holy Land.

It remains that some account be given of the Manuscript itself, preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. To this collection it was presented by Sir Christopher Hatton, contemporary with the founder, Sir Thomas Bodley, and a celebrated statesman in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It had formerly belonged to some of the Talbot family, if we may conjecture from the names of Francys Talbot and Ricardus Talbot, together with a talbot rudely sketched upon one of the flying leaves at the end. It is very fairly engrossed upon vellum, and richly illuminated in the breaks and capitals with ornamental devices of flourishes

and flowers. Some have supposed from the appearance that it might have been a presentation copy ; certainly, according to our hypothesis, not to the monarch at whose command it was executed ; but, perhaps, to the Regent of England, the Duke of Bedford ; or, what is more probable, to the Duke of Burgundy. But it contains nothing like a vignette illustrative of the subject, that might correct or establish such a conclusion ; and, what is infinitely more to be lamented, the draught or plan of the different places, so often referred to by the author, is lost. It possesses all that irregularity of orthography and punctuation, those numerous copulatives and redundancies which characterise the writings of the age ; and though it is the opinion of the Editor that the transcriber has fallen into a few unimportant errors, he has scrupulously presented the original as it stands, occasionally suggesting corrections in notes ; and he flatters himself that the Report of Sir Gilbert de Lannoy, as a curious and authentic document, on account of its geographical information and connexion with an illustrious period of the British annals, may not be considered altogether unworthy of attention ; but may merit to be ranked among those valuable literary antiquities, which are "the remains of history," which are as "planks saved from the deluge of time." y

y Bacon, "Advancement of Learning."

CHEST le rapport que fait messire Guillebert de Lannoy Chevalier. Sur les visitations de pluseurs villes pors et rivières par lui faites. Tant en Egipte comme en Surie. Lan de gr̃e ñre signef mil ·cccc· vingt et deux. Au commandement de treshaut tres puissant et tres excellent prinche le Roy Henry dangleterre heritier et Regent de franche que dieux absoille. Et commenche premierement la ditte visitation a la veue de la ville et port dalexandrie.

Il et assavoir que a larriver par mer en Alexandrie au plus cler temps on ne voit les terres que de ·xx· ou de ·xxv· mil loings au plus loings pour les terres de Egipte qui sont si basses et si plaines. Et voit on plus tost la ville que les terres. pour ·ij· montaignes de terre qui sont dedens la frumette dicelle qui en donnent la cognoissance. Dont la plus haut des ·ij· est sceans a main destre a lariver au plus prez des muers par dedens sur le viel port. et est greille et quarree a fachen de dya-mant. Sur la quelle il y'a une tourelle de la garde qui desqueure toute la ville les pors et le circuite autour. Et lautre sy'et a lariver a main senestre au bout de la ville par dedens alant v's le kaire et nest pas si haulte. mais est plus grosse et est beslongue sur la devallee. de la quelle il y'a ung moustier de Sarasins dit mousquay'e sur la devallee petite qui pou peut decouvrir.^z

Item a lariver ·x· milles parfont en la mer long de la ville y'est de fons de ·xx· a ·xxv· braschez de parfont et y'a de la pour tous gros navire bon fons a venir de si a la bouche du port nouvel. Ou quel nouvel port les crestiens et toutes autres nations ont usanche dariver pour marchandise. Et non ou viel.

Chest la fachen du viel port dalexandrie.

Il est assavoir que en Alixandrie a ·ij· pors. Cest assavoir le viel et le nouvel et demeure a lariver le viel a main droite du nouvel. et vieñt

^z This passage is obscure; and rendered still worse by the false punctuation of the transcriber.

iceulx tous ·ij· batie azmurs de la ville. Et y'a en maniere dune langue de terre environ dune mile de largue entre iceulx ·ij· pors qui fait et a faconne les ·ij· pors dessus diz.

Item dedens le viel port nose entrer nulle navire de crestiens. ne nul crestien par dedens la ville ne par dehors ne loze aprochier. de puis environ ·lx· ans que le Roy Pierre de Chippre le prist par ce lieu la pour quoy on puet y'maginer que ce lieu la est plus avantageux.

Item a trouve par information. non pas quil ait ete dedens que le viel port est plat et ni puet entrer plus gros navierez que de deuxcens bottes gallees plattes fustes et petites navires et est bien large environ de une mile et est plat et dangereux fors en ·i· kanal qui est a lariver a main destre au plus prez de terres. et siet ycelle entree par mi le vent west zutwest et par la puet entrer la navire dessus seurement.

Item est le dit port viel du facion bellonc et est grans environ de ·vij· milles de tour a ce que on peut clerement veoir a leul. et est dedens seur pour tous vens. si non ·i· gros vent de west zudwest et vient icellui port viel battre au mur de la ville a une moult grosse tour neufve ou le soudan se loge quant il vient en la ville dalixandrie.

Item ou lieu ou icellui viel port vient battre au mur de la ville. il ny'a autre fosse que la mer et ny'a que le seul mur de la ville et tout ce cy se peut veir par lexemple.

Item nest point freme de chaine ne dautre chose le dit viel port.

Chest la facion du port nouvel dalixandrie.

Item ou port nouvel arive tout le navire qui vient en alixandrie et est lentree de cellui port de ·vij· a ·x· braches de parfont. et environ de une mille de large. Et siet parmi nort et est tout le dit port grant environ de ·vj· milles de tour et est de facion ·i· poy bellonc et vient la mer battre dedens ycellui ainsi com il entre a main senestre au mur de la ville. Au quel lieu leaue est moult platte coïne il semble et semee de grosses pierres. Et la nose aprochier nulle navire des crestiens.

Item a lenviron de ce lieu la par dedens les murs de la ville iongnant la ya au long du mer une alee qui est comme chastel ou demeure le Roy

ammiral dalixandrie. Et en ce lieu la ou la mer bat au mur ny' a nul fosse ne autre fremette que le mur premier.

Item de puis l'entree du port a fait que on va plus avant dedens amenrist le fons et ne puent gro^s navires aprochier la terre ne la ville dedens plus prez que a demi mille. Et en ce lieu la comunement ancrent les nefz et y'est le fons environ de deux braches de parfont. Et de la en avant jusques en terre y' fait moult plat. Et y'a au dit port plusieurs lieux si plas que la terre y' appert en aucuns lieux dehors mais qui a bon pillot il ya deux lieux ou il fait bon pour sourdre gros navires. et ny peut nuire autre vent que nort et nort ost encores par tres grosse fortune et pou avient que nul vent y' face dommage.

Item a l'entree du dit port a chascun lez sur la terre ferme qui le clot il y'a assis une mousquaie de sarrasins. dont lune est habitee et lautre non. Et tout ce sy' se monstre plus vivement par l'exemple qui en est fait.

Item de puis celui lieu ou la mer laisse a battre au mur en montant au main destre de si a la grant porte de la ville estant sur le dit port en t're ferme il y'a i fosse cuirie droit a plonc large environ de .l. piez plain de y'aue et me semble gaires parfont.

Item dicelle porte montant a main destre encore plus amont de si a une grosse tour corniere ou la mer du viel port vient battre y'a braies dessouz les grans murs. et deux paires de fosses dont le premier vers la mer nest gaires parfont et ny'a poit de y'aue. Et lautre jongnant les murs est cuiriez a plonc comme le premier dessus dit. et ya de la ditte grant porte desi a le ditte tour corniere au lonc du mur bien .v. grosses tours que quaires que rondes sans la porte ne la ditte tour cornieir.

Item nest cestui nouvel point freme de chaine ne dautre chose.

Item entre le nouvel port et le viel il y'a environ une mille devant le ville en la mer i lieu qui fait la clotture des deux ports le quel est plaï de musquaies et la est le cimentiere des sarasins lequel lieu seroit bien avantageux a y' drechier et assir pour trais et aultres habillemens.

Chest la fachon de la ville dalixandrie.

Item est alixandrie tres grosse et grant ville en pays plain assize dun coste sur les deux pors dessus diz sur la mer et tresbien emparee tresbien fremee tout en tour de haulz murs et y'a grant foison de tours espesement assizes que quaires que ronde tout a terrasse.

Item au dessus des grans murs il y'a tout entour bray'es a tourelles espesement assizes et y'a en oultre fosses cuiriez de machonnerie a plonc partout entour. exepte es lieux cy' dessus exceptez et ny' a point deaue en y'ceulz mais large semblent de ·l· a ·lx· piez et parfons de ·xxiiij· a ·xxx·

Item est la ditte ville assize en terre firme bonne a miner et sunt tous les murs tours bray'es et lez maisons de la ville de blanque pierre terre et defroy'ans non pas croy'e.

Item est la ditte ville creuse toute par dessous toutes les rues et les maisons et y'a conduis dedens terres machonees par arches par ou les puis de la ville sunt abuures de la riviere du nil une foys lan et se ainsi nestoit ilz nauroyent point deaue fresque en la ville. Car ils ny' a puis ne fonteynes natureles en la ville car pou y' pluet ou neant.

Item a ·xxx· miles prez dillec partant dun village nomme le hatfe sur le nil il y' naist un fosse fait a la main qui vient a une mile pres de la ville au lonc desdiz murs et va cheoir dedens la mer du port viel par le quel tous les ans en la fin daoust ou par tout le moys de septembre la riviere du nil q' en ce temps la croist habondamment vient remplir tous les puis de la ville pour un an et les puis de dehorz dont les gardins sont arousez. Et y'a pmi zutwest a une mille dessus ditte une greil de fer ou dit fosse ou comenchent les conduis par ou leaue ditte vient en la ville. Et sainsi nestoit comme dit est devant il morroy'ent de soif en la ville. car il ny' pleut point et ny'a ne puis ne fontaynez mais il y'a ·iiij· ou ·iiiiij· grandes cy'ternes po' yaue se mestier estoit.

Item sont grant partie des murs ouvrez par arches par dedens non pas emplis et y'a allees dessus pour deux hommes de front aler et ne semblent pas les dis murs estre espes par mi les alees plus hault de ·vij· piez et par bas entre les arches plus hault de ·iiiiij· piez ou de ·v· et les

creniaux damont dessus les alees plus hault de deux et demi. Lesquelz ae maus^a de toute la ville sur tours sur murs et sur bray'es sont tous fais a demiront. Et ny' a dessus les murs par dedens la ville comme il semble a veir nulle terre ne dicques dont ils puissent estre fortifiez que deulz meismes.

Item semblent les tours a veir par mi lez arches moult pau espesses com'e vray est et lay sceu par information. Et ny' a mur ne tours qui chose du monde tenissent contre gros canons.

Item est la ville treslongue de ost a west. et estroite de zut a nort et peut avoir environ de .vj. milles de tour. et est moult peulee de maisons treshaultes de la pierre dessus ditte toutes a terrasse et sont moult gastes et forment decheves especialment es rues foraines. et enver le viel port ou elles st' toutes wides et desemparees et pour cheste chose en partie ne y' laisse on aler nul crestien. Et sont les rues meschans et estroittes excepte deux ou .iiij. grans rues ou leur marchies de leurs vivres sont.

Item en icelles grans rues y' voit on asses de gens mais partout par les autres rues foraines ny' voit on comme nullui et est ainsi comme despeuplee et alee a neant.

Item ne oze aprouchier par dedens la ville nullez des deux montaignes nul crestien.

Item sur le dit port nouvel y'a .iiij. portes (cest assavoir) tout a main senestre en si que on desche'e entre une petite porte appelee la dowaire^b qui ne se euvre qui .iiij. fois le sepmaine. Et par la font entrer toutes les marchandises. excepte le vin qui entre par la grant porte com'ne.

Item est lautre port plus a main droite ensieuant et est larcenal ou on met les gallees quant il en y'a et les font tirer par terre environ le tret dun abalestre sus la terre.

Item pour leure que messire guillebert y' fu il ny' avoit nulle gallee ne fuste de guerre.

Item encore plus a main destre y'l y'a une autre grant port comme par ou communement tout homme passe et par celle porte deles lez

^a creniaus?

^b douane?

murs y'l y'a assis un tresgrant coillart et est y'celle porte grande double de deux tours quarrees et en entrant en y'celle on va entre deux haulx murs le tret dun arck et passon deux autres portes dont lune se ferme chascun jour avant que on sort ou fort de la ville.

Item y'l y'a encore de lautre bende de la ville deux autres portes ouvertes chascun jour lune par mi zutost qui va aux fosses et aux gardins. Et lautre par mi ost nortost qui va vers alixandrie la vielle et vers le kaire. et par celle ne laisse ou passer nul cristien. Ne scet icellui messire guillebert se chest po^r la grosse montaigne qui est la prez.

Item sont icelles deux portes belles et doubles tours quarrees.

Item y'a en hault sur les terrasses de plusieurs tours autour de la ville coillars tous drechiez en especial devers les diz pors. et en y'a en conte .x. en plusieurs lieux en tour.

Item a sceu le dit messire guillebert par information quil y'a grant foison darballestres de roïmanie et asses de petis canons. et non mie nul gros dedens la ville et y'a grant nombre daballestries.

Item a lautre les de la ville a lappositte de la trē qui est entre les deux pors y' sont les murs de la ville loncs et droits et les tours y' sont grandes mais loings sont lune de lautre. Et au lonc de iceulx murs au trait dun arballestre prez sont toutes montaignes de terre et oultre sont gardins et palmiers a lenviron de la ville.

Item ny' a en toute la ville nulle plache ou on se peut recullier et est tout plain de may'sons sy' non sur les deux montaignes.

Item y'a plusieurs marchans cristiens dedens la ville qui la demeurent. en especial veniciens genevois et catelans qui y' ont leurs fontegues comme may'sons grandes et belles et les enferme on la dedens. et tous les cristiens chascune nuyt de haulte heure. et le matin les laissent lez sarasins dehors de boen heure. Et pareillement sont enfermez tous les venrediz de lan deux ou trois heures de io^r. Cest assavoir a midi quant il font leur grant orison. et y'a autres conchers.^c D'ancone de naples de marseille et de pelerins et de constantinoble mais a present diceulx ni avoit nul marchant.

^c couchers ?

Item y'l y'a une maison plaine de viez harnas de cristiens. et tout le nouvel que on donne au soudan ou quil gaigne sur les cristiens est la mis.

Chi sensuit la visitation de lun des bras du nil devers alixandrie dont la bouche sapelle Rosette.

Il est assavoir que dalixandrie de si a la bouche du dess' dit bras appelee Rosette y' a .xxxv. milles par terre et par mer y' a bien .lx. milles pour les terres qui se boutent en mer. Et est rosette un grant village de brique assez bon assez droit sus la riviere du coste vers alixandrie a .v. milles pres de la ditte bouche ou elle chiet en la mer. et y'a en icelle bouche une pettitte hilette deshabetee qui part la ditte bouche en deux entrees. et est celle devers alixandrie la pluz grande et la plus parfonde coïne icellui messire guillebert a sceu par information. Car nul cristien ny' oze aler. Et y'a bonne entree pour gallees et toutez plattes fustes.

Item de Rosette cest le port coïne est dit qui est pl^s pres de la marine. et ou moult arrivent de germes tant du kaire qui vont en alixandrie que dalixandrie ou kaire. Et la sont les maronniers de tout quanques il en y'a sur la riviere plus avantageux et qui mieux scevent le fait de la bouche de rosette qui en auroit a faire. Et de tout le convenant du bras de la riviere qui descent a rosette ne a grant paine trouveroit on cristien qui bien le scuist comme icellui messire guillebert a oy' dire. Car ne de Alixandrie ne dailleurs ne seuffrent il que nulz cristiens y' voise coïne ceulx qui tousiours doulent la conq̃ste.

Item de Rosette en alant sur la riviere au kaire y'a bien .cc. milles par eaue pour la riviere qui tournie si fort du coste et dautre par tous vens. Et par terre en alant tout droit nen y'a que .c. et .xx. milles.

Item est assavoir que sus la ditte riviere dune bende et dautre y'a plusieurs gros villages et pors en alant au kaire. Entre les quelz il y'en a .iiij. ou .v. bien gros coïne utefinne et derut a bende droitte en montant vers le kaire et le fowa qui siet a bende senestre qui est un tres grosse ville non fremes.

Item plus hault que derut vers le kaire de celle bende siet un village appelle le hattfe ou comenche le fosse qui maine liaue du nil en alixandrie et est a .xx. milles de rosette ou environ.

Item sur le bras de la riviere y'a plusieurs illes habitees et labourees comme lille dor ou croist foison de chucré. et lille de beninas qui a bien .xl. millez de long. et lille de genofie grant et longue et y'a plusieurs autres meschantes et petites illetes dont ce cy' ne fait point de mention pour ce que par le get de lexemple de la riviere qui sur ce en est fait le pourra en veir plus a plain. Aussi est assavoir que il y'a plusieurs menus villages tant de poure habitation comé de bonne assis dessus et pres au get dun canon ou dune mille de la riviere ou germes ne peulent^d venir. Et de ceaulx ci en y'a sans nombre. Et sont les plus grans villagez de brike et les autres comé maisons de tartres ronde comme fours fais de kanes et placquies par dessus.

Item est assavoir que de puis rosette en alant au kaire sur la riviere il y'a en plusieurs lieux trez plas fons especialment vers feurieur mors et avril que la riviere est moult bas et ny' poroit en ce temps la passer une gallee Car les germes qui sont toutes plattes de fons et mesmes les plus petites en plusieurs lieux sarrestent sur le fons po^r la plateur de leaue.

Item cest article ne fait plus avant mention de la nature des bras de ceste riviere pour ce que en l'article qui parole du bras de Damiette qui sont onques duna natre en polle pl^s a plain cy' aprez.

Chi sensieut la visitation de kaire et de babilone.

Item est le kaire la maistre ville degypte assize sur la riviere du nil qui vient de paradis terrestre et ne vient point plus prez de la ville que a boulac ou il y'a environ .iiij. miles.

Item boulac qui est un village ioignant babilougne et sont la les maisons de celui assizes et fondees sur le bort de la riviere.

Item est assavoir que le kaire babilonne et boulac furent jadis chne

^d peuvent ?

ville aparlui. mais a present sest telement edifiee que ce nest que une meisme chose. et y'a aucune maniere de fosses entre deux plas sans eave. Combien que il y'a moult de maisons et chemins entre deux et peut avoir de kaire en babilonne ·iij· milles et de boulac jusques au kaire ·iij· milles.

Item est la ville de kaire tres grande ville a merveilles et a bien parmi babilonne ·iij· lieues de long franchoy'ses et une lieue et demie de large. Et appert moult trop plus grande mais elle va moult a destruction et est allee especialment de puiz ·xx· ans. elle est moult plaine de peuple et trez marchande et y a marchans de inde et en partie de tous les parties du monde. Et est la maistre ville capital de tout le pais du soudan coïne degipte de surie de saiette et de toutes ses seignouries et la ou il fait sa residence.

Item du bout de la ville du kaire dessoubz une montaigne il y'a un tresbel et gros chastel bien muret. et dedens forte et plain de maisons ou le soudan demeure et vient leaue de la riviere du nil en aucunz lieux dedens les fosses au tour par conduis de fossez fais a la main. Et est cellui chastel assis hault sus roche au dessoubz de la montaigne et est pres en la fin du kaire vers babillonne.

Item est la ville de kaire fermee de murs en aucuns lieux par dehors et en la plus grant partie ne voit on ne murs ne portes. Car joignant lez murs ont partout maisons reedifiees et dedens les fossez et ailleurs coïne faubours pour quoy' elle ne samble point fermee mais si est. Car on y' peut entrer en la droite ville de nulle part que parmi portes qui se ferment de nuit.

Item il y'a grans fosses fais a la main qui viennent de la riviere du nil par entre le kaire et babilonne p ou chescun an quant la riviere croist la ville les jardins et tous le pais est abuvres.

Item sont les fondations des maisons de pierre de brike et de terre cuite et les combles de kanes et de meschant mairien placquiez de terre legiers a ardoir et sont les combles moult haus tous a terrasses et moult y'a de maysons et estrotes rues.

Item en alant vers la matrie ou le bausme croist il y'a bien deux milles de long et une mille de le^e de maisons abatues et desolees par mortalite et ainsi envers babilonne et devers boulac comme dit est.

Item est toute la ville assize sur bonne terre vive pour fosser et pour miner exepte le chastel qui est sur roche.

Item est le dit chastel moult grant comme une ville fermee. et habitte dedens avec le soudan grant quantite de gens en especial bien le nombre de deux mile esclaves de cheval quil paie a ses soudees comie ses meilleurs gens darmes a garder son corps. femmes et enfans et autres gens grant nombre.

Item est le dit chastel mout fort assis sus les murs de la ville et a issue et entree dedens et dehors et a bien partout deux paires de murs et devers la ville une belle et grande basse court moult notablement fremee et de deux murs et a ausdis murs grant foy'son de belles tours et grossez rondes et quarrees et faut de puis la premiere porte passer moult daultres portes avant que on soit ou maistre donion.

Item y'a fosses au tour le dit chastel et non obstant quil soit hauls assiz et la riviere soit basse si y' vient leaue par engiens depuis reues tournans par forche de beus qui vont autour grant partie desdis fosses.

Item entre chastel et la ville y'a une moult grande plache et belle comie un marchie et au tour dicelle plache y'a quatre ou .v. grans musquaiez de grosses pierres edifiez qui sont a un tret dabalestre du chastel.

Item peut mauvairement entrer oudit chastel nul cristien et ne pevent savoir les choses dessus dittes si non en partie par information et le surplus par ce que le dit messire guillebert en a sceu veir et considerer.

Item au kaire ne en tout le pay's degipte pleut moult pou souvent.

e large?

Chi sensuit la condicion et nature des soudans de babillone de leur amiraux et esclaves et des sarasins degypte de la nature des pay's degipte et de surie.

Premiers il est assavoir que en tout le pay's de egypte et de surie et de say'ette communement il ny' a que un signeur Cest assavoir un soudain de babillongne qui domine sur tout.

Item ne se fait icellui soudan jamais naturelement de la nation de nulz diceulx pay's pour ce que lez gens de iceulx pay's sont de trop meschant et foible condition a bien garder leur pay's comme ilz dient ainchois le font daucun amiral esclave qui par le sens vaillance et grant gouvernement de lui se sera tellement avanties quil aura acquis puis-sanche et amis du temps du soudan des autrez amiraux et esclaves si que aprez la mort du soudan par les choses dessus dittes il se fera signeur. et est ainsi que par puissance et par parties qui le soustient. Et non obstant ce si est il tous jours en doulte et peril destre boutte dehors par aucun autre amiral puissant au tour de lui. soit par traison ou par autres bendes qui seront favorable a celui amiral contre lui.

Item non obstant che de puis que le dit soudan aura regne et domine grant temps. non obstant che quil ait des enfans et quil ordonne en son vivant que un de sediz enfans soit signeur apres lui et que les grans amiraux laient tout accorde. Gif'avient il trop pou souvent qui icellui filz puist apres le soudan venir a la seignourie. Ainchois est prins et mis en prison ou estraingles ou empoisonnes par aucuns diceulx amiraux. et est icelle signourie tres perilleuse et tres muable.

Item quant le dit messire guillebert fu en surie il y' ot .v. soudans.

Item a tousjours coïne on dist le dit soudan de babillone tant au kaire comme assez pres la en tour environ diz mil esclaves a ses gaiges quil tient coïne ses gens darmes qui li font sa guerre quant il a mestier. montes aucuns a deux chevalx et les autres qui en ont plus ou mains. Et est assavoir que iceulx esclaves sont destranges nations comme de

tartarie. de turquie. de bourguerie. de honguerie. de esclavonie. de walasquie. de russie. et de gresse. tant de pay's cristiens comme dautres. et ne sont point appellees esclaves du soudan sil ne les a achetes de son argent. ou ne lui sont donnez et envoy'es de presens destraignes terres et en ces esclaves cy' se confie du tout pour la guerre de son corps et leur donne fames et cazals chevaulx et robes et lez met sus de jonesse petit a petit en eulx monstrant la maniere de sa guerre et selonc che que chascun se preuve il fait lun amiral de .x. lances lautre de .xx. lautre de .l. lautre de .c. et ensi en montant deviennent lun amiral de jherusalem lautre roy et amiral de damask. lautre grant amiral du kaire et ensi des autres offices du pay's.

Item est assavoir que nulx^b esclaves sont tous signeurs des drois sarasins natifz du pay's et ont loy' et liberte en achater en vendre et en toutes autres avantages devant eulx et les dominant et batent sans che autre justice en soit faite comme se chestoient leurs esclaves. et sont coïne tous signours du pay's. Et est assavoir que communement les drois sarasins natifz du pay's bien pau se meslent des grans gouvernemens des grosses villes. especialment en egypte et y' gouvernent tous esclaves.

Item quant le soudan fait guerre contre quelque amiral rebelle ou aucuns de ses enemis quelque bataille ou effroy' quil y' aie. Est assavoir que nulles des communes de bonnes villes ne sen meuvent ne des laboureurs ainchois fait chascun son mestier et sa labeur et soit seigneur qui peut.

Item quant iceulx esclaves vont en guerre sont tousjours de cheval armes seulement dunes cuirasses couvertes de soy'e et une ronde petite huuette en la teste. et chascun larc et les fleches lespee la mache et le tambur. et leur sert le tambur pour eulx rassembler coïne trompettes. Et ausi quant ilz voient leurs ennemis en bataille ilz sonnent tout a une fois pour espoent^r les chevaulx diceulx.

Item sont le surplus des autres sarasins natifz du pay's en especial de egipte meschant gens vestu dune chemise sans chausses sans braies.

^r garde ?

^b iceulx ?

une torque sur la teste. Et quant aux communes du plat pay's ilz ont po ars espees ne chose de deffense nulle et est grant meschantete que de leur fait.

Mais il y'a une autre maniere de gent appellees arabes qui grant partie habittent ens es desers et en pluseurs autres lieux en egipte lesquels ont chevaux et chameulx et sont tres vaillant gent au regard desdiz sarasins. et se treuvent grant quantite et font les aucuns a le fois guerre au soudan meismes. et sont gens de pource vivre et de povre habit. Et nont autres armures que une lanchette longue et grille comme dardes ploy'ans et ont une targe a maniere de un grand boucler. mais il sont trop plus vaillans que lez sarasins. Combien que eulx mesmes tous sont de la sectte de mahoumet et font seigneurs et amiraulx deulx meismes et font souvent grosses guerres lun contre lautre et n'ont villes nie maisons ains dorment tousiours aux champs dessus huttes quil font pour le solleil. et de ceulx cy' se le soudan en avoit a faire comme cristiens nest point de doubte quil entrouveroit assez.

Item est assavoir que en toute le pay's degipte en bonnes villes et aux champs il y'a grante quantite de cristiens de la chainture desquelz icellui messire guillebert fait pou de mention pour ce que pou de prouffit pourroient faire aux cristiens servans a la matiere.

Chi sensuit la differense du pay's degipte et de Surie.

Item il y'a differense entre le pay's degipte et de surie. Car egipte si est plain pay's et ouvert. Et surie est pay's rusquilleux et plain de montaignes et son communement les sarasins de surie natifz du pay's meilleurs plus vaillans et asses plus habilles en fait de guerre et pour la deffense du pay's que ne sont ceulx degipte. Et se treuvent tres grant quantite diceulx sarasins de cheval asses bien montes chescuns ay'ans larc les fleches lespee la mache et le tambur. et especialment depuis les marches de gazere et de jherusalem au long de la marine en venant vers barut et vers tripoli. Et entre les montaignes alant de la marine a damasc a halep et par mi le dit pay's qui est moult grant.

Item pareillement coñie ou pay's degipte il y'a autour de damasc et

de jherusalem en pluseurs lieux en surie enmy' les champs et par les montaignes arrabes habitans. dont en temps de guerre les aucuns et pluseurs se treuvent montez sur chevaux et sur cameux pour aidier leur signeur abilliez cōme dit est pour la deffense du pais.

Item autour de Damasc et de halep en la ditte surie y'a encores une autre maniere de gent appellees turquemans natifz de turquie qui par le congie du soudan habittent le pays et changent souvent habitation de lieu a autre ayans femmes enfans et bestiaux. Lesquelz sont grant quantite montes dasses bons chevaux. Ayans bons ars fleches maches espees et tambour. et aucuns ont targes et sont iceulz torquemans sans comparison milleurs et plus vaillans aux champs. que les arrabes ne les sarasins du pay's ne encores que les esclaves et sont plus doultez et sont iceulx tousjours prestz ou plaisir du soudan.

Item au lonc de la marine de surie ont communaument les communes de pie larc et les flechez et grant cop en y'a qui ont espees.

Memoire quem surie pluet trop plus quen egipte en especial autour damasc et sur la marine venant de jaffe a tripoli.

Chi sensuit la nature de la riviere du nil et la visitation dicelle depuis deux journees au desseureⁱ du kaire de si au port de damiette.

Memoire que la riviere du nil est tres douche eaue et tres saine et queurt douchement non pas trop rade. et vient de devers les parties dinde de paradis terrestre cōme on dist et passe au long degipte et vient par devant babillone passer a ·iiij· milles du kaire et passe devant boulac.

Item environ a ·xx· milles au dessoubz du kaire vers la mer se depart la ditte riviere en deux bras tres gros qui tous deux viennent queir en la mer lun a un lieu qui sapelle rosette qui est a ·xxxvj· millez pres dalixandrie par terre et y'a ·lxx· par mer. Et lautre brach vient cheir en la mer a damietta.

Item est assavoir que ceste riviere du nil croist tous les ans sans faillir une fois lan au dessus lez bors si hault quelle arouse les terres environ ·ij· ou ·iiij· milles parfont ou pays. Et tant plus hault monte on

ⁱ dessus.

devers ou audessus du kaire et plus hault croist. Et tant plus raproche envers alixandrie ou vers damietta sur tous les .ij. bras et tant mains croist de haulteur. Car plus vient devers la mer et plus sespert de tous costes en lieux plas et larges et en fossez et puis et canaus qui sont fais a la main. dune bende et dautre de la riviere lesquelz arousent les villages les iardins et le pays entour.

Item quant la riviere est en ceste haulteur on retient leaue par escluses et trenchis dont on arouse le pay's en necessite ou temps que leaue sest remise en son plus bas degre et que le grand sequeresche vient.

Item est assavoir que ceste riviere est tous les ans au plus bas en la fin de maj et en lentre de Juing. et tousjours sans faillir du .vij. de Juing dessy au .xij. commence a croistre et croist petit a petit et sen perchoit on. telle nuit est quelle est creue un pauch. telle nuit .ij. telle nuit .iij. telle nuit une paulme. telle nuit un piet ou deux. telle nuit ou telles .ij. ou .iiij. ou .v. riens riens ou bien pou. Et ainsi son croistre ne tient point de rieulle. mais tousjours elle ne faut point de estre au plus hault en la fin daoust our^j par tout le moys de septembre. Et en celle hauteur que gaires plus ne croist ne amenrist elle se tient bien deux mois. Et puis ainsi quelle est crue sans rieulle en telle maniere de-croist elle sans rieulle petit a petit tant quelle revient au plus bas degre au jour dessus dit.

Item quant elle est au plus bas elle na en plusieurs lieux que bien pau deaue de parfont comie cy' aprez on parlera plus avant.

Item il y'a au kaire droit devant babillonne emmy la riviere une illette petite tresbien habitee fremee au tour de maisons. ou il y'a une may'son basse fondee en leaue en laquelle il y'a un piller de mabre ou leaue de la riviere vient frapper. le quel est ensignie de plusieurs enseignes de trais qui sont paus piez et picques et par che piller cognoist on aus dittes enseignes quant la riviere croist. et quantes paus ou quantes paumes quans pies ou quantes picquez chascune nuit est crute. Et y'a

un propre maistre pour ce cognoistre aux gaiges du soudan. qui va crier parmi le kaire le cruchon de leaue pour resioir le peuple.

Item quant elle vient a .xvj. pickes dehaut ou dit piller le peuple de kaire fait y'oie^k et monte le soudan sur une gallee ache ordonnee et va lui meismes retaillier et ouvrir la bouche dun grant fosse fait a la main qui part de la riviere et passe parmi babilonne et lors par la sespart leaue du nil par plusieurs petis bras et fossez parmi le kaire es jardins et ou pay's au tour. Et quant la riviere se descroit lors on relieue et restouppe icelle bouche et retient leaue ainsi au kaire pour toute la saison et autrement ne pouroit vivre le kaire.

Item est cōmunement chescun an environ lentre de juing quant elle vient a .xvj. pickes que le soudan va ainsi retailler lesdiz fossez. Et a une picke .xxiiij. paus de long.

Memoire que le dit messire guillebert a entendu par vraie enquete que le soudan ne pourroit destourber le cruchon de ceste riviere dessus ditte du nil. Mais le prestre jehan le feroit bien. et lui donroit autre cours sil voloit. mais il le laisse pour la grant quantite de cristiens qui habittent en egipte qui mourroient de fain pour sa cause.

Memoire que le soudan ne laisse nul cristien passer in inde par le mer rouge ne par mi la riviere du nil vers le prestre jehan pour le peur quil a que les cristiens ne traittent a lui que ceste riviere lui fust ostee ou autre choze a lui contraire. Car les cristiens et le prester jehan de par dela font souvent guerre a lui.

Item depuis se jour en avant quelle vient a .xvj. pickes elle na^l en croissant tousiours de si au temps dessus dit en la fin de septembre et vient a .xviij. pickes a .xviij. a .xix. et a .xx. et pau de saisons avient quelle ne viegne a .xx. ou environ.

Item quant elle passe .xx. pickez tout le pay's estant sur la riviere est noy'es et quant elle ne vient qua .xvj. ou .xviij. la terre frutteffie pau de biens et ont famine grande icelle saison. mais quant elle vient a .xviij. elle frutteffie un pou mieulx. Encore mieulx a .xix. et encore mieulx a .xx. et demi. Car lors est il habundance de tous biens en tous lez pay's de la

riviere. et lors est elle aussi au plus hault quelle peut estre sans tout destruire.

Item a sceu le dit messire guillebert par plusieurs oppinnions que la cause pour quoy elle croist ainsi chascun an si est par les tresgrans pleuves quil fait environ march et avril bien .c. journees au dessus du kaire en la terre du prestre jehan ou elle passe.

Item sont toutes les maisons et villes autour de la riviere assizes plus hault que la terre plaine sur terre et montaignettes pour le cruchon de leaue.

Item va ceste riviere du nil au dessus du kaire tondis par mi un pay's qui est au soudan appelle saiette bien .xl. journees vers inde ou il y'a conïe on dist de moult grosses villes et est le pay's tres bien habitte et de bon gros villages dun les et de lautre les de la riviere. En especial deux journees partant de kaire amont la riviere de si a une eglise de jacobinitains appelee saint george. lesquelles deux journees icellui messire guillebert a visitte en personne et surplus nescet que par information.

Item y'a sur ceste riviere tout du pay's du soudan une si tres grosse quantite de barkes alant de lun a lautre en marchandise qui sappellent germes les aucunes et le plus avoiles latins et les autres voiles quares que ceste une infinite et ne voit on autre chose qui va amont ne aval la riviere et sont toutes plates defons dessoubz pour la riviere qui est souvent platte.

Item en chez deux journees il y'a plusieurs ilettes et y' est la riviere large le tret dun canon. et parfont comme au kaire et monte a mont par mi le zut sans gaires tourner.

Item est assavoir que le brach de la riviere qui va du kaire a damiette tournie tresfort et y'a par eaue bien .iiij. journees qui vallent bien .c. .l. milles et est che brach plus estroit et plus parfont que celui dalixandrie et de rosette et a communement le tret dun fort arbalestre de large. et en plusieurs lieux plus et neant mains quant elle est au plus bas. Et lors a elle de parfundeur en un lieu plus en lautre mains. Et en plusieurs lieux est elle si platte que tous lez copz lez germes meissent les

plus petites et qui ne sont pas chergies sariestent sus terre. Et^m et ceste riviere tres fausse de son cours. car aucune fois est le courant de leaue en un lieu aucune fois en un autre. Et ne pourroit on escripre justement la parfundeur dicelle sinon quelle est si platte quant elle est au plus bas que maisementⁿ y' pourroit passer gally'otte ne lin sans avoir bon pillot en che temps la. Mais en la fin de juillet et par tout le moy's daoust de septembre d'octobre et mi novembre aians tous jours bon pillot sarasin qui fust de rosette ou de damiette y' pourroit passer toute grosse gallee desi au kaire et non en autre temps.

Item entre le kaire et damietta il y'a sur les bors de la riviere dune bende et dautre espessement assiz villages a une mille ou a deux pres de lun lautre au plus hault. lesquels plusieurs sont pors de germez et de barkes dont il en y'a plusieurs grans. entre les autres y' est samanou assis de la bende vers alixandrie tres gros village Et y'a arriere de la ditte riviere aussi villages tresgrant foison a .ij. ou a .iij. milles parfont au pay's et sont edeffies de terre de canes et de meschante brique. et y'est la terre tresbien labourree et grant habundanse de blez dorges et de fruis dedens terre et y'a pou dautres arbres fors que palmierz qui rien ne vallent a carpentage. et ny'a fortresse tour ne ville fremee.

Item en ches .iiij. journees de riviere y'a plusieurs petites illetes aucunes habitees et aucunes non.

Item a .x. milles au dessoubz de kaire alant vers damiette il y'a partant de la ditte riviere un autre brach fait a la main appelle le elberke qui de la bende de surie sen va arousant le pay's autour et va cheir en un port sur la mer appelle le port de tenes dont cy apres est faitte mention et est chedit brach si plat deaue que a paines y peuvent petites germes.

Item encores a .xij. milles pres de damiette partant hors de la riviere il y'a un autre brach de riviere le quel nest pas grant mais est fait a la main qui en arousant le pay's au tour sen va cheir pareillement ou dit port de tenes et est plus plat encore et plus estroit que nest elberke. et ny' va que barkettes petites.

^m est.

ⁿ maisement.

*Chi sensuit la visitation du port et de la ville de damiette. de la riviere
et des rivierettes qui en partent et vont cheoir ou dit port de Tenes.*

La ville de damiette si est assize au long et sur les bors de la riviere du nil vers surie a .vj. milles pres de la bouche de la mer en une ilette qui de deux les est enclose de rivieres et de lautre de la mer est tres-longue sur la riviere et plus estroite vers les champs. Et est tres-grande non fremee de nul coste sinon que tontes les maisons sur la riviere tiennent ensemble qui de celle bende font en maniere de fre-mette et la au lonc de leaue y'a plusieurs portelettes tant ens es maisons comme autrement par ou on vient chargier et deschargier la marchandise. dont les aucunes se ferment de nuit et aucunes non. et y' ont plusieurs maisons leurs wis a leur poste^o et est ceste ville vielle et de-chuwe et edeffise de maisons de meschante brique les fondations et les combles qui sont communement haulx ne sont que de canes et de terre. et ne durroit riens au feu. et comme la renommee queurt elle est moult despeuplee deshabitee et deschuwe de puis .xx. ans en cha. et ny'a riens de fort en la ville que les mousqaies .i. eglizes de sarasins qui est pou de chose. Et une tourrelle ou dehors de la ville que on dist saint loy's le fist faire.

Item a lapposite de celle tour bas au bout de la ville vers la mer il y'a en maniere dun lieu en la riviere plus estroit que nulle part en laditte riviere au dessus ne au dessoubz. le quel est mout parfont et na que le get dune pierre dun bon brach de large. et en che lieu la dune bende et dautre de la terre il semble quil yait leux tres avantageux pour a preste-ment fonder tours ou chasteaulx pour la riviere qui a che a fachonne le liu donne avantage de force en especial devers la ville. ca il y'a dedens leaue fonde de grand parfondeur murs tres beaux davantage et une petite basse tourrelle quarree et aucunes maisons non pas fortes que nulz ne garde. Et en alant de che liu la en la ville monte la terre un pou en hau:t. mais sur un liu tout propisce qui la est on pourroit fonder

^o porte ?

une grosse tour vers la ville et ni fauroit que copper un pou de terre que la riviere iroit tout autour et enclorroit tout che lieu la et serroit fort a merveilles.

Item pareillement a l'opposite outre la riviere il y'a commencement de un lieu tresfort et y'eut jadis une tour fondee en leue que la riviere a abatue et ny a autre chose. Et qui voudroit on pourroit en cel estroit la clore de la riviere dune chaine.

Item de che lieu la ou est le bout de la ville vers la mer de si a la bouche ou la riviere chiet en la ditte mer y'a .vj. milles par eaue et autant par terre.

Item sont ces .vj. milles par terre tout plain chemin de sablon asses pesant a aler. mais il y'a plusieurs rieux et courans qui arousent les gardins et le pay's. Sur lesquelz au venir a la ville il faut passer par petis poncheaux de laigne et de terre. et treuve on asses prez de la marine et assez pres de la ville petis courans ou meillieu du chemin et de palmiers asses largement et y'a de la bouche ditte tout au lonc du bort de la riviere et vers damiette desi au plus pres de la ville ions et longs rouseaux pour quoy' au lonc dicelle on ne poroit descendre qui ne venroit jusques a la ville ou qui redescenderoit a la bouche par petis bateaux et la pouroit on descendre. Combien quil y' fait si tres plat tant dune bende qu' dautre que sil faisoit riens de vent ou il y eust riens de poissanche devant il feroit tres dangereux.

Item qui en che lieu la descenderoit pour venir par terre a la ville il fauroit un pou tournijer pour yssir hors de la voy'e des diz ions et trouveroit les rieux dessus diz en plat chemin que li sarasin fero'y'en bien flotter deaue en une nuit plus hault par leurs puis quilz ont prez de la riviere quilz tirent leue a reues et a beufs et y'a grant foy'son deaue de fosses la entour autre que desdiz puiz ne de la riviere. Car le lac de lestaignon vient flotter au plus prez du chemin a demi mille a main senestre en alant de la ditte bouche vers la ville.

Item droit en che liu la de la ditte bouche du coste vers la ville sur terre il y'a toutes les nuis .vj. hommes de cheval qui font le gait des-

soubz un apentich de quatre pillers de pierre pour les fustes darmee qui y' poroient ariver.

Item siet le plateur de la bouche de damiette en la mer comme une mille de parfont et est large a ·ij· ou a ·iij· milles ou plus Et y'a un kanal et cours deaue en telle plateur qui tous les ans communement quant la riviere croist se change de lieu en autre Cest assavoir par les sablons que le cours de leaue enmainent. Et aucune foy's avient que che kanal se mue plus dune foy's lan par lequel qui veut entrer en la riviere du nil y' faut entrer et y'ssir. et est moult perilleux a lentrer et plus a lissir pour la mer qui redonde contre le courant de la riviere. et na che cours de leaue et kanal que ·viij· paulmes de un quartier. la paume de parfont neant plus quant la riviere croist ou quelle est au plus hault que quant elle est au plus bas. Et y'a un homme de par la ville de damiette ordonnee qui tousiours tante le fons pour savoir quant le kanal de la bouche se remue. et est celui le pillot qui monstre aux nefz et aux fustes qui veullent entrer dans le chemin et lentre.

Item par che kanal aiant bon pillot entrent bien nefz de ·ij·c· bottes et toutes gallees et menues fustes quant le temps est bon et quil fait douch vent venant de la mer.

Item de puis quelles ont passe cette dangereuse bouche il y'a bon fons en la riviere dune brache et demie et deux braches de parfont au courant dicelle de si a la ville aumoins quant elle est au plus bas. Et y' est la riviere large le tret de un canon avant en plusieurs lieux mains que plus et tourny'e un petit.

Item environ ·iij· milles de parfont en la mer oultre cette bouche il y'a en este bon lieu et bon pelage pour sourgir et ancrer toutes grosses nefz. et en che lieu la il y'a quatre braches de fons et ny' a vent qui tant y' nuist que zutwest. et la vient communement leste tout les gros navires. et pou en y' a qui entrechent dedens la bouche pour che que elle est si perilleuse sinon aucun petites nefz de ·c· et ·l· bottes au plus haut qui la se veullent y'verner ou refaire. Mais liver nozent demourer nulles nefz pour che quil y'a si pou dabri.

Item quant en celui pelage et surgissoir le vent se met a grant fortune les nefz qui la sont sen vont devant le port de tenes a secours et la sont plus seurement.

Memoire que lune des bouches de la riviere du nil de chi a lautre par mer il y'a .iiij.x. milles et est che pay's la une ille treshabondante et fructifeuse et tres plaine de villes et villages par mi le pay's et au long de la riviere et est le meilleur pay's degipte et lappellon garbie.

Memoire que dedens la riviere du nil y'a la plus grande habundanse de poissons du monde mais il nest pas sain a lui en plente a sasier. mais leaue est si saine que on en peut trop boire.

Memoire des poissons come grans chevaulx sauvages et de la multitude des cocatris qui sont en la riviere du nil especialment devers rosette.

Chi sensuit la visitation du lak de lestaignon.

Item en la ville de damiette il y'a encore partant de la riviere du nil un petit estroit brachellet deaue courrant fait a la main come un fosse passant parmi lez jardins de la ville qui ont bien .iiij. milles de lonc lequel sen va cheir a .vj. milles prez de damiette en un grant lak deaueallee que la mer a gaignie de long temps appelle lestaignon lequel a bien de deux .c. milles de tour et est plain dillettes perdues. Et est assavoir que par mi la dessus ditte revierette qui na ou temps que leaue de la grosse riviere est au bas que .ij. ou .iiij. piez de parfont sen vont bien aucunes griperies petites non chargies de damiette dedens le dit lak de lestaignon. Ouquel lak il y' a fons assez pour icelles et la entendant la marchandise pour elles chargier viennent de damiette autres plus petites barques chargies de icelle marchandise et les chargent sur les dites griperies et germes. Et est che liu la ou ils les chargent ainsi sur le dit lak a .xxv. ou a .xxx. milles pres de damiette. en puis en si chargez sen vont au long du dit lak de lestaignon aians fons de .iiij. ou de .v. piez deaue de chi a la bouche du port de tenes devant nomme ou la haulte mer vient. Et par cette riviere droit la issent plus communement de damiette telz petis vaisseus pour aler en leur marchandize que il ne

font par la grant bouche de la riviere du nil a damiette pour che que tant est perileuse.

Item ou dit lak y'a habundanse a trop grant merveille de poisson asses plus encore que en la riviere du nil.

Item aucunes foy's les grandes germes ne les griperies qui sen vont de damiette en leur marchandise ne vont pas chargier en che lieu la de lestaignon dessus dit leur marchandise parmi la ditte revierette pour che quelle a si pau de fons. ainchois issent par la bouche de la riviere a damiette et sen vont par mer costiant la terre ou tour et entrent ou dit port de tenes et remontent par dit lak de lestaignon en bon grant fons et reviennent tousjours au lieu dessus dit aians bon grant fons et la par petites barques chagent comme dit est.

Item est assavoir que che nest pas chemin convenable a maronnier du monde aians ausse grosse fuste que griperie ou grosse germe dentrer ou dit port de tenes pour vouloir aler par mi le dit lak et le chemin dessus dit a damiette sil navoit un propre pillot du pay's. Car le chemin y' est tres mauvais a tenir entre pluseurs illetes pour le pou de fons quil y'a en pluseurs lieux. car tous lez cops se treuve on sur terre.

Item y'a de damiette par che chemin dessus dit dessi audit port de tenes qui chiet en la mer ·lxx· milles et par la marine ou tour ya oussi autant.

Chi sensuit la visitation du port de tenes.

Item est le port de tenes tres bon port pour petis vaisseaux gallees et plates fustes et est lentree tres large de une terre a autre et siet ainsi comme on y' arrive par mer par mi zutwest. mais un pou plus avant entre les terres il y'a une bouche qui a ·ij· ou ·iij· milles de large dangereuse et assez perilleuse a y' entrer et a en saillir pres autant que celle du Damiette pour la mer qui redonde contre les courans des eaus douces qui cheent dedens le lak de lestaignon. et par consequent ou dit port. Et na pour entrer en la ditte bouche que un seul canal appelle cours de leaue qui na que ·vij· ou ·viii· quartiers de parfont. Parlequel y' faut entrer et issir non obstant che que louverture de

la bouche soit moult grande. le quel canal se change tres souvent de lieu autre par les courans merveilleux qui mainent les sablons or de cha et or dela. et y' peut on mauvairement entrer a tout nefz de ·ij·c· bottes et sans pilot. mais qui a bon pilot nefz de ·iij·c· et de ·iiij·c· y' entrent bien dun bon douch vent venant de la marine. et de puis que on est dedens celle bouche y'a tres bon fons de ·ij· ou ·iij· et de quatre braches.

Memoire que ·ij· ou ·iij· milles parfont en la mer oultre la ditte bouche y'a tresbon surgissoir pour grosses nefz et y'a abril coñe^p plusieurs vents pour la grant entree quil y'a et pour les terres dicelle qui sont loings lune de lautre. qui donnent abril combien que che nest que tout palage. mais livier quant les nefz nosent demourer devant damiette pour le fort temps elles viennent a secours pour sourgier en che lieu la.

Item a le ditte bouche a lendroit de ou le canal est environ de ·ij· ou de ·iij· milles de large et en amenissant petit a petit le dit port comme une riviere sen va coñe dit est ou lak de lestaignon.

Item sur le dit port en terre ny' a antre ville ne village que ·ij· ou ·iij· tres povres maisons motie descheues et deshabitees mais est assavoir que non obstant che il y'a tous jours gens barques et cameux et marchandisez qui passent ou repassent par terre ou par eaue en che lieu la Car par terre et par eaue cest le droit chemin du caire alant a gazere et en iherusalem.

Chi sensuit la visitation de Jaffa.

Jaffe siet en le coste de surie sur la mer ·ij·c· milles pres du port de tenes par mer et a ·xxx· milles de jherusalem par terre et est le plus prochain port qui soit prez de jherusalem et fu jadiz grant ville fremee. mais a present est toute desroquie et ny' a que ·iij· caves ou nulz ne demeure ou les pellerins se logent quant ils viennent au sepulcre. et est le pay's comme plain et plat. mais le assiette de cest ville qui fu siet hault sur une montaigne et y feroit on bien lieu fort.

Item dessoubz ches ·iij· caves y'a un petit port fait comme par forche

pour plattes et petites fustes cõme griperies et galliottes a grant paine y' peut une gallee entrer Et a cedit port petit deux bouches chest assavoir cõme on y' arrive lune la meilleur et la plus grant par mi zut zut west. et lautre parmi ost zut ost.

Item a ·iij· milles de parfont en la mer il y'a bon sourgissoir pour grosses nefz et la a le fons de ·iiij· a ·v. braches de parfont. mais la est elle ou dangir de tous vens venant de la marine.

Item a Jaffe y'a ·ij· fontainnes sur la rive de la mer et quiconques cave ou sablon sur icelle rive cest toute bonne fonteyne.

Item il y'a gardes a iaffe tousiours pour noncier a rames les marchans et les pellerins quant ilz y' viennent.

Chest la visitation de Rames.

De jaffe a rames a ·x· milles de terre et est tresbel plain pay's et y'a oucuns bons villages alant de lun a lautre esquelz en aucunes il y'a puis de eaue douche mais moult escarsement y'a eaue car pou y' pleut. Et quant il pleut largement il y'a de beaux fourmens et y'a de beaux jardins autour de rames et arbres de tous fruis selonc la secheresse du pay's assez largement. Et est l'aoust en che pays la emmy' juillet.

Item est rames grosse ville non fremee assize en plain pays ediffiee de maisons de belle blanche franche pierre tailliche combles et tout. et toutes a terrasses et sont basses communement et est ceste ville au soudan, et y'a amiral.

Chest la visitation de jherusalem en brief.

De Rames en jherusalem a ·xx· milles tout pay's de montaignes dures et y'a bien pou de labeur et pay's povre et sauvage et y' treuvt on pou de vignes en aucuns lieux. et y'a ·iij· ou ·iiij· casaux en chemin que villages et en voit on aussi aucuns de ·ij· costes et ny' a eaue en chemin que en deux lieux en puis tres parfons et dangereux Mais prez de jherusalem on y' voit sur hautes montaignes pluseurs chasteaulx lez aucuns de cheuz les aucuns non que edifierent lez cristiens jadis. Et encore en aucuns y' habittent cristiens de la chainture. et ont puis deaue les aucuns.

Item est Jherusalem assize en pendant dune montaigne dune bende devers ponent ·i· west et lautre devers ost. elle est assize au desous du val de josafath et du val de siloe. et en ceste bende de ost ioignant les murs de la ville est le temple salmon. et la porte doree au plus prez des murs de la ville. et dessoubz ou val de josafath est le sepulcre nostre dame. et oultre vers ost et sur la montaigne est le mont dolivet.

Item est jherusalem longue de zut a nort et large de ost a west. et assez au millieu de la ville plus prez de zut siet leglise du saint sepulcre. et est jherusalem bien edifiee de belle maisons de belle franche pierre tailliche toutes a terrasse. mais moult pou y'a des eaues et grant chierette. Car moult pou y' pleut maiz il y'a puis et cisternes assez sil pleuvoit largement pour avoir eaues a habondance. et la meilleur eaue qui y' soit sy' est en un puis sourdant qui est en leglise du saint sepulcre.

Item au dehors de la ville ver ponent il y'a un petit chastel desempare au get dun canon de la ville.

Item dedens les murs de la ville encore vers ponent ·i· west il y'a un autre petit chastel de moult belle franche pierre tailliche appelee le chastel david assis un pou hault habitte et garde et est du coste des champs assez fort et curiez en aucun lieu mais ailleurs en tour et par dedens la ville nest gaires fort et y'a plas fosses et meschans et ne porroit riens durer aprez la ville prise.

Item est jherusalem fremee tout en tour de murs non pas hauls ne bien emparees a aucunes povres tours en aucuns lieux mais pou en y'a. et aussi en aucuns lieux y'a aucuns povres fossez plas et en aucuns non. et ne semble rien forte contre poissanche de gent et la plus grant forche qui y' est si est quelle est assez fort assize.

Item est le pay's entour trespovre plain de montaignes aians grante defaute deaues et le bien qui y' est si est daucunes vignes quil y' a en aucuns lieux mais moult escarssement.

Chi sensuit la visitation du port dacre.

En acre a tres bon port de tous vens pour gallees et autres fustes et est clos de grosses pierres et samble quil fu jadiz fais a la main et a environ ·ij· milles de tour. et siet le entree dicellui ensi coïme on y' arrive par mi nord ost. le quelle est large le tret dun arbalestre et parfont pour y' entrer naves de ·iiij· a ·v·c· bottes et sourgent par dedens au plus pres de la plus grant roche laquelle fait le port et la est le plus grant fons le surplus du dit port est plus plat.

Item naves plus grosses que de ·v·c· bottes nentrent point dedens. enchois sourgent droit devant le ditte entree. ou quel lieu il y'a trez bons fons pour tous gros navires et y' fait seur par fortunes de tous vens pour les terres qui ainsi se boutent a lavantage. et les vens qui plus y' nuisent sont nort et nort west.

Item il y'a de chelle bende la un autre petit portellet moult bien enclos de muraille ou la mer vient. lequel sert a mettre petites fustes et seroit encore legierement remis a point pour mettre gallees.

Item se peut ceste chose cy' et autres mieux monstrar par lexemple qui en est fait que escripre ne se pouroit.

Chest la fourme de la ville dacre.

Item il y'a sur le port dacre une terre en maniere dune langue qui de la terre firme se boute en la mer sur quoy' la citte fut assize et au le devers le dit port vient la mer batre au get dun pierre des murs. et de lautre bende de la langue vers la mer estoient li mur fonde en la mer et au les devers les champs il y' avoit deux paires de beaux fossez cuiriez a ploncq sans eaue comme il semble. et deux paires de murs a grosses tours rondes qui se boutent dehors cuiriez en bas a talut. Et fu jadis moult belle citte de grans et notables edifices eglises et palais moult grans de belle franche pierre tailliche et moult richement edifie. mais

a present elle est desrochie jus et toute deshabitee. les murs et les tours reversees et minees et les fosses en pluseurs lieux remplis des ediffises qui sont abattus dedens. Mais encore y'a il lez fondations de pluseurs belles tours et des murs de la ville en aucuns lieux et y'a grant foison de tres belles caves en terre et entieres qui ne sont point gastees. Et y'a encores grant foison de pans de murs deglises et de palais droit. et qui voit ceste ville de loings che semble estre merveillez de beaute.

Item fu grande de tour bien ·iij· milles et est assize en bon terroir pour fourmens cottons et autres biens. et a ·xx· milles a la ronde il y'a plus beau pay's du monde une partie plain et lautre montaignes sans arbre dont deffaulte en y'a la en tour. et y'a une petite revierette deaue douche en maniere de rieu qui descent dune montaigne assez pres de la et va cheir au plus pres des murs vers les champs dedens le port dessus dit en la mer. Mais il est assavoir que ceste eaue est flaue et mal saine et paraillement lair du pay's autour dacre nest pas sain. Car il est bas et y' pleut costumierement tres habundañment. combien que la challeur de leste seiche tout.

Item en la ville ny'a que une toute seule fontaine de bonne eaue la quelle siet devers lez champs au pres du port dedens les fosses de la ville et est assez grande et tres bonne et en tout le pay's au tour na nulle riviere et y'a pau deaues fors aucuns casaulx ou il y'a des puis et es autres non. mais se la ville estoit habitee lez pleuves en citernes donroient eaue assez.

Item droit devant acre vers les champs au get dun canon hors de la ville il y'a une petite montaigne de terre faite a la main que un soudan fist jadis fairre ou il se logoit quant ily' tint le siege ·vi· ans et quil la prist.

Item en cheste ville ny' a homme demourant sinon ·ij· ou ·iij· gardes sarasins pour savoir quant il y' arrive navire. Mais a ·ij· milles pres de la il y'a un village bien habitee appelle acre la neuve ou les dittes gardes anunchent le dit navire.

Item en acre le viel il y'a ioignant le dit port pluseurs maisons et icelles fermes ou les marchans veneciens mettent leurs cottons Et en

acre la neuve y'a tous jours un venecien facteur des auteurs^q pour lever les diz cottons.

Item est assavoir que ceste ville dacre seroit bonne a rabitter mais il y' fouroit temps et puissance.

Item de jaffe en acre a ·lx· milles par mer et autant par terre.

Chest la visitation du port de Sur.

Sur siet en la coste de surie sur la mer a ·xxv· milles par mer et par terre. pres dacre. et est assavoir quil y'a devant la ville en la mer ·iiij· ou ·v· grosses roches et longues dont les aucunes saperent un pou hors de leaue. les autres non. les quelles roches font le port de sur. et dedens icellui port pevent entrer nefz de ·lx· ou ·iiij· bottes et non plus grandes. et toutes autres plattes fustez et est tres bon port et seur de tous vens et y'a plusieurs entrees par entre les roches qui sont grandes et bonnez pour les dittes petites fustes. mais pour nefz dessus dittes de ·lx· ou de ·iiij· bottes ny' a parfondeur ne entree nulle seure. sinon ainsi comme on y' vient devers barut au lonc des terres et celle est la plus saine entree. la quelle siet en si comme on y' arrive par mi zut et sont les dittes roches asses loy'ngs lune de lautre.

Item est ledit port entre la ville et les dittes roches tres grant et long et a bien ·v· ou ·vj· milles de tour.

Port pour grosses nefz a Sur.

Item quant grosses naves de ·iiij· ou ·v· ou ·vj· ou vij· ou ·viij·c· ou mil bottes viennent a sur elles sourgent toutes en la mer au dehors desdittes roches la y'a il bons fons et bon port pour tout gros navire par les terres de devers barut dun coste. et la ville de lautre qui leur donnent abril contre plusieurs vens. mais pour icelles grosses nefz nest pas lieu pour y' gaires sejourner pour les fors vens de west et de nordwest et de nord qui leur pouroit nuire.

^q autres ?

Item est assavoir que pour galliottes lins et autres petites navires men-dres que de gallees il y'a encore entre le dit port des roches un autre plus petit port tresbel tout ront le quel est enclos de la fremette de la ville. et non obstant que elle fermette sont assez decheue si ny' pevent entrer nulles fustez sinon par une petite entree dune bouche mendre que pour voguier deux gallees. la quelle est platte deaue et y'a une tour quaree petite a lun des les de la bouche et le mur a lautre.

Item il y' avoit une petite fustellette darmee comme galliotte quant icellui messire guillebert y' fu et en y' faisoit lamiral faire .ij. ou .iiij. neuves.

Chest la fourme de la ville de Sur.

Il y'a a sur une terre toute ronde qui se boute en la mer et ne sen fault pas un mile que che ne soit une ille enclose de mer. et la sus fu fondee jadis la belle et grant citte de sur. Tous lez murs dentour dedens la mer et devers les champs estoit fremee en icelle mille de large de .ij. paires de murs et grosses tours moult belles et .iiij. paires de fosses sans eaue dont les deux paires les plus prochains des murs estoient cuiries a plonc tresrichement. Et fut icelle ville du temps des cristiens ediffiee deglises grandes de palais et plaine de may'sons riches haultes et belles toutes de franche pierre tailliche comme en acre. mais quant elle fu reprise des sarrasins elle fu toute abatue les combles des edefices maisons et tous les murs et grossez tours minees comme en acre. Dont les fosses par les edifices qui furent dedens abatus en furent fort remplis devers les champs si que a present elle est toute desollee. excepte le fondation sur la mer entour qui encores est tres belle et plusieurs maisons a belles caves legieres a redefier. Et fu sur la ville ou jadis les Roy's de surie se solloient couronner devant .ij. tresgros pillers trebles de marbre^r qui sceoient en une grand eglise qui a present sont abbatus en terre et leglize aussi.

Item ny' a en la ville de sur nulles rivières maiz il y' a .ij. ou .iiij. citernes et plusieurs puis non pas de trop bon eaue. Et vers les champs il y'a une belle et bonne fontaine dedens les fossez.

^r Interlined in the Manuscript, porfre.

Item au dehors de sur ·iiij· miles suz le champs vers les montaignes il y'a une tresgrant habondant fontaine faite moult richement ouvree de marbre que jadis fist salmons. laquelle du temps des cristienx couroit par conduis et abeuvoit la ville mais a present les conduis sont rompus.

Item a une mille a lautre les devers say'ette il y'a une autre grant et belle fontaine sourgant.

Item et le pay's entour bon de labeur et y'a par usanche des blez et des cottons. et est assavoir que de puis acre de si a sur et de sur au long de la coste de la mer de si a say'ette ·iiij· ou ·v· milles de parfont en terre pres que toute plaine bien labouree Et oultre sont toutes montaignes haultes ou il a pluseurs villages et fortresses telles et quelles et sont habitees et plaines de gens de deffense et de chevalx.

Item a ·v· milles de sur a lautre les vers sayette il y' a une moult belle riviere clere et parfonde prez aussi large comie le lis appelee casenije qui des montaignes va cheoir en che lieu la et la le passe on au pont.

Item y'a pluseurs autres petis rieux deaue douche entre sur et say'ette.

Item a estee la ville de sur toute deshabitee de puis quelle fu ainsi abatue de si lan mil ·iiij·xxi· que un grant amiral nome ebboe bon sarsin le commencha a faire reabitter et y' avoit quant le dit messire guillebert y' passa dessi a ·ccc· maisnages qui pou y' reppairent. Car le ville a bien trois milles de tour.

Item est sans comparrison le pays dentour plus bel plus sain et meilleurs eaues y' a que autour de acre et seroit notable chose a le rabitter mais il y' fauroit puissanche de gens et grant espasse de temps.

Chest la visitation de say'ette.

Saiette siet en la coste de surie sur la mer a ·xx· milles pres de sur par mer et autant par terre. et y'a du coste de devers barut une bone mille ariere de la ville et de la terre un grant et longue roche qui plainement se monstre hors de la mer. la quelle avoit une autre illette ronde sceans de che meisme coste au get dune pierre des murs de la

ville font le port de say'ette et de celle illette de sy' a une asses grosse tour tres ronde sceans du confin sur terre ferme au bout des murs de la ville dicelle bende il y'a un pont de pierre ouvre par arches sur quoy' on va desdiz murs a lillette et solloit estre une retraitte qui a present est de pou de valleur.

Chest la fourme du port de sayette.

Item est le port de sayette grant et assez bon pour tout moy'en navire et y'a fons asses pour naves de ·iiiiij· a ·v· bottes mais le dit port est fort descouvert pour les vens fortunaux de nordost et nord nordost. et est lentree decellui port large dune mille ou plus et siet ainsi comme on y' arrive par mer par mi zut west devers la bende de barut.

Item il y'a droit au front devant la ville devers la mer un autre petit port plat pour petites fustelletes comme petites galliottes et barques etct^a lequel est fait a la main coñie il semble et est enclos devers la bende de sur de grosse pierres et de lautre coste devers barut il saffa-chonne et est fait et clos de la ditte ronde illette. et siet la bouche de cellui ainsi comme on y' arrive par mi zut.

Chest la fourme de la ville de say'ette.

Item est say'ette ville fremee tres petite assez bien ediffie de maisons basses toutes de pierres grises assises bas sur ches deux pors comme on peut veir par lexemple et ny' a que un saingle mur bas en toute la fre-mette devers la mer avec aucunes meschans petites tourettes. Excepte le tour korniere vers barut dessus dit qui est belle assez. et de la bende des champs il y'a en maniere de deux murs mal emparees bas et mes-chans et un seul petit meschant fosset plat sans eaue et motie rempli en aucuns lieux ces maisons qui par dessus les murs sont cheues et des ordines de la ville que on y' gette. Et est assavoir que les premiers murs ne sont senon maisons de pierre tenans ensamble qui font avec ·ij· ou ·iiij· petites tourelles meschantes mal emparees quil y'a. Et le second mur paraillement est fait de maisons tenant ensamble. Et entre ches

maisons et les murs est en maniere dune rue et la vers les champs il ny' a nulz huis aux portes mais sont les entrees asses fortes. le les vers les champs est tres foible.

Item devers les champs a lautre bout de la ville vers la coste de sur assez pres de la mer il y'a une montaignette de terre assez haulte fremee de meschans murs bas et descheuz entour une povre basse tourelle quarree dedens qui descouvre le port et la ville et che est en maniere de chastel et vont deux murs de la ville dun coste et dautre en montant desi aux murs de la fremette du chastel en hault.

Item est assavoir que la ville de say'ette et la montaignette au chastel sont assis sur une terre a maniere de montaignette grande et ronde en tour et semble que jadis la fermette de la ville si vint de si au descendant dicelle.

Item est assavoir que aux portes qui vont sur la mer il y'a huis qui se ferment de nuit et y'a pluseurs autres entrees sans portes qui ne ferment point mais sont estroittes et assez fors et sont les murs et tours vers la mer mieux emparees que ceulx vers les champs et y' fait plus fort aussi pour le petit port qui est droit devant ou autre navire ne peut entrer que barques.

Item en la ville de say'ette ny' a cisternes ne autre eaue que de puis. et encores nen y'a il pas largement. mais hors de la ville a une mille prez dicelle sur la mer sur lez champs alant vers barut y'a une petite riviere de montaignes de bonne eaue et es villages autour aussi y'a il eaue par raison.

Item autour de say'ette il y'a un pau de plaine et y'a figuirs et autres arbres assez largement et y'a de beaux villages edeffies de pierre et bonne labeur de blez et de cottons par rayson et outre cette plaine sont montaignez grosses ou il y'a par oy'r dire demourans grant peuple yaue et bon pays.

Item alant de say'ette a barut treuve on trois ou quatre Rieus que pettittes rivierettes et y'a mal chemin pierreux et pay's de montaignes sans labeur. excepte a quatre ou a siz milles pres de barut. quil y'a plain pays. et un tres bel bois de sapins vingnes et olliviers qui la coñienchent et durent de si a la ville de barut.

Chest la visitation de la ville de barut.

Barut siet en la coste de surie sur la mer a ·xxv· milles de say'ette par mer et par terre. et est bon ville et bien marchande non fremee. edefiee de maisons de belle pierre tailliche. Apertenans au soudan. Et fu jadis du temps des crestiens tres grosse ville fremee mais a present est ensi diminuee. combien quelle soit habitee avec les sarrasins grant foy'son de marchans crestiens venissiens et jenevois gres et autres. Et est assavoir que au dit lieu de barut y'a ·ij· chaste² tous ·ij· assis sur la mer lun a lun des les du port et lautre a lautre les. Et est celuy' de dedens sayette le plus grant coñe maison ou lamiral demeure et nest pas fort ne garde de personne. ains seroit habandonne se rient de poes-sanche venoit. Et lautre a lautre les du port vers la turkie et vers tripoli est ·i· petit chastelet assis sur une roste roche fondee en la mer dun lez de la marine. Et du les vers lez champs est assis en terre ferme bonne a miner. et la o to^s y'a doubles fosses sans y'aue. mais vers la mer nia fors le mur et la roche desous qui est haute et roste assis. Et est assavoir en conclusion du dit chastel que che ne sont que ·ij· tours quarrees enclozes de murs lune sur la roche ditte et lautre vers lez champs plus ariere dont en lune ne en lautre nia gaires de biautte ne de bonte. fort tant quellez sont gardees de sarrasins contre.

Item est le dit chastelet assis haut et vers la mer et vers les champs. et y'a une entree asses forte vers la vile de barut mes nest pas bien enparee et samble que on en fait gairres de conte.

Item au dessoubs du dit chastel plus pres de la ville de barut bas sur la mer en lieu plat y'a une autre petite tour quarree asses bonne. laquelle est emparee et garde. et sont^t les mores de nuit en deux lieux gait especial pour le garde du port et de la ville. lun en icelle tour et lautre sur lune tour du dit chastelet a tout gros tamburs quant lun sonne lautre li respont. Et font ·iiij· gais la nuit. cheux du premier gait sonnen un cop Cheux du secund gait sonnent deux Et cheux du tierch sonnent troiz.

^s au tour ?

^t font ?

Item est la ville de Barut mal garnie deau douche. Mais a .ij. millez pres dicelle alant vers tripoli par terre assez pres de la marine est le lieu ou saint jorgez tua le serpent. Et la y'a une chapelle. Et asses prez de la y'a une revierette de bonne y'aue douche venans de montaignes qui la va cheir en la mer. Et est assavoir que au tour de barut il y'a biaux gardinages et tous bon fruits et habundanse de sapins. especialment a .iiij. milles de la ville vers sayette. et de la en alant a damask il y'a moult crueux chemin de montaignes et valees seches et povres de labeur. Combien que dune bende et dautre du chemin y'a il villages aucuns et fontay'nes de roche asses par raison. Et droit en milieu du chemin entre barut et damask y'a il une belle plaine tres bien labouree. large de .iiij. lieues et longue a merveillez. assise entre .ij. montaignes. en milieu de la quelle il kuert une belle revierette deau douche qui sespart en plusieurs ruissiauz.

Chest la fourme du port de Barut.

Item y'a audit lieu de Barut une mille ou deux parfont en la mer bon sourgissoir pour tout gros navires galees et plates fustes. Mais nest mie port seur pour tous vens. Car noort et noortwest y font moult de mal liver. et en aprochant la terre a demi mile est le dit port moult plat et faut gallees demourer asses loins du dit sourgissoir moult grant car on y' peut entrer de tous les et nest a dire le vray' fors que palage.

Et est assavoir que outre le dit lieu de barut vers tripoli la mer se boute moult parfont en terre comme seroit un lac mais la fait il plat a merveillez.

Item est barut le droit port de toutes les marchandises qui vont et viennent a damask et est a deux journees de damask par terre.

Chest la visitation de damask en brief.

Damask siet au dessous dune haulte montaigne deserte de la-beurs en une des plus belles plaines du monde moult bien la-

bourree et mout fructifeuse entre jardins non para⁹ de biaute et de tous fruis delitans a tous autres jardins. et est avironee dedens et dehors de rivierettes et des millieurs yaues du monde en grant habundanse. mais nia nulle grosse riviere. Et est la dite ville moult bien fremee de doubles murs et de belles tours toutes a terrasse. et fosses curieux autour sans y'aue. Et est grande de ·ij· lieue de tour et plus longue que large. Et est assise sur terre bonne pour miner et fut toute arse du tamps du tanburlan passe ·xxij· ans. mais tresfort se commenche a reedifier. Et y'a un tres bel chastel asses bas en la ville bien freme de singles murs et de belles tours et y' keurt une revierette au tour des murs dun coste. et dautre costez y'a bien pau deauez es fosses qui sont tous cuiries autour. Et en chelle ville de damask y'a un Roy amiral suget au soudan de babilonne qui a tousjours grant nombre desclaves de turkemans darrabes et de sarrasins bien montes et gent de guerre des millieurs de surie.

Chest la visitation du port et chastel de gallipoli assis en gresse au destroit de rommenie.

Gallipoli est assis en destroit de rommenie sur la gresse et est ville tres grande non fremee et y'a un chastel assis asses pres de la mer quaire de ·viij· tours petites et sont assis sur haultes douves cuiries en quarure et st^u les fosses de tour devers la terre hauls sans y'aue coñie il samble. et cheux de devers la mer sont bas et y'a de leaue. et droit desous le chastel sur la mer y'a un bon petit port pour gallees et pour toutes petites fustes. et pour celui port garder y'a une tres belle grosse tour quarree sur la rive sur la mer tout bas la terre ferme vers le chastel. et dautre bende y'a un mur fait en la mer qui clot le dit port avec aucuns peuls loncs et moyennant les dit peuls n'y remaint fors une petite entree par ou les gallees entrent. et ny a point de chay'ne.

Item y' avoit au dit port quans je y' passai ·iiij· gallees et moult grant nombre de petis vaisseaux passagers et petites fustes et y'ont les turq

^u sont.

communement tout leur plus grant poir de gallees et de fustes quilz aient nulle part ailleurs.

Item droit a l'opposite du dit galipoli entre la mer apellee le destroit de roüenie sur la turkie y'a une tres belle tour ou li turk font communement leur passage de lun pay's a l'autre. et est en ce lieu la la mer estroite environ de .iiij. a .iiij. milles de large. et qui aroit^x le dit chastel et port les turks nauroient nul seur passage plus de lun a l'autre et seroit leur pay's quilz ont en gresse comme perdu et deffet.

Item il y'a de constantinople a galipoli .c. et .l. milles. et y'a devant le dit gallipoli lieu mer et fons assez seur et competent a senradre et mettre lancre pour grosses naves non obstant che que il ny' ay'e pas droit port pour icellez.

^x auroit.

The Report made by Sir Gilbert de Lannoy, Knight, upon surveys of several Cities, Ports, and Rivers, taken by him in Egypt and Syria, in the year of grace of our Lord one thousand four hundred and twenty-two. By order of the most high, most puissant, and most excellent Prince, King Henry of England, heir and Regent of France ; whom God pardon.

THIS Survey begins with the view of the city and port of Alexandria.^a

As you approach Alexandria by sea, you can discover the land only at the distance of twenty, or of five and twenty miles at farthest in the

^a As this part of the Report, and, indeed, the whole of that which relates to Egypt, is particularly laboured, it is probable that the destined point of attack was to be selected somewhere in that quarter. It has been the opinion of many competent judges, and is a fact authenticated by the history of the Croisades, that the grand error of the Christians, the cause of several of their disasters, and of their final failure, was their omission to attack Egypt before they proceeded to the reduction of the Holy Land. The residence of the Mameluke Sultans was uniformly at Cairo ; and Jerusalem was governed by a dependent ammiral. Had any attempt upon the seat of empire been crowned with success, the different provinces might be expected to fall, and the fate of Syria might have been decided upon the banks of the Nile.

The possession of Egypt was in every point of view desirable ; and more especially, since from this country Palestine drew her principal supply of corn. The Franks, in process of time, fully convinced of this truth, made a feeble endeavour to act upon it in the expedition under Amaury in 1168 ; and the arguments in the third Lateran Council assembled in 1179 by Pope Alexander III. to concert measures for the defence of the Holy Land, turned upon this point. (Vertot, Knights of Malta ; under Joubert, vol. i. p. 69.) In conformity with such a plan were the views of that ill-fated enterprise under John of Brienne, King of Jerusalem, in 1218, which are thus detailed by Knolles : " Upon the appearance of spring, when the army again met together, it was thought best by all the great commanders, that, forasmuch as Egypt was the cheefe maintenance of the Mahometan superstition against the Christians in those parts, and that so long as it stood upright, they should not be able to do any great matter in Syria, to attempt the conquest thereof, as an

clearest weather ; owing to the low and level nature of the shores of Egypt. And the city is seen sooner than the shore, being pointed out by two mounds of earth which are within the fortification. The loftiest of these is situated, as you approach, very near the walls on the inside, upon the old port ; and it is tapered and squared diamond-fashion.^b A

exploit best becoming their valour and so great a preparation : for that, that land being once subdued, the city of Jerusalem, with all the land of Palestine, would of themselves, without more ado, straightway yield unto them." (History of the Turks, p. 88.)

Yet when Syria was lost, and the recovery of it ardently desired throughout Christendom, different sentiments prevailed among those who were capable of giving advice upon such a subject ; for the misfortunes of St. Louis might have contributed to suggest the idea that Egypt was not so easily assailable as had been supposed. Sanutus (*Secreta fidel. crucis*, in Bongars. l. ii. p. 2. c. 9.), indeed, strenuously contends that an attack can only be made to advantage on this side the dominions of the Sultan : and he asserts that Amaury, John of Brienne, and St. Louis, wanted only good counsels and sufficient supplies to have ensured their success. Henry, King of England, according to this writer, had a purpose of this kind : "*Expertus terræ conditiones, disponebat illuc redire, et prius debellare Ægyptios.*" It was the opinion of Innocent III. that this was the right point of attack. The grand master of the Hospitallers, Fulk de Villaret, in his memorial to the Pope, studiously avoids delivering in writing his sentiments upon the proper place for making a descent, and refers the communication to a private interview with his holiness. Brochard and Haithon, however, recommend a course of operations very dissimilar to that which has just been mentioned ; the former pointing out a route through Anatolia (*Disc. prel. de Legrand D'Aussy*, p. 465), and the latter advising an incursion on the side of Aleppo. (*De Tartaris*, c. 57.) But the one seems to have had an eye to the proceedings of the earlier croisaders, and the other was prejudiced by a wish for the restoration and protection of Armenia.—With respect to the case before us, there appears a peculiar propriety in opening with Alexandria, since it was not only the first object upon the coast to attract the attention of a traveller from Europe, but was the most formidably fortified city in the states of the Sultan.

^b De la Brocquiere speaks in the same manner of the termination of a column at Constantinople. (*Voyage*, p. 564.) The expression in the original may here signify the mode in which the individual stones were hewn, which lined the mound ;—many of this sort were formerly lying in the ruins of Acre, "*taillées en pointes de diamans.*" (*Doubdan, Voyage de la Terre Sainte*, c. 56.) But I am rather disposed to consider the terms as applied to the form in which the hillock itself was cased with stone.

This mode of securing natural or artificial mounds upon which castles were erected was

small watch-tower stands upon it, which commands the whole city, the ports, and the surrounding country. The other stands, as you approach, on the left hand, at the end of the city towards Cairo, on the inside, and is not so lofty, but larger and of an irregular form. On the slope of this stands a religious building of the Saracens, called a mosque; which, being seated upon a little descent, cannot be a situation of any command.

Ten miles distant from the city, as you approach, there is a bottom of twenty and twenty-five fathoms; and from that place there is good depth for any large ship to proceed to the mouth of the new port; where Christian, and all other nations are accustomed to arrive for the purposes of commerce, and not at the old port.

Form of the old Port of Alexandria.

Alexandria has two ports, the old and the new. The old, as you approach, is situated on the right hand of the new, and both of them wash up to the walls of the city. Between them lies, as it were, a tongue of land, about a mile in breadth, by which the two ports have been formed and fashioned.

No Christian vessel must enter the old port,^c nor does any Christian

common in the East. Pocock describes some of considerable size. (Travels, vol. i. p. 56.) Of this kind was that at Hems in Syria, the traditionary residence of Hippocrates; as well as that at Hama (De la Brocquiere, p. 516), and at Antab. (Pocock, vol. ii. pp. 141—154, 155, and Brown's Travels, p. 492.) The seeming imitation of this style is traced, perhaps somewhat fancifully, by King, in the ruins of several very ancient structures in England, as at Brunless, Conisborough, Carisbrook, Skenfrith, and Launceston. (Munimenta Antiqua, vol. iii.) Cherefeddin, in the Life of Tamerlane, gives a curious account of the attack and defence of a similar castle at Aleppo. (Vie de Timour, traduite par Petit de la Croix. l. v. c. 21.)

^c This rational origin of the jealousy of the Alexandrians with regard to the old port, the cause of so much inconvenience to European traders, has been lost or purposely misrepresented in subsequent ages. Bruce (Travels, vol. i. p. 10) assigns a very different reason,—“Least the Moorish women should be seen taking the air in the evening at open

presume to approach it from within or without the city: since about sixty years ago, when Peter, King of Cyprus,^d took the town by assault

windows; and this has been thought to be of weight enough for Christian powers to submit to it, and to counterbalance the loss of ships, property, and men." This might occasionally be adduced as the modern plea; though Antes, in his *Observations on Egypt*, p. 98, hints at the true cause, the knowledge of which might have abated the surprise of the Abyssinian traveller.

^d This prince of the house of Lusignan succeeded to the crown of Cyprus on the death of his brother Hugh in 1360. He was a mortal enemy to the Infidels, and began to distinguish himself by the capture of several places from them in 1362. He afterwards visited many courts of Europe with a view of exciting a general league. He met the Kings of France and Denmark at Avignon, where, in the presence of Pope Urban V. they solemnly assumed the cross. But they failed in the personal accomplishment of their engagement; and, with the exception of a few supplies of money and troops, Peter was left to prosecute his undertaking alone. With these scanty succours, however, intent upon his object, he set sail for the Levant, and took and plundered Alexandria in the year 1365. William de Machaut, a contemporary poet, (*Memoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, 12mo. vol. xxxiv.) recorded the particulars of this transaction, together with his life and actions; and his story, as related by Lusignan (*Hist. Generale de l'Isle et Royaume de Cyprus*, p. 145, et seq.), combines a series of adventures, that might almost form the groundwork of a drama, truly tragical in its close.

Great expectations were formed of him, but his career was short. The infidelity of his wife recalled him from foreign warfare, and he was guilty of some desperate and cruel acts on his return to his dominions: thus having by domestic vices tarnished, in some measure, the glory of his earlier exploits, he perished by an untimely end. The Saracens, dreading his restless spirit, procured him to be assassinated on the night of January 18, 1368, either by his own brother James, or by some of the nobility of Cyprus whom he had offended. (*Art de verifier les dates*, vol. i. p. 465.)

But his memory was revered by the Cypriots. Lusignan, the historian, says that he was entitled "the Great," and is disposed to attribute the decay of the island, which in his time had arrived to a high pitch of splendour, but afterwards ceased to prosper, to a judgment upon his death. Shortly after this event, St. Bridget, upon her passage from Jerusalem, touched at Famagousta, and reprobating his murder, prophesied the consequent ruin of the land.¹

¹ Though Cyprus, in 1423, was nominally under the authority of the princes of the house of Lusignan, King Janus was a captive in the hands of the Sultan of Egypt, and the island was governed by a regent archbishop. The king was released in 1427, after payment of a heavy ransom. He died in 1432. His wife was Charlotte, daughter of the Duke of Bourbon. Giblet. *Hist. des Rois de Chypre*. t. ii. l. 9.

in that quarter; whence it may be supposed that the spot is most favourable for an attack.

The Reporter has been informed, never having been within it, that the old port is shallow, and that no ships larger than of two hundred tons burden, or than galleys, flat-bottomed fusts, and small vessels, can enter. It is about a mile in width, and is shallow and dangerous; except in one channel, on the right hand, as you come in, very near the shore. This entrance is situated about west, south-west; and a ship of the above size may pass through it with safety.

The old port is of an irregular form, and the size of it in circumference is about seven miles, as may be distinctly seen by the eye. The inside is secure against all winds; except it blows hard from the west, south-west. This old port washes up to the wall of the city to a very large new tower where the Sultan lodges when he comes to Alexandria.

At the place where this old port washes the wall of the city, there is no fosse but the sea, and nothing but the mere wall. All this may be seen in the plan.

The old port has neither chain nor any other thing to render it secure.

His travels in quest of assistance had rendered him a public character throughout Europe, and his loss was generally deplored. Froissart amusingly describes his efforts to rouse the Princes of the West to unite against the Sultan, speaks with much warmth of his chivalrous disposition, and laments his fall. The following epitaph was inscribed on a monument erected to his memory by his chancellor Philip de Mesieres, in the Chapter-house of the Celestins at Paris.

"Peter of Lusignan, fifteenth Latin King of Jerusalem from Godfrey of Boulogne, and King of Cyprus, by his magnanimous prowess and enterprise, conquered in battle with an army supported at his own cost, the cities of Alexandria in Egypt, Tripoli in Syria, Lays in Armenia, Satalia in Turkey, with several other cities and towns from the enemies of the faith of Jesus Christ.

"Anima ejus requiescat in pace."¹

¹ Froissart, vol. vii. c. 44, and Diction. de Morery in the article. Chaucer represents his knight as an actor in these chivalrous undertakings:

"At Alysandre he was whan it was won.
At Leyes was he and also at Satalye
Whan they were wounne. *Canterbury Tales.*

He has also given an eulogium upon Peter in the Monk's Tale. l. 14701, et seq.

Form of the new Port of Alexandria.

All the shipping which comes to Alexandria arrives at the new port, the entrance of which is from seven to ten fathoms deep, and about a mile broad. It lies to the north. The whole circumference of the port is about six miles, and the form of it rather irregular. The sea, as it enters, washes up on the left hand to the wall of the city. At which place the water appears to be very shallow, and strewed with large stones.^e No vessel belonging to the Christians ventures to approach there.

About this spot, within the walls of the city and adjoining to them, there is by the sea side an Alee, which is a sort of castle where the king ammiral^f of Alexandria resides. And there, where the sea washes up to the wall, they have neither fosse, nor any other security, but the first wall.

As you proceed inwards from the entrance of the port the depth decreases, and great ships can go no nearer than within half a mile of the shore or city; there they usually anchor in about two fathoms water. And it is extremely shallow from that place to the shore. Many parts

^e The pilgrimage to Mecca in Hakluyt mentions great sepulchres and other buildings, "out of which are daily digged with engines, jasper and porphyrie stones of great value."

^f The term is here used in the original acceptation of prince or governor. Muratori (*Antiquitates Medii Ævi*, Diss 22.) is of opinion that this word was first borrowed from the Saracens by the Sicilians, and afterwards introduced by them into the other parts of Europe. Yet Godolphin (*View of the Admiral Jurisdiction*, 8vo, 1661, c. 1.) assigns a later date to it. He says that it was imported "from the Eastern or Greek empire into Italy and Sicily, and thence into France, where, in the year 1286, we first find that name, and from thence into England; and this, as the learned Henry Spelman doth suppose, was after the time of the holy war." The office of Admiral of the English seas is first mentioned in the twenty-fifth year of Edward I. 1297. (*Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 759.)

The additional title of King or Regent used in the instances of Alexandria and Damascus seems to indicate the superiority of these governors to the other ammirals.

of this port are so shallow that the bottom appears. Yet with a good pilot two places may be found, where large ships may ride in safety. Nor can any wind molest them but north and north-east, even in very stormy weather; and it seldom happens that any wind proves injurious there.^g

On each side of the entrance of the port, upon the terra firma which incloses it, is situated a mosque^h of the Saracens; one of these is used as a dwelling; the other not: the whole of which is represented in a more lively manner by the plan which has been made.

As you advance on the right hand from the place where the sea ceases to wash up to the walls towards the great gate of the city, which is upon the said port on the terra firma, there is a perpendicular fosse lined with stone, about fifty feet wide, full of water and apparently not very deep.

From this gate, advancing still farther on the right hand, to a large corner tower, where the sea of the old port washes up, there are braysⁱ

^g There appears no reason to doubt the accuracy of this statement, as applicable to the particular spots which he describes: yet the testimony of all travellers coincides with regard to the insecurity of the new port. See for instance, Sandys (*Travels*, edit. 1621, p. 112), Norden (c. 1. p. 2), Bruce (vol. i. pp. 8, 9), and Sonnini (c. 7). Brown says, that, with some precaution, about twenty vessels may lie at anchor securely.

^h Perhaps the great and little Pharillon were not extant at this time; or, if they were, De Lannoy, from the expression here used, probably mistook these buildings at a distance for religious edifices. He was not permitted to inspect them, and their external appearance might not be very military. Norden has represented them as surmounted with minarets,¹ and calls them castles of a bad Turkish structure; and Belon (*Observations*, l. 2. c. 23) remarked the wretched contrivance of that which was garrisoned when he visited Alexandria.

ⁱ False brays were much in use, when in the attack of towns they employed those military engines which are so frequently spoken of by the historians of the Croisades. In the twelfth century they formed part of the works at Acre, Damietta, the castle of David, and the city of Jerusalem. (Sanutus, in *Gesta Dei per Francos*. l. iii. p. 6. c. 4. and 23. Gul. Tyriensis, *ibid.* pp. 747. 758.) Muratori and Du Cange conjecture them to have been

¹ A Minaret still exists at the Pharos. See the letter of Girez in "Copies of Original Letters from the Army of Egypt," Part ii.

under the great walls : there are also double fosses. The first of these towards the sea is not deep, and contains no water ; the other nearest the walls, is perpendicularly lined, as that already described. Along the wall between the great gate and the corner tower are five large towers, both square and round, not reckoning the gate nor the said corner tower.

This new port has neither chain nor any thing else by which it is secured.

Between the new and the old port, projecting about a mile from the city into the sea, is a spot which forms the enclosure of the two ports. It is full of mosques, and the Saracens have their place of burial there. This spot ^k offers great convenience for the formation and establishment of a position upon it, and might serve for the reception of shot and other military stores.

the same as the Barbicans. Furetiere (Diction. in the article,) describes them as "a second wall, below the first, and surrounding the place, for the defence of the fosse." These must have proved a serious obstacle to the approaches of the ram and moveable towers : but when the engines of the middle ages were succeeded by more formidable methods of assault, the bray seems to have been gradually laid aside ; and it is said to have been more especially brought into disuse by the invention of ricochet-firing. They are repeatedly mentioned in the relation of the celebrated siege of Famagousta (in Hakluyt) ; and the modern mode of constructing them, since the general adoption of fire-arms, is given by Ward in his Art of War. (Sect. iii. c. 25. p. 61.) "The false-bray ought to be 15 or 16 foot broad from the foot of the bulwark to the moat. At the very foot of the rampires, is planted a bed of quick-set, two foot broad, which will hinder not only the enemy from sudden running through ; but also stays up such earth as shall be battered down, from falling into the moat. Next the moat, the false-bray hath a breast-work, three or four feet high, for the musquetiers to shoot over to defend the moat."

^k The island of Pharos, since the time of De Lannoy, has been entirely occupied by the Pharillon.—Whoever will take the trouble to compare the version of this passage with the original, will discover that the translator has rendered it rather freely. The author appears to mean a dépôt or place d'armes by the expressions "drechier et assir pour trais et aultres habillemens." Rymer furnishes an exposition of the signification of "habillemens," as applied to the military stores of the age. "Ablements of Werre,—Poudres, Gonnes, Arblasters, Shotte and other Artilrie." (Fœdera, vol. x. p. 212.)

Form of the City of Alexandria.

Alexandria is a very large and fine city, seated in a level country, with one side towards the sea upon the two ports already described, exceedingly well fortified and secured all round with lofty walls; and great store of towers thickly planted, both square and round, furnished entirely with platforms.¹

Below the walls throughout the whole circumference are brays with turrets at short distances, and moreover, excepting at the places above mentioned, fosses perpendicularly lined with masonry. These contain

¹ Much unnecessary controversy and disquisition have taken place with respect to the original builder of these sumptuous walls and towers, a point which most travellers have thought necessary to decide; and on which, from the variety of opinions, many must have fallen into error.¹ De Lannoy, who saw them in much greater perfection than any European traveller who has since described them, preserves a modest silence upon the subject. Belon (*Observations*, l. ii. c. 19.) without hesitation ascribes them to Alexander; and this is a notion which Baron de Tott (*Memoires*, tom. ii. p. 180.) has since revived. Sandys (*Travels*, b. ii. p. 114.) on the authority of others, attributes them to Ptolemy. Savary (*vol. i. Letter 2.*) assigns them to Elmain Ebn Toulon, about the year 875; and Norden and Pocock (*vol. i. p. 7.*) to the year 1212, in the reign of one of the successors of Saladin. Happily the matter is of no great importance; but it is melancholy to observe, on topics of more consequence to the cause of truth, how much some of the later travellers into Egypt are employed in correcting and contradicting those who went before them.²

The general conjectures of Norden, Danville, Niebuhr, and Sonnini, founded upon solid reasoning, that these works were constructed by the Saracens, may safely be allowed. The number of towers is given with great variety by different authors. "These when the French in 1798 took the city by storm, made a firm resistance; for after all opposition had ceased elsewhere, those who occupied the towers still kept up their fire, and obstinately refused to surrender." (*Berthier's Campaign of Bonaparte.*)

¹ Giblet, the Cypriot historian, says that Peter, King of Cyprus, when he took Alexandria, burnt the city, and rased the walls, which ought to have been spared for the sake of Alexander the Great who built them. But this statement seems confuted by other parts of the story. That prince was only four days in the place employed in sacking it and collecting spoil. *Hist. des Rois de Chypre*. t. i. l. 7.

² See Savary, Volney, and Sonnini. Berthier in his account of the Campaigns in Egypt, speaking of the expectations formed by the French from the writings of those who had visited the country, says, I think, of Volney, "that he was the only author who did not mislead them." Maillet and Savary seem totally to have forgotten the grievous disadvantages of Egypt in their admiration and excessive praise.

no water, but appear from fifty to sixty feet in width, and from twenty-four to thirty in depth.

The city stands upon a firm soil, excellent for the purpose of mining,^m and all the walls, towers, brays, and houses of the city consist of a stone that is soft and crumbles: it is not chalk.ⁿ

^m It is well known that military mines at this period were formed according to the method of the ancients. When the uprights which supported the galleries or chamber were destroyed by fire, the earth or walls above or on the sides of course gave way; and thus the whole defence of a town or foundation of a tower was frequently propped by only a few stakes at the moment of surrender. They were commonly opposed by counter-mines on the part of the besieged, and warriors and miners often fought under ground. In the sieges of Harfleur in 1415, and of Melun in 1420, mines were particularly employed; and in that of Melun were the scene of subterraneous conflicts, in which Henry V. himself was engaged. (See in Juvenal des Ursins, p. 381, a curious account of these combats.) We have already supposed Gilbert de Lannoy to have been present at the latter siege, in which case he might have enjoyed an opportunity of seeing this process in all the perfection of the age. Some idea of the importance attached to this offensive operation may be inferred from the circumstance of the destruction of a single mine having caused the raising of the siege of St. Malo, about 1380. (Froissart, vol. v. c. 1.) The practice was universal in the East as well as in Europe; and the engineers of Tamerlane proved themselves complete masters of the art. (Cherefeddin, Vie de Timour, in many places.)

The earliest theory of mines with gunpowder, according to Gibbon, appears in 1480, in a MS. of George of Sienna. (Tiraboschi, tom. vi. p. i. p. 324.) They were first practised at Sarzanella in 1487; but the honour and improvement is ascribed to Peter of Navarre, who used them with success in the wars of Italy. (Hist. de la ligue de Cambraye, tom. ii. pp. 93. 97.)

ⁿ This passage is given with much diffidence, since the original is not so clearly expressed as could be wished. The author may have intended to signify, "It is little better than chalk." But the fact is, that these buildings consist of free-stone of a sandy kind, "such," says Norden (Travels, vol. i. p. 6.) "as those of Portland, or of Bentheim." This stone is found in other parts of the country; and the same writer remarks, that the stones of the northern side of the Pyramids are rotten, and by no means of so hard a kind as those above specified. Many of the houses of Cairo are also built with a soft stone of a fine grain procured from the neighbouring Mount Mokattam (Volney, vol. i. c. 16). And in another part of his work (c. 5.), he has endeavoured to account for their mouldering away; since the air is strongly impregnated with natron which every where corrodes the stones. But the rocks, especially near Cairo, possess this quality independent of exposure; and thus it is that Niebuhr (vol. i. p. 92.) explains the reason of the singular depth of Joseph's well.

The whole city is excavated^o under all the streets and houses; and there are subterraneous conduits arched over, by which all the wells of the city are supplied once a year from the river Nile; otherwise they would have no fresh water in the city: for they have neither wells nor natural springs, since it hardly ever rains.

From a village called Latf upon the Nile, at thirty miles distance, proceeds a canal which comes within a mile of the city, in a direction parallel to the walls, and discharges itself into the sea at the old port. Through this cut, at the end of August, or during the whole month of September, the river Nile, which at that season increases abundantly, passes annually to fill for one year all the wells within the city, as well as those that are without, by which the gardens are supplied with water. And in a south-westerly direction, at the distance of the above mile, is an iron grating in the canal, where those conduits begin by which water is conveyed into the city. Were not this the case, as has been already related, the inhabitants would perish with drought: because they have no rain; neither have they wells nor springs, only three or four large cisterns for water as occasion may require.

Great part of the walls are built with arches left open on the inside, above which are passages for two men abreast. The thickness of these walls at the passages does not seem to exceed seven feet, nor below among the arches four or five, nor at the battlements above the passages two feet and a half. All the battlements of the city, whether upon towers, walls, or brays, are of a semicircular^p form. And below the

^o A strikingly similar passage occurs in Hirtius Pansa. (*Comment. de bello Alexandr.* c. 4.) "Alexandria est ferè tota suffossa; specusque habet ad Nilum pertinentes, quibus aqua in privatas domos inducitur. . . . Ea plebes ac multitudo contenta est necessario, quod fons urbe totà nulla est." Owing to a stratagem which he describes, Cæsar and his army were greatly distressed in the siege; for the enemy found means to introduce sea water into these stupendous reservoirs; but the Romans by sinking wells in the sand obtained, in one night, a sufficient supply of fresh water. (*Id.* c. 5.)

^p Specimens of this Saracenic battlement may be observed in Le Bruyn's views of Alexandria (*Voyage au Levant*, c. 43), and in the representations given by Pocock and Niebuhr

walls within the city there is no appearance of any earth or dike by which they might be rendered any stronger than they actually are.

The towers upon the arches do not bear the appearance of great solidity, and I have been informed that this is really the case; nor would it be possible to defend any of those walls or towers against large cannons.⁹

The city is very long from east to west, and narrow from south to north: it may be about six miles in circumference. It contains abundance of lofty houses of the stone already described, all with flat roofs. They are much injured, and in a very ruinous state, especially in the by-streets, and towards the old port, where they are all empty and out of repair. It is partly upon this account that no Christian is permitted to go there. The streets, excepting two or three of con-

of the gates Nasr and El fituch at Cairo. (See the Representation of the Cathedral at Cordova in Bourgoing.) It may be traced also in the East Indies; instances of it occurring in Daniell's views of that country. Something of this kind is said to be visible in some of the ancient castles of Italy; which, according to the varieties of rounded or angular battlements, are traditionally reported to have belonged to one of the adverse parties of the Guelphs or Ghibelines.

⁹ The large cannons here spoken of are thus described by Villaret (tom. xiv. pp. 244, 245.) In the plates to Froissart, ed. Johnes, many representations of these ancient cannons occur corresponding with Villaret's description): "Their figure was like that of hollow cylinders, strengthened from space to space by several embossed circles; the breech terminated in a nob, and the match was placed between the first and second circles. These cannons resembled what our architects called rustic columns. Artillery was usually employed only for sieges; it does not appear that it was made use of in battles." Yet cannons were unquestionably applied to the defence as well as attack of towns; for in an old MS description of the siege of Rouen by Henry V. in verse¹ the author assures us,

" Wolde be schotte y dare well say
An hundred off gunnes from walle and tour
With inne the mowntans off an owre."

MS. Bibl. Bodl. e Musæo, 124.

But we shall see, that the military proceedings of this age were characterised by a singular mixture of the ancient and modern methods of warfare.

¹ Printed in this volume, pp. 48—78.

siderable size, where they hold their markets^r of provisions, are bad and narrow.

A number of persons may be seen in these great streets ; but it is to such a degree depopulated and reduced to nothing, that throughout all the by-streets you can scarcely observe any one.

No Christian ventures to approach either of the two mounds from the inside of the city.

Upon the new port are three gates. Going down quite on the left hand you enter one little gate called the Douane, which is only opened thrice in a week. All merchandise is brought through it, except wine, which enters by the great public gate.

^r In the lapse of more than a century the attention of Belon was attracted by the plenty and variety of the market at Alexandria. "Thither are brought all sorts of provisions, as well from Egypt, as from Cyprus, and other neighbouring places. The bread made in that country and in Syria is platted like a lash, and they have a custom of sprinkling it with nigella. For which reason the seed is found exposed to sale in large sacks in the markets, and in the shops of the merchants. All sorts of wines are brought thither by sea from various parts; for Cyprus itself is at no great distance. Their meats, whether of mutton or kid, veal or beef, are very well flavoured. They have great abundance of the kind of goats, which are called gazelles, and were formerly denominated origes by the Greeks, which they shoot in the fields, where they go in flocks. There are also chickens and eggs. Alexandria is situated in a part that abounds with fish: we observed sea-breems, bars, maigres, dentals, mullets, rays, angels, sea-dogs, gournals. Besides these, many other sorts are brought from the Nile, both fresh and cured. They have likewise pomegranates, &c., and several other kinds of fruit unknown to us. Also, they have every species of vegetables which are held in much esteem. They abound too in every kind of grain. They have likewise a great quantity of the seed of a species of pea, called Latyri by the Greeks, Manerete by the Venetians, Cicerchie by the Italians, and Cerres by the French. Whoever desires to ascertain what is most plentiful in a city, should take a walk on the market-days through the places where they sell game, fish, vegetables, fruit, and other commodities; and he will presently discover what those things are in which the inhabitants chiefly abound; a matter which was clearly exhibited to us at Alexandria." This lively and ingenious observer hints that the cause of the prosperity of the city was principally to be attributed to the Christians residing there for the purposes of trade. (*Observ. l. ii. c. 19.*) But this picture of abundance is strikingly contrasted by the representation of Volney, who saw their markets ill supplied with dates, and round flat little loaves. (*Travels, c. 1.*)

The other gate is more on the right hand as you advance. It is the arsenal where they place all the galleys, when there are any here; and these must be drawn over land, about a cross-bow shot upon the shore.

When Sir Gilbert was there it contained neither galley nor fust^s of war.

Still farther on the right is another great gate, which is the usual thoroughfare. A very large coillart^t is placed by this gate beside the

^s Fust or Foist, a pinnacle or small ship with sails or oars. Wey mentions them in his pilgrimage (MS. Bodl. 565. fol. 67.), "Turcus erat in mare cum trecentis navibus, galeis, gypis ac fustis versus Rody's:" and Belon (l. ii. c. 10), in his description of the Mediterranean Corsairs, assigns them the following place in the scale of vessels then in use: "Thus as they (the pirates) increase in numbers, they will advance from a frigate to a brigantine, from a brigantine to a fust, from a fust to a galliott, and from a galliott to a galley." Galley-foist is a term used by Massinger; and though it be obsolete in England, is still, the latter part of it, retained by some of the nations whose harbours are formed by the Mediterranean sea,—a water famed for the variety and peculiarity of its vessels, and on which the Fust probably was first seen. The word is applied in the French and Spanish languages to a vessel of burden with a flush deck, navigated by sails and oars. (Diction. of Boyer and Neuman.)

^t It has already been noticed that the military proceedings of the intermediate age were characterised by a singular mixture of the ancient and modern instruments of war. The cross-bow and harquebuss, the balista and the cannon were frequently opposed to each other. Of the variety of engines used in the attack and defence of towns, which are noticed by contemporary writers, little is now known but the names. They have spoken of them as matters, the nature of which was generally understood; and they, probably, considered that a description of the precise mode in which they were constructed, did not fall within the province of the historian. Modern elucidators may also have experienced some difficulty from the variety of terms occasionally applied to the same machine; and this is suspected to be the case with that which is the immediate subject of inquiry. The mention of the coillart or cuillard is rare; but, from the circumstances and situation attached to it by De Lannoy, it seems to have been the same with the bricollé; and to have been framed after the catapultæ of the ancients. It is said that the balistæ were only employed in throwing darts, and the catapultæ in projecting stones. The principle of both appears to have been the same; and the bricollé seems to have possessed the combined advantages of either, for it threw darts as well as stones, and was capable of being employed in vessels as well as on shore. At the siege of Africa, "brigandines, armed with bricolles and cannons, were sent by the assailants towards the harbour; and in turning

walls. This large gate^u is double, having two square towers; and when you have entered it, you pass to the distance of a bow-shot be-

into that harbour, there was a large castle with towers, and on one larger than the rest was placed a briccole, for the defence of the place, which was not idle, but threw quarrels among the fleet. On each of the towers on the walls was a briccole which shot well." (Froissart, vol. x. c. 17. pp. 194, 195. Machiavel, Hist. of Florence uses the word briccole; upon which see the note in Farnsworth's translation, b. 5. vol. i. p. 257.) The etymology of both briccole and coillart, or cuillard, but certainly of the latter, may be found in "cuillier," a spoon; and this form of a spoon corresponds with the representations usually given of the catapulta of the Romans. (Rollin, Arts and Sciences, vol. ii. pl. 16 and 17.) See especially one in that curious book of Ramelli, "*Le Diverse e Artificiose Macchine*." Par. 1588.

These were the machines called petrariæ by the historians of the Croisades, and were used both by the Christians and Saracens. De Vinisauf, an eye-witness of their effect, has described them in his account of the expedition of Richard I. and Saladin employed thirteen of them at the attack of Tyre. (Note on Lyttelton's Hist. of Henry II. B. v. p. 466.)

Henry V. himself used the cuillard in his wars in France. In an article preserved in Rymer (*Fœdera*, vol. x. p. 155), and dated October 4, 1421, an order is given that instant search be made in a certain district for those workmen who had formerly constructed them for the Duke of Clarence. It is probably what Monstrellet (tom. i. c. 228.) alludes to under the title of "*engins vollans*" at the siege of Melun; Thomas de Elmham also speaks of the "*balista*," and "*saxivomium*," though the latter may have been those awkward cannons which discharged "*Gonstones*."

The catapulta or cuillard acted with amazing force. Josephus was astonished at the manner in which it mowed down whole files of men in the fatal siege of Jerusalem. The experiments of Folard (Rollin, *ut supra*.) proved it to be possessed of very considerable powers; and its merits in this respect may furnish us with a reason why it should have continued so long in use after the invention of gunpowder.

A machine of this kind was shewn to Maundrell, when he visited the arsenal at Damascus. (Travels, p. 126.)

Of this class was likewise the espringold.

^u It is the same which he elsewhere calls the great public gate; and the practical application of the structure here described, which entirely answers to what some authors call the barbican, is explained by the pilgrim Breidenbach, who visited the city more than sixty years from the time of our author, and was detained with all his party a whole night upon this spot. "*Cum ad urbem ipsam venissemus portam proximam per quam intrare volebamus sarraceni clausurunt. atque nos per totam civitatis latitudinem supra fossata civitatis circuire coegerunt et id pedestres. et cum longo et tedioso ambitu ad aliam venissemus por-*

tween two lofty walls, and through two other gates, one of which is shut every day before any one quits the city.

On the other side of the city are two other gates, opened every day. One towards the south-east leading to the fosses and gardens: the other about east-north-east, which leads towards old Alexandria and Cairo: and through this no Christian is allowed to pass.

Sir Gilbert conjectures that it may be on account of the large mound which is at hand.

These are two handsome double gates, having square towers.

tam. crudelem reperimus exactorem qui de hominibus camelis et asinis vectigal grave exigebat. quo soluto intromissi per portam altam et magnam ferreis seris et januis firmatam putabamus nos in pace usque ad hospicium perventuros. processimus ergo inter altos muros et fortes et ad aliam portam venimus ferream et grandem. quam multi sarraceni circumstant. cumque intrare cum bestiis nostris contenderemus. fustibus nos retrorsum abegerunt. moxque currentes aliqui primam etiam portam. seris et repagulis recluserunt. et reversi etiam hanc secundam claudentes. nos in medio stare dimiserunt. atque ita conclusi inter duas portas altissimis muris et turribus circumsepti sedentes paximates nostros comedebamus" &c. (*Peregrinatio Bernhardi de Breidenbach. Impress. in civitate Moguntina. anno salutis. m.cccc.lxxxvj. die xi Februarii.*) Thus, as it were, entrapped, they were not admitted into the city till the ensuing morning. (Fitz-Simeon was detained in the same place. *Itinerar. Symonis Simeonis*, pp. 19, 20.)

The volume, from which this quotation is given (as well as a former extract; see p. 300), is supposed to be the first book of travels that was ever printed. It contains the journal of a pilgrimage from Mentz, by way of Venice and the Levant, to Jerusalem, Mount Sinai, and Egypt, undertaken in 1483 by Bernhard de Breidenbach, Dean of Mentz, Count Solms, and Philip de Bicken, knight. The party had taste enough to carry out a draughtsman, "Erhardus Rewich de Trajecto inferiori," and from his designs curious wooden cuts are given of the costume of the countries visited by the travellers, together with views of Venice, Rhodes, &c. a map of Egypt and the Holy Land. These too are, perhaps, some of the first attempts at illustration of this kind.

The estimation, in which this work was held, was very great; and John Rous, in a passage which has often been brought forward to exhibit his ignorance, considered the authority of the writer superior to that of the inspired historian of the creation. After mentioning that Cain built the city of Enoch, he observes, that, though Moses is silent upon the foundation of any other cities before the Deluge, eight more are mentioned by that excellent man Bernhard de Breidenbach, who visited the Holy Land in 1483!

Above upon the platforms of several towers are coillarts ; they are all drawn up and loaded, especially towards the ports, and are ten in number in various places around.

Sir Gilbert was informed that they have great store of Romanian cross-bows, and many small cannon, for there is no large piece in the city ; also that they have a great number of cross-bow men.

On the other side of the city, opposite that slip of land which is between the two ports, the walls extend in a direct line ; and the towers in that part are large, though distant from each other. Nothing but mounds of earth, at the distance of a cross-bow-shot, run parallel to these walls ; and beyond are gardens and palm-trees environing the city.

There is no open spot, or square, in all the city, where an army could muster, the whole being occupied with houses, except the two mounds.

Many Christian merchants reside in the city, particularly Venetians,*

* The trade from India by way of the Red Sea and the ports of Egypt had been carried on from the earliest times, and had now attained the highest pitch to which it ever arrived. But among all the European states that partook of this commerce, the Venetians enjoyed the greatest share. Even during the holy wars they had contrived to keep up the long-established intercourse with the East, and rapidly increased in wealth and power. But when at the beginning of the fourteenth century the Sultan of Cairo revived the ancient direct communication through Egypt (Anderson, vol. i. p. 260), they eagerly applied themselves to improve the advantage. They obtained a licence from the Pope to trade with the Infidels, and to fit out annually a certain number of vessels for the harbours of Egypt and Syria. A treaty was concluded with the Sultan upon equitable terms, and they maintained the superiority, which they thus acquired, till this channel of traffic was abandoned for the passage round the Cape of Good Hope. In Alexandria their merchants always found a certain supply, and barter was the principal mode of purchase. Their consuls were permitted to reside and exercise their functions in the cities of Lower Egypt, and all the trading towns of Syria, a privilege which existed to its full extent in the days of Belon, though the republic was then in the wane. He has detailed the advantages of it. "This," says he, "is a great benefit to them ; and hence it comes to pass that they obtain news from all parts of the world : hence also they become acquainted with the value of foreign merchandise, for which reason they surpass all other nations in commercial concerns

Genoese, ^γ and Catalans, ^δ, who have their fontecchi there, ^ε a sort of large

^γ This people in their establishment at Pera, on the Bosphorus, possessed at this time a considerable share of the overland traffic to India. They engrossed the commerce of the Black Sea, their bank was in a flourishing condition, and their navy in high repute. But they were never successful in their competition with the Venetians at Alexandria, and the loss of Constantinople ruined their Indian trade. (Robertson, *ut supra*, sect. iii. pp. 123, 124.) In 1422 Genoa passed under the sovereignty of the Duke of Milan.

^δ Spain being at present distracted with Moorish wars, the Catalans were almost the only people in the country who applied to commercial pursuits. They are, however, more celebrated for naval prowess; and in this respect proved formidable opponents to the Genoese, with whom they had severe conflicts at sea. In the league made with Genoa by Henry V. a stipulation is entered, that both contracting parties shall unite to oppose the Catalans, Arragonians, and pirates. (Rymer, vol. x. p. 117.) They appear in general to have been rather ferocious than mercantile. See in Gibbon (*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, c. 72,) an account of their service and war in the Greek empire.

^ε *Est Fonticus domus grandis in qua et negociatores et merces eorum conservantur ubi et forum rerum venalium habent.* (Breidenbach.) A merchant's store-house, chiefe shop, or warehouse. (Florio's *Ital. Dict.* Lond. 1611.) Muratori considers this word as of Arabic extraction; but an etymology, to which Du Cange inclines, is, if not more just, at least more generally comprehensible to an European ear. Joinville tells us, that at Damietta was a place called La Fonde, the resort of the merchants, and the repository for the various commodities of the East and West. His annotator refers the origin of the term to *funda*, a purse; and adduces in elucidation, that of *bourse*, a public place for the meeting of merchants. (Du Cange, note on Joinville.) Breidenbach has given a particular account of these fontecchi at Alexandria, of which the Venetians had two, Genoa one, and the Catalans one.¹ The Turks and Moors, Ethiopians and Tartars had also their fonteccho, the bustle of which he describes, and with an honest indignation declaims against their inhuman method of exposing slaves for sale. The pilgrimage to Mecca in Hakluyt enumerates five of these buildings. Venice herself had her *Fondaco di Todeschi* for the merchants of Germany; and they existed in many other places; there was one at Acre, and another at Aleppo. (Blainville, Sanutus, Rauwolf.)

cerns. And if they know that there is any merchandise on sale at any port, they despatch their people thither; that they may acquire the profit." (*Observations*, l. ii. c. 26.)

Thus Venice flourished during the period in which De Lannoy visited Egypt,—not with-

¹ These are spoken of by Fitz-Simeon, who travelled in 1392. He gives one of them to Marseilles. *Itiner. Symonis Simeonis*, p. 21.

and handsome houses to which they are confined. The Saracens shut up all the Christians every night at an early hour, and release them be-

out rivals, but far surpassing them all. It has been supposed that if the several states which traded in the Mediterranean had united together, Venice alone would have been superior to the whole of them in naval power, and in extent of commerce. And the Doge Mocenigo, about the year 1420, gave the following view of their naval force. It consisted of three thousand vessels of various dimensions, on board of which were employed seventeen thousand sailors; of three hundred ships of greater force, manned by eight thousand sailors; and of forty-five large galleasses or carracks, navigated by eleven thousand sailors. In public and private arsenals sixteen thousand carpenters were employed." (Sanuto, *Vite de Duchi di Venezia*, ap. Mur. Script. Rer. Ital. vol. xxii. p. 959. quoted by Robertson. Hist. Disquis. conc. ancient India, note L.)

The discoveries of the Portuguese proved ultimately the ruin of Venice; and the extinction of her political and commercial consequence has in one sense fully justified the prophetic parallel of the poet,

"Nec tu semper eris, quæ septem amplecteris arces,
Nec tu, quæ mediis æmula surgis aquis."

Sannazar. l. ii. el. 1.

But while Egypt continued to be the principal channel for the valuable produce of India, who can wonder that, engrossing so large a proportion of it, under such circumstances Venice rose to so splendid a pre-eminence? We cannot be surprised that, in possession of such means actively and intelligently employed, she should be able to find a superior market for her commodities, or to collect materials of information for her gazettes. Europe has been more indebted to Venice than we are generally aware. To her we originally owe those modes of public information, that have contributed so highly to the amusement and instruction of society: to her we also owe the institution of banks. "Venice," says Robertson, "may boast of having given the first example to Europe of an establishment altogether unknown to the ancients, and which is the pride of the modern commercial system." (Robertson, Hist. Disquis. note xlix.) No liberal spirit can contemplate without lamenting the fall of a state, the mistress of inventions, the munificent patroness of the arts, and the central point of communication for all the civilised world.

"Once did she hold the gorgeous East in fee;
And was the safeguard of the West: the worth
Of Venice did not fall below her birth,
Venice the eldest child of liberty.
She was a maiden city, bright and free;

times in the morning. The same thing takes place for two or three hours every Friday throughout the year: that is at mid-day, when they are engaged in their principal service of prayer. Here are also other lodgings, for Ancona,^b Naples, Marseilles,^c the Pilgrims,^d and Con-

No guile seduced: no force could violate;
And when she took unto herself a mate
She must espouse the everlasting sea,
And what if she had seen those glories fade,
Those titles vanish, and that strength decay;
Yet shall some tribute of regard be paid,
When her long life hath reached its final day;
Men are we, and must grieve when even the shade
Of that which once was great is pass'd away.

WORDSWORTH.

^b From the mention of these places it appears that the states of Italy were eager to obtain a portion of this lucrative traffic; and that the Pope himself had not disdained an intercourse with the Infidels. Florence was now following hard after them. In 1422 that republic sent ambassadors to the Sultan, who negotiated those commercial relations with Egypt from which the Medici are supposed to have derived a considerable part of their wealth. They even obtained the extraordinary privilege of erecting a church in Alexandria. (Roscoe's *Life of Lorenzo*, vol. i. c. 3.) Though Gibbon, on the authority of a single expression in Ducas, considers the English among the nations who resorted for the purpose of trade in the fifteenth century to the Ionian Islands, yet I cannot find that they had hitherto penetrated into the Mediterranean with any degree of frequency or effect. In 1413 they traded to the western ports of Morocco; but in this they were afterwards interrupted by the jealousy of the Genoese (Rymer, vol. viii. p. 773), nor had they a consul at Pisa till 1485 (Henry's *Hist. of Gr. Britain*, b. v. c. 6): in the ensuing century, however, they conveyed their wares to Cairo. (Prosp. Alpinus.)

^c Louis, Count of Provence, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, had entirely freed the ports of Provence from all kinds of taxes and customs, permitting them to establish commercial consuls in all foreign ports, so that Marseilles was at this time in very great prosperity. (Anderson's *Hist. of Commerce*, vol. i. pp. 412, 413, in the year 1406.)

^d Though Jerusalem was undoubtedly the chief point of attraction to the pilgrim; yet Egypt was not without objects of devout visitation. The two principal courses of pilgrimage were, the one from Jaffa to Jerusalem, and the environs,—the other from Alexandria to Cairo and Mount Sinai; many used to begin with the latter journey, which was considered the longer and more arduous undertaking. In this case they frequently traversed

stantinople: but at this period there was no merchant resident from these parts.

They have a house full of antique armour of the Christians; and all the modern which is presented to the Sultan, or won by him from the Christians, is deposited there.

Survey of one of the branches of the Nile towards Alexandria, the mouth of which is called Rosetta.

From Alexandria to the mouth of that branch called Rosetta it is thirty-five miles by land, and full sixty by sea, owing to the projections of the shore. Rosetta is a large, fair, and regular village, built of brick, and standing upon the river on the side towards Alexandria, five miles from the place where the mouth above-mentioned empties itself into the sea. A small uninhabited island divides this mouth into two entrances; and, according to the information which Sir Gilbert received, for no Christian ventures to go there, that which is nearest to Alexandria is the largest and deepest, and affords a good passage for galleys and all flat fusts.

This port of Rosetta is very near the sea, and many germs arrive there, those that are bound from Cairo to Alexandria, as well as those

the deserts to Syria; and having viewed the Holy Sepulchre on their return, embarked at Jaffa for Europe. (Travels of Sir John Maundeville, p. 65 et alibi.) Many relics were shewn at Alexandria, besides the spot where St. Mark and St. Catherine suffered martyrdom. But Matarea near Cairo was of still higher renown. Pilgrims were subject to great exactions and ill-usage in this country; though the governors of it were too well aware of the advantages of so clear a branch of profit to prohibit the admission of these European strangers; and at this season, in spite of all difficulties, a great passion for pilgrimages prevailed. The frequent licences that occur in Rymer bear testimony to it, and the earlier travellers, whose accounts are preserved, were chiefly of this description, with the exception of a few merchants. The visiting of foreign lands for the pure sake of science, is a practice of far more recent date.

When Breidenbach was at Alexandria, the pilgrims were lodged in the fonteccho of the Catalans, under the protection of the consuls of that nation.

from Alexandria to Cairo. There also are to be found the most able mariners of any upon the river, and such as are best acquainted with the passage of the mouth of Rosetta, should it be necessary to be made. And Sir Gilbert has been told that it would be difficult to find any Christian who properly understands it, among all those who frequent the branch of the river which comes down to Rosetta; for, like persons who always entertain an apprehension of being conquered, they suffer no Christians to visit it, either from Alexandria, or any other quarter.

It is full two hundred miles by water from Rosetta to Cairo, owing to the various windings of the river in all directions. The straight course by land is only about one hundred and twenty miles.

As you proceed to Cairo there are many large villages and ports on both sides of the river. Four or five of these are of a very considerable size; as Utefinne and Derut on the right hand ascending towards Cairo; and Foua,* which is situated on the left, and is a very large unfortified town.

Higher than Derut towards Cairo, on the same side, stands a village called Latf, where the fosse begins which brings the water of the Nile to Alexandria: it is about twenty miles distant from Rosetta.

Upon this branch of the river are many inhabited and cultivated islands: such as the island of Gold,^f where they grow abundance of

* This was a place of considerable consequence. Baumgarten, Marmol, and Belon, in the sixteenth century saw it very populous and flourishing. It was then considered in point of inhabitants as inferior to Cairo alone; and it enjoyed peculiar advantages from its situation on the river, by which it kept up a constant communication between Cairo and Alexandria. Merchandise was transported from this place to the capital of Egypt by canals; but these, choked with sand, are now no longer navigable, and Foua is become an insignificant village, whose ruins alone declare its former splendour. It is still, however, one of the most agreeable situations on the Nile. (Brown, p. 36.)

^f Geziret el Dahab. (Leo Africanus, l. 8.) There is another island above Cairo of the same name, originating probably from a similar cause, the fertility of the soil. Geziret el Dahab partook of the prosperity of Foua, and was filled with the pleasure-houses of wealthy merchants. (Marmol, l. ii. c. 20.)

sugar; § the island of Beninas, which is full eleven miles in length; and the large and long island of Genofie; besides many other poor and small islands which are not mentioned, because they may be more fully seen in the plan of the course of the river. There are also many small villages, some well and others ill built, situated higher up about a cannon-shot or a mile from the river, inaccessible to germs; and these are innumerable. The larger villages are built of brick; and the others, like the habitations of the Tartars,^b of a round shape, resembling ovens, made with reeds, and plastered over.

Many very shallow places occur in the river between Rosetta and Cairo; especially about February, March, and April; at which season it is extremely low, and impassable for a galley. For even the smallest of the germs, which are all flat-bottomed, run aground in many places owing to the shallowness of the water.

This article does not anticipate the account of the nature of the branches of this river; because it will hereafter be more fully discussed in that article which treats of the branch of Damietta, the nature of which is the same.

§ The cultivation of the cane was early understood in Egypt. "Terra Ægypti," says Haythonus, "dat omnium frugum et fructuum ubertatem, et optimam chacharam in maximâ quantitate." After the conquest by the Turks, the Grand Signior seems to have engrossed a great part of this article (Belon, l. i. c. 33); but Europe learned to procure it elsewhere. Though the revolutions and exactions of the Egyptian government are a general bar to every species of cultivation and improvement, much is still grown on the bank of the river. They have not, however, in general, the art of refining it, and the canes are usually consumed by the peasants in a raw state. (Sonnini, c. 31.)

^b By the Tartars he probably means that remnant of the Mongols, whom he might have seen in Syria, since some of them for a time continued scattered throughout the countries conquered by Tamerlane. In 1408, when Boucicault ravaged the Syrian coast, the country was in possession of the Saracens, but the Tartars had not entirely quitted it. Six hundred of their cavalry stood ready to receive him on the shore at Tripoli, dressed in fine velvet, and cloth of gold. (*Memoires de Boucicault*.) See in *Modern Universal History* an account of their habitations (vol. iv. pp. 71, 72). These Egyptian cabins have frequently been compared to bee-hives.

Survey of Cairo and Babilon.

Cairo is the metropolis of Egypt, seated upon the river Nile, which comes from Paradise Terrestrial,¹ and approaches no nearer to the city than Boulac, a distance of about three miles.

¹ In a country so peculiarly circumstanced as Egypt, it was natural that the inhabitants from the earliest ages should have conceived a veneration for the Nile. Blessed with plenty in its due increase, visited with the horrors of famine in its failure, their ignorance and superstition rendered it the object of astonishment and devotion. Its hidden spring, the mystery of its rise, might induce them to lend a willing ear to fable, and their gratitude might prompt them to ascribe a celestial origin to that from which such annual advantages were derived.

Other nations equally uninformed as to the phenomena which it exhibited, might readily concur in the sentiment of the natives; and *Διογενής*, the epithet applied to it by Homer, may probably serve to express the general opinion of the heathen world.¹ It is said that some of the philosophers guessed the cause of its increase, and that Ptolemy Philadelphus ascertained it;—but, where is the source of this extraordinary stream? has been the grand question of ancient and modern times.

In treating of this subject it is merely my wish to justify and throw some light upon the expression of my author, by bringing forward a few of the popular opinions which had to his day continued to exist from remote antiquity.

Whatever might be the notion of the Jews, who resided in this country occasionally in great numbers before the coming of our Lord, the seventy Interpreters were decisive in fixing the origin of the Nile in the garden of Eden; and Josephus (*Antiq. Jud. lib. i. c. 1. § 3.* See Harmer, vol. iv. obs. 182), perhaps, speaks the sentiments of the most learned of his countrymen, when he says, that the Gihon of Moses is the Nile. When Egypt, through the medium of the Gospel, received the Scriptures of the Jews as the oracles of her faith; and various researches upon matters connected with these sacred writings arose; the version of the Seventy would of course be referred to, as the only one which contained any illustration of a point so little ascertained. It was found that the Interpreters had determined Cush to be Ethiopia, and Gihon the river of Egypt; and thus the ancient exalted idea of the source of this mighty stream was in some degree confirmed. That

¹ *Villoison triumphs in this allusion of the poet, which he applies exclusively to the increase of the river. The expression is, however, at most but dubious, and has its parallel in that of Plautus, who is considered to allude to the Nile, when he speaks of a river flowing from beneath the throne of Jove. Trin. Act iv. sc. 2.*

“*Ad caput amnis, quod de celo exoritur sub solio Jovis.*”

Boulac is a village adjoining to Babilon; its houses are situated by the river side.

which, as idolaters, they considered to have flowed from the Gods, as Christians, they believed to proceed from Paradise Terrestrial.

The Fathers of the Church entered eagerly into this persuasion, and it was universally received not only in Egypt, but throughout the Christian world. Saint Austin is especially supposed to have contributed to the confirmation of it, and to have been a considerable cause of disseminating it, from the general reputation of his writings. Such authorities were then held incontrovertible, and the truth was not easily ascertained. When the Mahometan took possession of the land, he was not anxious, from principle or habit, to confute the error; and though the active spirit of some of the Egyptian Sultans made a few attempts to unravel the mystery, these were not more successful than others which had been undertaken before; and their systematic jealousy prevented travellers from penetrating into the interior. Thus those who visited the country took the general opinion upon trust, since they were not allowed to prosecute the inquiry, and many things which they heard or observed tended to support the notion. Joinville tells a story of spices found in the stream, which he refers to the trees of the primeval garden; and Breidenbach attributes the fertility occasioned by the overflow to the "*nobilissima gleba Paradisi*."

It is amusing to observe into what improbabilities and difficulties this established prejudice, which occupies an important place in the history of geographical errors, led those writers who attempted to give a grave account of the course of the river. If they were agreed upon the circumstance of its flowing from the Garden of Eden, they could neither so decidedly lay down the site of this Paradise Terrestrial, nor what countries the stream visited in its passage to the Mediterranean. It was indeed a fascinating idea to consider that by tracing the Nile to its fountain they might reach the "blissful seat;" but savage tracts and barbarous nations interposed; and the aid of fancy was called in to supply what was denied to investigation.

Since, according to the writers of the Septuagint, Gihon was the Nile, and Cush Ethiopia, Eden was to be looked for beyond Ethiopia, and an opinion arose and prevailed that it was situated in India. Their chief communication was with India, it was the point from which the traffic of the East proceeded, and to which that of the West tended; it was evidently a land of wealth and wonders: and there by universal consent they placed the Paradise Terrestrial. But how could the river be brought from that quarter? The intervention of the Red Sea, for they seem to have thought of no other difficulty, was an evident obstacle to the plan. They determined, however, to remove this impediment, and to account for the course of the Nile, by attributing to it a *caput secundum*, or second source. (See Burnett's Theory of the Earth, b. ii. c. 7.) Thus they pretended that it penetrated under ground somewhere to the eastward of the Red Sea, and that it rose

Cairo, Babilon, and Boulac were formerly separate cities, but are now built so as to form a whole. Between them are a sort of shallow fosses

again in Ethiopia. Maundeville, to whom marvels are familiar, may afford us a fair specimen of the mode of stating this popular opinion: "This Ryvere comethe rennyng from Paradys terrestre betwene the Desertes of Inde; and afre it smytt unto Londe, and renneth longe tyme many grete countres undre Erthe: and afre it gothe out undre an high hille, that Men clepen Alotte, that is betwene Ynde and Ethiopie, the distance of five Monethes Journeyes fro the entree of Ethiopie. And afre it envyrionnethe alle Ethiopie and Morekane, and gothe all along fro the Lond of Egipte, unto the cytee of Alisandre, to the ende of Egipte; and there it fallethe into the See." (*Travels*, pp. 53, 54. See also Jac. de Vitriaco *Histor. Iherosol.* p. 84 in *Gesta Dei*.)

Others, who were superior to this marvellous idea, or unacquainted with it, were equally at a loss. Two centuries before Maundeville, Fulcherius Carnotensis, who went into the Holy Land with Robert Earl of Normandy, and published his history in 1124, has thrown out a doubt with regard to the reputed origin and course of the Nile, in which he appears to have thought for himself, more than might have been expected in an age addicted to tradition, and ignorant of the true geography of the river. His difficulties are very rational, but he was obliged to abandon all hope of solution, and resign the matter to the omniscience of the Creator. The cause of his scepticism is as follows: Baldwin King of Jerusalem, having in 1116 made an excursion of curiosity to Helim upon the Red Sea, Fulcherius and others were delighted with the account of the expedition, and the specimens of natural curiosities produced by the adventurers on their return. He made many inquiries concerning the position of that sea; and was surprised to learn that, having been to the eastward of the mouths of the Nile, and as far to the south as the Red Sea, they had not met with the river in its course from that part of the world, which was said to contain the Paradise Terrestrial.

"Possum mirari, sed nunquam rimari, quomodo vel qualiter fluvius iste, qui de Paradiso cum tribus aliis legitur emanare, ortum suum iterum videatur recuperare, cum ab orientali parte Mare habeat Rubrum; et ab occasu, in quo incidit, mare nostrum. Habet enim mare Rubrum inter se et Orientem positum, ubi esse intelligimus Paradisum, ex quo egreditur. Quomodo ergo iterum Mare illud rubrum resumit ortum suum, et quomodo transit idem mare, vel non transit, admiror. . . . Querat qui vult, discat qui valet. Nam hoc ad discere persæpe, et quamplurimis inquirendo, studui; sed qui hoc mihi insinaret, nequamquam invenire valui. Committo autem illi hoc ratiocinari, qui super cælos aquas mirifice inesse statuit; quique eas a montibus et collibus convallibusque hauriri fecit; et per occultos meatus cursibus in undis vias multifidas præbuit; et in mare denique mirabiliter inducit et reducit." (*Fulcher. Carnot. in Gesta Dei*, p. 426.)

The difficulties of accounting for the prevailing theory were so insurmountable, that later

without water, as well as many houses and highways. It is perhaps three miles from Cairo to Babilon.

travellers began to hesitate upon the point. De Lannoy himself states the matter upon the prevailing report, and an old contemporary pilgrim in Purchas is equally cautious :

“ There is a water of grete prise
That cometh out of Paradice,
The which is callet Nilus,
Men of that lande thei saie thuse.”

Yet to the credit of our author it must be observed, that though the fact might be doubted by some persons, the general illusion continued undisputed in his time ; nor is it to be supposed that his readers smiled at the account, or treated it as an idle tale.

In a former part of this note it has been stated that the universal earlier conjecture with regard to Paradise Terrestrial was in favour of India. It will hardly be believed how much the inquiry concerning it has exercised the human mind. The list of those who have employed themselves upon this fruitless investigation is almost endless ; but a sketch of the variety of their opinions is well given in the Universal History :

“ Several of the primitive fathers believed, that there never was a local Paradise, and that all the Scripture says of it, is to be understood in an allegorical sense : others, who allowed the reality of Paradise, have swerved so far from the letter, as to suppose it not to be situated in any part of this terrestrial globe. They have placed it in the third heaven, within the orb of the moon, in the moon itself, in the middle region of the air, above the earth, under the earth, in a recess hidden and removed from the knowledge of men, in the place possessed at present by the Caspian Sea, under the arctic pole, and under the equator. On the other hand, many of those who have allowed a terrestrial Paradise have fallen into no less absurdity. There is scarce a corner of the earth which has not been ransacked in search of it. They have looked for it in Asia, in Africa, in Europe, in America, in Tartary ; upon the banks of the Danube, and the Ganges ; in the isle of Ceylon, in Persia, in Armenia, in Mesopotamia, in Chaldæa, in Arabia, in Palestine, in Syria, about the mountains of Libanus and Antilibanus ; near the cities of Damascus and Tripoly ; in Ethiopia, towards the mountains of the Moon ;¹ and which will, doubtless, be thought as much out of the way, in Sweden.” (vol. i. pp. 4, 5.)

¹ It was thought to be on a very elevated spot by most of the inquirers ; and thus the poet describes it :

“ Sù quel monte alpestre,
Ch'ultra le nubi, e presso al ciel si leva
Era quel paradiso, che terrestre
Si dice, ove habitò già Adamo et Eva.”—*Orl. Fur.* c. 33. St. 110.

“ 'Twas

The city of Cairo is of a surprising size; including Babilon it is about three French leagues in length, and a league and a half in breadth. It appears much larger, but is rapidly falling to decay, which has been particularly the case for the last twenty years. It is very populous,^k and

Butler has placed among the mock philosophers one who

"knew the seat of Paradise,
Could tell in what degree it lies;
And, as he was dispos'd, could prove it
Below the Moon, or else above it."

Grey's *Hudibras*, vol. i. p. 23. part i. c. 1. l. 173, and notes.

"The sum of all," says Sir Walter Raleigh, "is this; that whereas the eyes of men in the Scriptures have been dim-sighted, I hope that the reader will be sufficiently satisfied, that these were but like castles in the air, and in mens fancies vainly imagined." (*Hist. of the World*, b. i. c. 3. s. 15.)

And the whole tends but to verify that sentiment of St. Austin, which unites the assertion of the Sacred Writings with the experience of mankind: "Aio Paradisum esse terrestrem, et locum ejus ab hominum cognitione esse remotissimum." But if, dissenting from this positive opinion, we should consider that, though the writer of the book of Genesis has assigned to Paradise an apparent locality, by a subsequent change upon the surface of the earth that locality may have been destroyed; it will be agreed that Eden is no longer what it was; and consequently, that in any case, the endeavour to discover it is void of hope.

^k The accounts of the numbers contained in Cairo are surprising. It was supposed to be the most populous city under the sun, to contain as many people as the whole of Italy, and more vagabonds than there were regular inhabitants in Venice. This last opinion, often to be met with, seems to have been almost proverbial. (Breidenbach: but he adds with much simplicity what will certainly be credited: "Audita refero—neque enim ipse numeravi!" see also Baumgarten in Churchill, l. i. c. 18. p. 44.) Prosper Alpinus thinks it probable that the pestilence in 1580 swept off a million in the course of five months; yet he affirms, that at the expiration of that time, the streets were apparently as crowded as before. And, if this be too extravagant for belief, we may descend without hesitation to the soberer assertion of Le Bruyn, (*Voyages*, c. 37), that they are not missed when

" 'Twas fam'd, where Egypt's hoary mountain shews
Its head, in clouds whence Nilus' fountain flows,
Was Paradise of old, those happy bowers,
Where Adam passed with Eve the blissful hours."—Hoole.

The translator has not, however, happily entered into the idea of "oltra le nubi, e presso al ciel," which evidently alludes to the supposed situation of Paradise, somewhere above the middle region of the air.

carries on a great trade. Merchants repair thither from India, and almost all parts of the world. It is the capital of the Sultan, as of Egypt, Syria, Sayette, and all his dominions, and is also the place where he resides.

Under a mountain at the extremity of the city of Cairo is a very 200,000 die of the plague. Of this enormous mass it has been computed that one fourth were not fixed inhabitants, but drawn thither for the purposes of traffic. (Pocock, vol. i. c. 4.) A Note addressed to Desgenettes, chief physician of the French army in Egypt, estimates them at 300,000, without bringing into the account those of the citadel, old Cairo, and Boulac. (Mem. sur L'Egypte, vol. iii. p. 383.)

Fitz-Simeon (Itinerar. p. 41 et seq.) gives a very lively picture of the city, as it existed in 1322; and Leo Africanus affords a good idea of the populousness and bustle of Cairo, though in the decline of her prosperity. Since the Sultans permitted no European to pass through Egypt to the Red Sea, the natives of the North and of the East were brought to the mart of Cairo, and contributed to its wealth and splendor. This city, occupying a position between the three divisions of the then known world, was to Asia and Africa and Europe, what Bruges was to the north of Europe, a general receptacle for merchants and their wares. She might then justly merit the epithet of "Grand," to which she has now little claim but ancient usage. Venice and Cairo in this respect gradually declined together; but when Prosper Alpinus resided here, even in 1580, she was still considered the emporium of the East. It is well known, that one of the projects of Ali Bey was to have restored the direct communication with the East, and thus to have re-established the consequence of Cairo. Local circumstances afford her a peculiar advantage; and even with the loss of the greater part of those Indian, and, consequently, European connexions, which formerly upheld her, she retains no inconsiderable share of trade. (See observations on the advantageous situation of Egypt for commerce, &c. in the Monthly Magazine for July 1810.)¹

De Lannoy tells us, that the city had been decaying twenty years. The times were agitated; and under a government so mutable as that which existed in Egypt, the capital might experience neglect and even desolation. Niebuhr thinks, from a comparison of the description of Leo with recent observations, that the city has not since that time decreased in size. He admits that the suburbs may be more remote from each other; and in fact, Thevenot, in the middle of the seventeenth century, found Boulac returned to its former state of a distinct town, divided from Cairo by land in tillage.

¹ Throughout these illustrations respecting the commercial and military condition of Egypt, when any allusion is made to a more recent state of affairs, the reader will bear in mind that the greater part of these notes were written at least fifteen years ago. Since that period Mehemmed Ali Pacha, the present Viceroy, has introduced changes, and infused a vigour into its internal administration unknown to that country for many generations.

handsome and large castle surrounded with good walls. The interior is strong and full of houses,¹ the residence of the Sultan. Water is brought from the river Nile into some parts within the fosses which encompass it, by means of an aqueduct. This castle is loftily situated upon a rock under the mountain, and is almost at the end of Cairo towards Babilon.

The city of Cairo is in some places on the outside secured with walls;^m yet for the most part neither walls nor gates are visible. For

¹ In its present state it is divided into three quarters, of which that of the Janizaries is full of houses. (Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 93.) This citadel, built by Saladin, towards the latter end of the twelfth century with stones taken from some small pyramids, is about a mile in circumference, and like a little town. (Note on Makrisi, in Joinville, vol. ii. p. 236. Pocock, vol. i. p. 35.) In some of the apartments vestiges of the magnificence of the Mameluke Sultans still remain. See representations of it in Meyer's Views in Palestine, and Travels of Lord Valentia.

^m The walls, as well as the castle of Cairo, are attributed to the reign of Saladin; but the existence of these walls has been the subject of dispute among travellers. Ascolini, who was in Egypt in 1243, found the city very strongly fortified with a wall. The houses of the suburbs had not then, probably, screened it from the view:—Belon says, "there are almost as many houses without the circumference of the walls as within the city; whence some have erred in supposing that the city was not walled." (Observations, l. ii. c. 37.) Thevenot also denies the assertion that it is not protected in this manner; and Niebuhr even declares that remains of a double wall may be traced. (Voyage en Arabie, vol. i. p. 87.) It was of consequence to De Lannoy to ascertain this point, and he has done it in a satisfactory manner.

The account of Sandys will throw some light upon this matter. "The walls (if it be walled), rather seem to belong to private houses than otherwise." (Travels, b. ii. p. 119.) The reader will hereafter have occasion to observe in the course of the Report, that a common method of providing for the security of the cities in Syria, was to construct the houses so contiguously, that to the eye they presented a front in some measure resembling the wall of a town. Requina near Valencia in Spain is described by Captain Carleton (Memoirs, pp. 211, 212) as fortified in the same manner; and specimens of it are to be seen in the Grecian Islands.

That the practice was of very ancient date may be collected from the Scriptures. The house of Rahab was upon the town wall, and she was thus enabled to provide for the safety of the spies. (Joshua, c. ii. ver. 15.) Thus too, though Aretas, the governor of Damascus, kept the city with a garrison, and doubtless, guarded every pass night and day, think-

adjoining the walls and within the fosses, and elsewhere, houses have been every where built, after the manner of suburbs; so that it has not the appearance of being fortified; though this is really the case; since it is impossible to enter the city itself on any side, but by gates, which are closed at night.

Between Cairo and Babilon are large canals which come from the river Nile; by these, during the annual increase of the river, the city, the gardens, and all the country are supplied with water.

The foundations of the houses are of stone, brick, and baked earth;^a and the roofs of reeds and wretched timber plastered with clay, very inflammable. The roofs are exceeding lofty, and all have terraces. The houses and narrow streets are very numerous.

On the way to Matarea^o where the balm grows for the space of two ing to take Paul, we may readily understand the full import of the words of the Apostle, when he says he was let down "in a basket through a window by the wall, and so escaped their hands." (2 Corinthians, c. xi. v. 32, 33.) King has endeavoured to explain the accommodation prepared by the rich Shunamite for Elisha, by reference to a tower built with a double wall, of the existence of which he produces some proofs. (See *Munimenta Antiqua*, vol. iii. p. 96.) Yet, according to what has been just stated concerning the cities of Syria, the matter may, perhaps, be more satisfactorily elucidated, without having recourse to a remote and elaborate way of accounting for the prophet's "chamber in the wall." (2 Kings, c. iv. ver. 10.)

^a Probably brick of common mud dried in the sun is here intended. See Harmer, vol. i. p. 175.

^o From the jealousy of the Saracens it is by no means improbable that the author passed through the land in the guise of a devout and peaceful pilgrim, meditating war and conquest in his heart. Matarea possessed many objects of pious curiosity, and was revered by Mahometans as well as Christians. (Prosp. Alp. i. c. 5.) Tradition had represented this as the place, where our Lord and his mother sought a refuge in their flight from Judæa: a fountain was pointed out, in which the infant was bathed; and a tree was shewn, which had opened to afford them an asylum from their pursuers. (Belon, l. ii. c. 49. Sandys, l. ii. p. 127.) But, according to the plan of De Lannoy, he forbears to introduce these to the notice of his readers, and barely mentions the balm-garden, one of the wonders of Egypt. This rare plant has been described by a variety of naturalists and travellers (Abdollariph, c. ii. p. 23. Belon, c. 39, and Prosp. Alp. de plantis Ægypti, c. 14.): the first introduction of it at Matarea is, however, a point by no means agreed upon. When

miles in length and one in breadth are houses in ruins, and deserted from decay : it is the same about Babilon and towards Boulac.

The whole city stands upon a good soil, quick for opening trenches and mines, except the castle, which is upon a rock.

This castle is very large, resembling a fortified town, and contains a great number of persons,^p together with the Sultan ; especially the full amount of two thousand slaves on horseback ; which, being the flower of his soldiery, he maintains at his own cost for his body-guard ; besides women and children, and a great many others.

Brocard was in Egypt the Saracens attended to the cultivation of it with much care. But towards the end of the fifteenth century it disappeared ; and though Breidenbach saw it in 1483, Peter Martyr in his embassy to the Sultan in 1501 laments its loss. (*Legatio Babylonica*, in *Novus Orbis* of Grynæus. "Proh dolor ! adeo preciosi arbusta liquoris interiere.") Had the case been otherwise, it would in all likelihood have been destroyed in the conflicts that took place upon the change of the government ; for when the Turks had penetrated into the heart of the country, a severe battle was fought at Matarea between Selim and the Mameluke sovereign of Egypt, in which the Turks were victorious. (*Marmol.*) Under these new masters the plantation at Matarea was restored. In 1519 Mesoner, governor of Cairo, brought forty plants from Arabia, which Belon in 1530 found diminished to nine or ten. They have many times been renewed, and as often perished.

Sandys mentions a single plant, "the whole remainder of the store ;" and this was destroyed in 1615, by an inundation of the Nile. (Henry Rantzow, quoted by Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 98.) Many wonderful effects were attributed to the balsam ; and its reputed powers are magnified and illustrated in the story of the Cid Rodrigo de Bivar. (*Chronicle of the Cid* by Southey, towards the end.) When the Venetians traded to Alexandria it sold for its weight in gold.

^p If Maundeville may be believed on this point, the number was very considerable in his time ; and he asserts it with that air of authority, which wears the defiance of contradiction. "There dwelleth the Soudan in his Calahelyke, (for this is commonly his see,) in a fayr castelle, strong and gret, and well sett upon a rocke. In that castelle dwellen alle wey, to kepe it and to serve the Sowdan mo than 6000 persones, that taken alle here necessities of the sowdanes court. I ought righte wel to knowen it. For I dwelled with him as soudyor in his werres a gret while azen the Bedoynes." (*Travels*, c. 5.)

Notwithstanding the doubts of M. Legrand D'Aussy, I am inclined to think that this extraordinary traveller at least visited Egypt ; that he penetrated much farther is certainly highly doubtful. In 1778 the castle was supposed to contain 30,000 inhabitants, half of which were military. (*Parsons, Travels*, p. 302.)

This very strong castle, seated above the walls of the city, is completely encompassed by inner and outer walls; it has also on the side of the city a handsome and spacious base-court remarkably well secured by two walls; and upon these walls are many fine large towers both round and square. Having passed through the first gate, you must go through several others before you arrive at the principal donjon.

The castle is surrounded by fosses, and notwithstanding the great elevation of it above the river, the water is thrown up into most of these fosses by the contrivance of wheels worked by oxen.¹

Between the castle and the city is a very large and handsome square like a market, and round it four mosques built with large stones, which are at a cross-bow-shot from the castle.

It is extremely difficult for any Christian to obtain admission into this castle. Part of the matters above-mentioned can only be learned by information. Sir Gilbert found means to view and make observations upon the rest.

It rains very seldom either at Cairo or in all the land of Egypt.

¹ At the entrance of old Cairo is an hexagonal building, each side of which is thirty feet, and one hundred high. A range of steps, very easy of ascent, permits the oxen to mount it, where they turn a wheel which raises the water to the top. Five basons receive, and pour it into an aqueduct supported by three hundred arches, which conveys it into a reservoir. From thence, other oxen raise it by means of fresh wheels, up to the palace of the Pacha." (Savary, vol. i. l. 7.) This building was constructed, as were all the other principal works, under Saladin, and was very nearly destroyed by the folly of one of the succeeding governors of Egypt. (Abdollariph, c. iv. p. 91.) Prosper Alpinus hints at the ease with which the works might be stopped (lib. i. c. 5.); and the Earl of Sandwich informs us, that in tumults the supply of water is very often cut off by the seizure of the oxen, and the party who have made themselves masters of the castle forced to yield. (Voyage up the Mediterranean, p. 446.) Yet this weak point escaped the observation of our accomplished spy.

The condition and nature of the Sultans of Babilon; of their Ammirals and Slaves, and of the Saracens of Egypt. Of the nature of the Countries of Egypt and Syria.

Throughout the country of Egypt, Syria, and Sayette, there is usually but one lord, a Sultan^r of Babilon, who has the supreme command.

This Sultan is never elected, as might be supposed, from the nations of any of these countries; because the people who inhabit them are, as they say, in too poor and feeble a condition to take proper care of them. But the person chosen is some ammiral, a slave who by his sense, valour, and good conduct shall have so advanced himself in the life-time of the Sultan, as to have acquired power and friends among the other ammirals and slaves; and to such a degree that from these circumstances after the decease of the Sultan he shall become lord; and he only continues so through power and the support of party: in spite of which he is ever in apprehension and danger of being deposed by some other powerful ammiral about him; either through treason, or other turns of policy which shall favour that ammiral to his disadvantage.

Although this Sultan shall have rule a long time, and having children may make arrangements with entire consent of the great ammirals whilst living, that one of these children should reign after him, it very rarely happens that this son can succeed the Sultan in the government. But he is seized and thrown into prison, or strangled or poisoned by

^r This personage, who acts so conspicuous a part in some of the old romances, was in 1422 the chief of the Mamelukes resident in the castle of Cairo; and deriving his lofty title from the suburb of the city already mentioned. The first of these slaves who was raised to the dignity was Ezzodin (Abul-Pharagii, Hist. Dynast. p. 325), about the period of the French invasion under St. Louis; and their government, unstable as it was, lasted 275 years. The Mamelukes boast of two dynasties, the Baharite, and the Borgite; the former continued from 1254 to 1382; the latter closed in 1517, when Sultan Selim made the conquest of Egypt, and barbarously hung Touman Bey, their last sovereign, under the gate Bab Zouile at Cairo.

some of these admirals; and this lordship is very perilous and subject to change.⁴

There were five Sultans⁵ when Sir Gilbert was in Syria.

⁴ In this tumultuous state of affairs the power of the admirals was so nearly balanced that changes ensued too frequently to be the subject of wonder. But among these fluctuations the various fortunes of Al Naser form a conspicuous instance of the mutability of their condition. By singular felicity he was permitted to succeed his father; and in a reign of thirteen years and four months, was twice raised to the throne, and twice deposed. He closed his career in 1412.

Looking onward from the death of Boursbai, mentioned in the following note, to the conclusion of the Circassian dynasty we shall find a succession of 15 or 16 Sultans within a period of eighty years. (Wilson's Hist. of Egypt, vol. ii. p. 460.) Five of them comprehended about seventy-four years; and out of these five, one prince reigned five and another twenty-nine years. The ephemeral duration of the rest may be easily calculated, "Come like shadows, so depart." Nor is the present condition of the principal Beys more secure. "Ever tortured by the anxiety of suspicion, they live like the ancient tyrants of Syracuse; they sleep continually in the midst of carbines and sabres." (Volney, vol. i. c. 12.)

⁵ These revolutions, according to Pocock (Supplem. ad Abulph. pp. 212, 213) and others, occurred in 1421. Now the Survey of De Lannoy is said in the preamble to have been made,—by which, as I have before suggested, perhaps, may be really meant concluded,—in 1422. But whoever reads the variety of information which it contains, will suppose that it must have cost the author more than a transient view of the country and its inhabitants. From the assertion of this passage, compared with the accounts of other writers, he appears to have been actually in Syria in 1421; and, admitting this to have been the fact, we are furnished with an additional proof that the intention of Henry V. had been digested long before the day on which he breathed his last.

The ensuing list of Sultans may confirm this assertion of De Lannoy.

1421. Sheik Mahmoud.

Ahmed.

Thathar Daher Seifeddin.

Mohammed Saleh Naser Eddin.

1422. Boursbai Aseraf Seifeddin.—Art de verifier les dates, vol. i. p. 493.

Pocock even places the accession of the latter to the throne in 1421. He was the 12th of the Borgite dynasty, and his reign continued sixteen years; in the course of which he attacked and subdued Cyprus. In this expedition he acted upon the same principle which Henry IV. recommended to his son; for, being exposed to domestic tumults, he entered upon the war to employ his seditious admirals abroad. He seems, in other respects, to have been truly worthy to reign. It is recorded of him, that he issued an edict forbidding his

They say that the Sultan of Babilon has in his pay, at Cairo and in the country immediately around it, ten thousand slaves,^u whom he maintains as his soldiers to carry on war for him, whenever he has occasion. Some possess two horses, and others more or less. These slaves are natives of foreign lands, as of Tartary, Turkey, Bulgaria, Hungary, Sclavonia, Wallachia, Russia, and Greece, as well of Christian as of

subjects to prostrate themselves, and kiss the ground in his presence, and commanded them only to kiss his hand. He died in 1437. (D'Herbelot.)

^u Having already spoken of the chiefs, he proceeds to describe that extraordinary body of men from which they were chosen; better known in this age by the appellation of Mamelukes, a term which, in the original, according to D'Herbelot and Pocock, signifies a purchased slave. This class of persons was first introduced into Egypt by the Sultan Salech in 1227. He purchased a part of that multitude of captives, which the Tartars had taken in ravaging Asia, formed them into a body, and trained them to military exercise. In process of time, like the Prætorian guards, they usurped the supreme authority, and elected a Sultan from among themselves. Though the Turkish conquest ostensibly put an end to this system, and Egypt is nominally governed by a Pacha appointed by the Porte; yet it is well known that these slaves have regained a great share of their former influence, and that the Beys in reality govern Egypt.

The character of the Mamelukes for tyranny, rapacity, treachery, and the absence of every moral principle, has ever been the same, yet their bravery has been universally allowed. "The battle of the Pyramids" proved it to some of the most experienced soldiers of Europe; and the testimony of a very high authority has recorded the indisputable valour of the present race. (*Le Moniteur*, N^o 31, an. 7, 1 Brumaire, p. 175. "La cavalerie des Mamlouks a monté une grande bravoure.")

Joinville calls this body *La Hauleca*, and his annotator, Du Cange, quotes in illustration a portion of this chapter of the *manuscript travels of the Lord de Villerval*. A good account of this singular people under their own princes may be seen in the narratives of Peter Martyr (*Legatio Babylonica* in "*Novus Orbis*" of Grynæus.) and Baumgarten (in Churchill's Collection of Voyages, l. i. c. 18. p. 44).

For the different inhabitants of Egypt, especially the Mamelukes, see Volney (vol. i. c. 6), whose account may form a copious commentary upon this part of the Report.¹

¹ The observations in the sub-note of page 377 are particularly applicable here. The reigning Pacha exterminated or banished the Beys; and a part of the remnant of the Mamelukes who had taken refuge in the countries to the south of Egypt, having surrendered to his son during the late campaigns in Dongola, Berber, and Sennaar, returned to Cairo, where they have been received and honourably entertained in the service of the Viceroy. A few, under a refractory Bey, fled to the countries on the Bahar el Abiud. Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar, p. 110, et seq.

other countries. They are not called slaves of the Sultan, unless he has purchased them with his own money, or they are given to him and sent as presents from foreign lands. On these slaves he entirely relies for the guard of his person; and he gives them wives and houses, horses and robes, and gradually advances them as they grow up, instructing them in his art of war. And according to their merits he creates one an ammiral of ten lances, another of twenty, another of fifty, another of an hundred. Thus one rises to be ammiral of Jerusalem, another king and ammiral of Damascus, another grand ammiral of Cairo, and in the same manner of the other offices of the country.

All these slaves are masters^x of the real Saracen natives of the country, and have law and liberty in buying and selling, and all other privileges before them; and rule over and chastise them without any appeal to justice, as if they were slaves to them. They are all, as it were, lords of the land. And the real Saracen natives of the country in general interfere very little with the great governments of large cities; especially in Egypt, which is managed by none but slaves.

When the Sultan^y is making war against some rebel ammiral or any

^x In speaking of the native Saracens he alludes not only to the Copts, supposed to be descended from the native Egyptians; but, principally, to the more numerous posterity of those Arabs who settled in the country after it was conquered by Amrou in 640; and who constitute the present class of *fellahs*, or husbandmen. (See Volney, *ut supra*.) The oppression they endured may be collected from an incident mentioned by Baumgarten (in Churchill, l. i. c. 28, p. 66); and Volney (vol. i. c. 12.) gives in a note a striking instance of the little regard paid by these tyrants to public order, or the common ties of social life.

Our author has applied the term Saracen in a general sense to the different descriptions of inhabitants, each of which is now, and, doubtless, was then distinguished by a particular appellation. As the Greeks of old branded all other nations with the title of Barbarians, so it was long the fashion of Christendom to include all infidels under the appellation of Saracens. "The ancient French writers, says M. le Baron de la Bastie, have called for many centuries by the name of Saracens, not only the Mahometans, but likewise all people who were not Christians, and even the Pagans of Livonia and Prussia." (*Dissertation on the life of St. Louis*, in Joinville, vol. i. p. 81.)

^y How little the passive indifference of a wretched people inured for ages to oppression and the frequent spectacles of military broils is at present changed, may be seen from a

of his enemies, no battle or affray that may happen disturbs any of the common people of the principal cities, or any of the peasants. But each attends to his own trade or labour, let him be lord who may.

These slaves are always mounted when they go to war, their only arms² consisting of a paltry cuirass covered with silk, and a small

parallel description of a more modern writer. "The people of Egypt, debased, and cruelly tormented by a pretended government, remained neuter and indifferent amidst the most terrible commotions, never interfering in the quarrels of the Beys, or in the perpetual wars in which they were reciprocally engaged. The streets of Cairo were frequently the theatre of the furious and bloody conflicts between the competitors for power and their partisans. The tradesman neither quitted nor shut up his shop; and the mechanic worked coolly at his door, without giving himself the smallest concern respecting the combatants or the issue of the contest." (Sonnini, *Travels*, c. 33.)

* For the changes that have taken place in their arms, which are even now a capricious mixture of ancient and modern weapons and accoutrements, satisfactory information may be obtained from comparing the account of De Lannoy with those of Volney (vol. i. c. 11.) and of Denon (*Voyage dans L'Egypte*, planches), who has given a detailed representation of them. Yet I shall briefly note how far any alteration has been made with regard to those enumerated here; observing at the same time that no absolute uniform seems to prevail in so disorderly a body.

1. *The Cuirass covered with silk.* A silk coftan still forms a part of their dress, and many wear concealed under it the ancient ring armour of woven links of steel. (Brown, c. 5. p. 50.) It has long been a fashion in Egypt to cover the armour with a kind of robe: we find something of this sort in the time of Saladin, before the introduction of the Mamelukes; the body-guard of that Sultan in the celebrated battle of Ascalon, when he invaded Syria in the reign of Baldwin IV. are described by William of Tyre as "omnes induti croceis super loricas examentis, Saladino concolores." (Gul. Tyr. in *Gesta Dei*, v. i. p. 1010. an. 1177.) The coftan now worn is surmounted by the djouba and beniche, outer garments.

2. *The Head-piece.* The original word is *huvette*, which Legrand D'Aussy interprets as ornamental for the head, but which is, perhaps, rather a matter of necessary and defensive covering. Some of them still have helmets, though the greater part wear a turban.

3. *Bow and Arrows.* Though they frequently exercise themselves with these in shooting at a mark; yet they no longer use them in battle. The carbine and pistols are adopted in their stead. A crooked sabre is also universally employed; and some of them manage one in each hand with admirable dexterity. (See the letter of Boyer to his parents in the *Intercepted Correspond. of the Army of Egypt*, vol. ii.)

4. *The Mace* (See a description in Ellis's *Notes to Way's Fabliaux*, vol. i. p. 226) was a weapon formerly in high estimation, and very destructive when wielded by a strong and

round head-piece. Each of them has a bow and arrows, a sword, a mace and a drum; which drum answers the purpose of trumpets to call them together. Besides, when they see their enemies drawn up in order of battle, they sound these all at once to terrify their horses.

The rest of the Saracen natives of the country, especially those of Egypt, are a miserable race, clothed in a shirt without stockings or breeches, their head covered with a turban. As for the common people of the flat country, they have few bows, swords, or any kind of defensive weapon; and their condition is wretched in the extreme.

skilful arm. The peculiar advantage of it to a horseman was found in close and mingled fight, and it was as useful to him as the dagger to the foot soldier in the confusion and press of a croud of combatants. Muratori, in his description of its application, presents a lively picture of an affair of cavalry: "Quum manus conserebantur, arduum plerumque erat homines armatos ac fortes in equis considentes dejicere aut vulnerare; nam corpora loriceis, galeis, aliisque ferreis tegumentis involuta, ensium, jaculorum, sagittarum, aliorumque armorum ictus eludebant. Quare mos etiam fuit *clava ferrea* armatos percutere, aut in miseros equos bellum convertere, ut iis prostratis eques caperetur, aut dejectus in terram pondere ferri iners ad sustinendam pugnam opprimeretur. Propterea lanceis, gladiis, aliisque mucronibus equorum ventres impetebantur. '*Alle cinghie, alle cinghie*, vox erat imperantium, ut equorum ilia confoderentur.'" (Antiq. Med. Ævi Dissert. 26.) The Mace and Battle-axe are still used by the Mamelukes.

5. I cannot discover that the *drum* is now employed in the way which our author and De la Brocquiere (Voyage, p. 507; he calls it "*tabolean*;"') have described. It must have been of small size, or it would have been an impediment to the soldier. *Drums* are frequently mentioned in accounts of the first Croisade, and they are introduced in the romance of Richard Cœur de Lion, who in the battle with the Sultan of Damascus found means to counteract the effect which they might otherwise have produced upon his horse:

"His eres with waxe were stopped faste,
Therefore Richard was not agaste."

(Warton, Hist. of Engl. Poetry, vol. i. p. 165. See the Romance in Ellis.)

The adoption of the drum among the martial instruments of Europe is not well ascertained; though it is generally agreed that it was derived from the Saracens; Warton says, in the holy wars. The brazen drum of Saladin forms a striking feature in the history of his campaigns.

The Mameluke drummer has now a distinct office; and one of these mounted on a dromedary is conspicuous in Denon's representation of the battle of the Pyramids.

But there is another description of people called Arabs, dwelling chiefly in the deserts and many other places in Egypt, who possess horses and camels, and are a very valiant race compared with these Saracens. They are found in great numbers, and by turns wage war upon the Sultan himself. Their mode of living and dress is poor; and they have no other arms than a small lance, long and slender, a sort of elastic javelins, and a target resembling a large buckler. But they are much more valiant than the Saracens. Though they themselves are all of the sect of Mahomet; and choose lords and ammirals from among themselves; and frequently carry on great wars against each other. They possess neither cities nor houses, but always sleep in the fields under huts which they put up to screen themselves from the sun. Were the Sultan engaged with these people, as he is with the Christians, doubtless he would find sufficient employment.

Throughout all the land of Egypt, both in the principal towns and in the country, there are great numbers of Christians^a of the cincture, whom Sir Gilbert scarcely mentions, because they could be of little service to the Christians engaged in the affair.

The difference between the Countries of Egypt and Syria.

The countries of Egypt and Syria differ; for Egypt is flat and open, and Syria uneven, and full of mountains. The native Saracens of Syria are superior to those of Egypt, more brave and expert in carrying on

^a Syrian Christians existing in a wretched state of oppression. The origin of this title is thus accounted for by M. Legrand D'Aussy, in a note upon De la Brocquiere. "In the year 235 of the Hegira, 856 of the Christian æra, the Calif Motouakkek compelled the Christians and Jews to wear a broad leathern girdle, and in the East they wear it even to the present day. But since that period the Christians of Asia, and especially those of Syria, who are almost all Nestorians or Jacobites, were called Christians of the cincture." From the notices of various travellers these appear to have dwindled into something of a religious order; and were found in Egypt as well as Syria. Maundeville, Breidenbach, Marmol, and Belon speak of them as a sect; but their accounts of their derivation, and the peculiarities of their persuasion, are very confused, and contradictory to each other.

war and defending their country. A great many of these Saracens are horsemen, well mounted, each being provided with a bow and arrows, a sword, a mace, and a drum : and particularly from the marches of Gaza and Jerusalem, along the sea-coast towards Barut and Tripoli : also between the mountains as you go from the coast to Damascus and Aleppo, and throughout that country, which is very extensive.

Arabs dwell in many parts of Syria among the fields and mountains around Damascus and Jerusalem, as well as in Egypt. Many of them mounted upon horses and camels, and accoutred, as has been already said, assist their lord to defend the country in time of war.

There is also another race of people about Damascus and Aleppo in Syria called Turcomans. These are natives of Turkey who inhabit the country by permission of the Sultan, and often shift their habitation from one place to another having wives, children, and cattle. Great numbers are mounted upon good horses, having good bows, arrows, maces, swords, and drums ; some have targets. These Turcomans are incomparably better and more brave in the field than either the Arabs or Saracens of the country, or even the slaves ; and they are more dreaded. They are always ready at the pleasure of the Sultan.

The common foot soldiers along the coast of Syria are armed with a bow and arrows, and a great many of them have swords.

It rains much more in Syria than in Egypt, especially about Damascus, and upon the sea-coast between Jaffa and Tripoli.

The nature of the river Nile and a survey thereof, from two days journey above Cairo to the port of Damietta.

The water of the river Nile is very fresh and wholesome. It flows^b softly with no great rapidity ; and proceeds, according to report, from

^b " We have carefully examined," says Dr. Perry, " the degree or quantity of the Nile's current, at different seasons of the year ; and though in the month of August, the time of its inundation, it runs near three miles an hour, yet in the month of November it did not run above two miles an hour ; and in the months of April or May, no more than half a league." (View of the Levant, p. 476.)

those parts of India in which the Terrestrial Paradise is situated. It runs throughout Egypt, flows before Babilon, within three miles distance of Cairo, and passes before Boulac.

About twenty miles below Cairo towards the sea this river divides into two very large branches, both of which fall into the sea; one at a place called Rosetta, thirty-six miles from Alexandria by land, and seventy by sea; the other branch falls into the sea at Damietta.

Once every year without fail this river Nile rises so high above its banks, that it overflows the land two or three miles up the country. And it rises higher the farther you advance towards Cairo, or beyond it; but decreases in proportion as you approach Alexandria or Damietta, on the whole of the two branches. For it draws nearer to the sea, and is more distributed in all directions over wide and level tracts, and in ditches and wells and canals, which are cut on either side of the river, to supply the villages, gardens, and surrounding country.

When the river is at this height they retain the water by sluices and trenches, from which they supply the country in case of necessity, at the season when the water has sunk to its lowest point, and the great drought comes on.

This river is at the lowest every year in the end of May, and at the beginning of June; and infallibly begins to rise, from the seventh to the twelfth of June, gradually and perceptibly increasing. In one night it may gain an inch, in another night two, in another three; in another a palm, or one or two feet; during three, four, or five nights very little, if at all. Thus the increase of it is subject to no rule; but it never fails being at the highest, at the end of August or during the whole of September. At this height it continues without increasing or subsiding for full two months. And then it sinks by degrees as irregularly as it rose, till it returns to the lowest point on the day above mentioned.

When it is at the lowest it is very shallow in many places, as shall be spoken of hereafter.

At Cairo in the middle of the river, directly opposite to Babilon, is a small island well inhabited, and secured all round by houses. Here in

a low building, whose foundation is in the water, is a marble pillar against which the river strikes. Many marks are traced upon it, such as inches, feet, and pikes;^c and the increase of the river is ascertained by the lines on this pillar; how many inches or palms, feet or pikes, it has gained each night. The Sultan maintains an officer whose business it is to observe this; who proclaims the rise of the water through Cairo, for the satisfaction of the people.

When it reaches to the height of sixteen pikes upon the pillar, the people of Cairo make rejoicings; and the Sultan embarks on board a galley prepared for the occasion, and goes in person to cut open the mouth of a large artificial fosse, which, branching off from the river, passes through Babilon, and then distributes thus the water of the Nile by many small branches and channels through Cairo, into the gardens, and the surrounding country. When the river decreases they restore and stop up this opening, and thus retain the water at Cairo for the whole season. Cairo could not otherwise exist.

The time when the Sultan goes in this manner annually to cut the said fosse is usually about the beginning of June, when the river rises to sixteen pikes. A pike measures twenty-four inches.

Sir Gilbert understood from true information, that it is not in the power of the Sultan to disturb the increase of this river. Prester John^d could

^c See Pocock, vol. i. pp. 175, 176; also Mem. sur L'Egypte, tom. i. p. 354, and tom. iii. p. 333 et seq. for the measures of Egypt. There are two pikes, that of Constantinople and that of Kahira; the latter measures twenty-four inches. The usual height of sixteen pikes is fancifully expressed by the number of children which surround the ancient statue of Nilus (see a plate of it in Sandys), and the medal of Trajan, representing the Nile, with a boy standing upon it, and pointing to the number xvi.

^d The fame of Prester John is clouded with fable. He is supposed by the most accurate inquirers to have been some Tartar prince who was converted to Christianity by the Nestorians; and, from the variety of reports raised concerning him, to have been confounded with the Lama of Thibet. Hence it was by some said that he ruled over a vast territory in and beyond India. Another notion also became prevalent, which existed in the age of De Lannoy, that his residence was in Abyssinia. This is the situation which our traveller evidently assigns to him.

Kircher says, that Peter Couillon, or Cavilham, ambassador from John II. King of

do it, and change the course of it if he pleased : but he forbears for the sake of the great numbers of Christians living in Egypt, who owing to him would perish with hunger.

Portugal to the Emperor of Abyssinia, ¹ was the first who erroneously placed Prester John in that country; but if the detection of such an error be of any consequence, it may be suggested by the evidence before us. Couillon might have contributed to spread, but could hardly have been the author of the error. For John II. did not reign till towards the latter end of the fifteenth century, at the beginning of which we find the opinion entertained even in Africa itself. Ludolph (*Hist. Æthiop. Comment.* l. xi. c. 1.), and after him Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, vol. iv. c. 47, note 117.) attribute it also to the Portuguese. The subject has been amply discussed by Morey (*Dict.* in the article Prester John) and Du Cange (note on Joinville). It seems to be more certain that the Portuguese auxiliaries, on their return from the campaign in Abyssinia in 1541, undeceived Europe.

This continued long to be a popular opinion, much to the advantage of the Abyssinians, and of the Christians resident in Egypt.

“ Si dice che'l Soldan re del Egitto
A quel re ² dà tributa, e sta sujeto
Perch' è in poter di lui dal camin dritto
Levare il Nilo, e darli altro ricetto;
E per questo lasciar subito afflitto
Di fame el Cairo, e tutto quel distretto.
Senàpo ditto e da i sudditi suoi;
Gli diciam Presto o Preteiani noi.”

Ariosto, c. 33, st. 106.

“ The Soldan who the Egyptian sceptre sways,
As fame declares, his vassal tribute pays
To this great king, whose hand can turn aside,
And bid the Nile in other channels glide;
Whence famine must her scourge o'er Cairo spread,
And desolation round the country shed:
His name Senapus by his subjects known,
By us 'tis Prester called, or Prester John.”

Hoole's Translation.

The idea that this prince could alter the course of the stream might serve to keep the Sultans from endeavouring to aggrandise their dominions to the prejudice of their southern neighbours, and render them anxious to preserve a good understanding with the ruler

¹ In 1490, in which year that country was discovered by the Portuguese. Geddes, *Church Hist. of Ethiopia*, pp. 29, 41. This author also falls into the error above-mentioned.

² Senapo.

The Sultan^e allows no Christian to pass into India by way of the Red Sea; nor by the river Nile towards Prester John, being afraid lest the Christians should treat with the latter to deprive him of this river, or

of Ethiopia. The real or imaginary power of Prester John seems to have been held out as a check to the Egyptians in very early times, and the Coptic patriarch had the merit of interceding with him that Egypt might continue to enjoy the blessing of the river.¹ The effect produced by this awful impression may be seen from an event which occurred in the reign of Boursbai, who ascended the throne of Egypt in 1422. In the treaty which formerly subsisted between the Saracens and Knights of Rhodes, a variety of arrangements were made for the safety of the Christians in the dominions of the Sultan. Among other covenants it was stipulated that there should be free access to the Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and that the Christian pilgrims should receive protection and pay no tribute. Boursbai made war upon the Christians in the Mediterranean, when all these agreements were broken, and the Ethiopians suffered by the change.

Travelling in pilgrimage to Jerusalem through the Egyptian territory without knowing of the war, some of them had been exposed to unexpected and cruel treatment. In revenge for what his subjects had suffered, the Emperor of Ethiopia commanded many of the Mussulmen in his dominions to be punished, and some of them to suffer death. The Sultan Boursbai threatened retaliation upon the patriarch and Christians of Egypt; but his wrath was appeased. (Wilson's *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 458. from Abul-pharaj. proleg. p. 23. D'Herbelot, &c.) Nor need it be doubted that a grand motive for this lenity was his fear for the loss of the stream.

The diversion of the channel of the Nile, and consequent ruin of the country, was among the schemes of the celebrated Albuquerque.

^e Whoever is desirous of penetrating the veil, which the jealousy of the Sultans opposed to European discoveries, and of surveying the unspoiled wonders of the East, "the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind," should read the *Travels of Abdulrizak*, sent by Shah Rokh, son of Tamerlane, from Persia to Hindostan in the year 1442. An abridgement of this piece is to be seen in the *Monthly Magazine* for May 1808, translated from the *Collection Portatif de Voyages* par M. Langles. The traveller describes Hormuz in terms that correspond with De Lannoy's account of Cairo, allowing for the Eastern elevation of expression. "On the face of the earth one cannot find such a city. Merchants from the seven climates of the world assemble there: from Egypt, Syria, Anatolia, &c. One finds at Hormuz every

¹ One of the Emperors is said to have actually altered the course of the Nile in 1165, and to have restored the river to its channel through the interference of the Patriarch of Alexandria. See Geddes' *Church Hist. of Ethiopia*, p. 19. See also Ludolph. *Hist. Æthiop.* Comment. l. i. c. 8. No. 66

engage in any other matter contrary to his interest. For the Christians and Prester John often make war upon him from that quarter.¹

thing that can be imagined. Here may be found men of all religions; even Infidels¹ who traffic in perfect liberty, and to whom justice is equally administered; on which account Hormuz has been entitled "Dar-al-iman, or the habitation of safety." He also found Kalikul equally frequented; and the city of Bisnagor, the capital of Hindostan, a prodigy of population, wealth, luxury, and grandeur.

Though the sovereigns of Egypt permitted no European to penetrate through their dominions in the way to India; yet they knew too well the advantage of keeping the Northern channel open between their capital and Europe; and they profited by it, not only in a commercial but political point of view. Whatever credit may be attached to a tale which Sir John Maundeville relates of the ministers of the Sultan acting as spies; it, perhaps, has truth for its basis; and the Saracenic practice of exploring Christendom has laid the foundation of one of the most amusing of the Novels of Boccacio. (*Decamer. Giorn. x. Nov. 9.*)

¹ If a motive of terror overawed the Egyptians, the knowledge of this circumstance might inspire the Abyssinians and Nubians with confidence to attack them. Some information of this kind had probably induced Haythonus to recommend the employment of them in his projected croisade. In his advice to the Pope, he says, "I venture to suggest that your holiness should deign to write to the King of the Nubians, who were converted in Æthiopia to the faith of Christ, by the blessed Apostle St. Thomas. I firmly believe that those Nubians will endeavour to invade the country of the Sultan of Egypt for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and for the respect which they bear to your holiness." (*De Tartaris, c. 57.*) But, if such were the sentiments of the Ethiopians in his time, they afterwards experienced an entire change; for we find a prince of that country pleading a motive of religion as his reason for abstaining from making war upon Egypt. Encienco Emperor of Abyssinia writes to John III. King of Portugal in these terms: "Henceforth I desire no more embassies from the Kings of Egypt, and from the other princes who have been accustomed to send them, but from you alone; for these sovereigns only seek my friendship for the profit which they derive from it, on account of the traffic and quantity of gold which they acquire: but I dislike the commerce of Infidels, and only endure it by custom; and if I fail to make war upon them, it is for fear they should destroy the Temple of Jerusalem, where is the Sepulchre of Jesus Christ, which God hath put into the power of the Mahometans, as well as the churches of Egypt and Syria." (*Marmol. l. x. c. 28, and Geddes, p. 58, &c.*)

¹ Commerce cannot be extensively carried on without toleration. Ascolini, in the earlier part of the thirteenth century notices that which was exercised at Cairo. "La habitent les crestiens, iuis et sarrazins et chascun doute son dieu et garde sa loi ai comme il vult. MS. Mus. Brit. Bibl. Reg. 19. D. 1.

From that day forward when it reaches to sixteen pikes it continues increasing to the time above-mentioned at the end of September, advancing progressively to twenty pikes; few seasons occur in which it does not reach twenty, or nearly that number.

When it is above twenty pikes the whole country immediately adjoining the river is under water: when it only rises to sixteen or seventeen, the earth produces but little, and in that season a great dearth^s prevails. But when it amounts to eighteen it is rather more productive; still more at nineteen, and more at twenty and a half: for then all the lands upon the river bear abundant crops; and it is quite as high as it can be without destroying every thing.

Sir Gilbert learned from the opinions of many persons that this annual rise is caused by the very great rains that fall about March and April full one hundred days journey above Cairo, in the territory of Prester John, through which the river flows.

All the houses and towns near the river are seated above the level upon terraces and hillocks on account of the rise of the water.

Above Cairo the river takes its course for some distance through a country belonging to the Sultan called Said, forty days journey towards India. They say that this country is very well inhabited, containing many large towns and villages on both sides of the river. It is especially so two days journey up the river from Cairo to a church of the

^s Thus Egypt from time immemorial has been occasionally distressed by famine. Many notices of this kind occur in the Scripture. The cause of the remarkable dearth in the days of Joseph is not explicitly pointed out, but it is more than obscurely hinted at in the particulars of the dream of Pharaoh (Genesis, c. xli. v. 17, &c.); and the prophetic warnings of Ezekiel (c. xxix. xxx.) are expressly directed against the river. The Mahomedan histories furnish instances of this nature; and many travellers, among the latter of which Volney may be mentioned, have witnessed the shocking effects of a failure of the inundation. But scarcely any account, either ancient or modern, of so dreadful a scourge, can be compared with the detail of Abdollatiph in his *History of Egypt*. (*Hist. Ægypti Compend.* c. 2.)

Jacobites called Saint George.^h Which journey Sir Gilbert performed in person, and knows nothing of the rest but by information.

There is no end to the number of barks trafficking to and fro upon the river through all the country of the Sultan. These are called *germs*, some carrying latin and others square sails. Nothing else is to be seen ascending and descending the river, and they are all flat-bottomed, on account of the frequent shoals.

In the course of this two days journey are many small islands: the river is a cannon-shot in breadth, and as deep as at Cairo. It proceeds directly from the south without any winding.

The branch of the river which goes from Cairo to Damietta winds exceedingly, and the distance by water is four days passage, equal to one hundred and fifty miles. This branch is narrower and deeper than that of Alexandria and Rosetta, and is, for the most part, a strong bow-shot broad; in many places it is more, but never less when it is at the lowest. The depth then varies in different places. In many parts it is so shallow that the smallest *germs*, even when they are not laden, run aground every minute. And the course of this river is very deceitful: for sometimes the current of water is in one place, sometimes in another. Nor can any exact description be given of the depth, except that it is

^h Probably a convent at Bebé, above Benesuef, where, according to Savary (vol. i. l. 31.) the relics of St. George are still preserved. Its former condition is thus described by Leo Africanus: "*Georgia amplissimum olim fuit ac opulentissimum Christianorum monasterium, D. Georgii appellatione celebre, sexto a Munsia milliario dissitum. Monachi inhabitabant amplius ducenti, qui innumeros agros et pascua possidentes, exteris pariter cibum præbebant, et quod e rebus illis supererat, ad Alcairi Patriarcham trans mittebant, qui inter pauperes Christianos hæc distribui procurabat; verum anno abhinc circiter centesimo, pestifera quædam lues Ægyptum invasit, ejusque monasterii monachos omnes extinxit. Quamobrem Munsie princeps monasterium perpetuo muro cinxit, domosque fabricari instituit, quas diversi generis tum artifices, tum mercatores inhabitant. Ipse quoque pulcherrimorum horticuliculis quibusdam adjacentium amœnitate tractus, eo habitaturus perrexit: verum Patriarcha Jacobitarum apud Sultanum querimoniam faciente, Sultanus aliud monasterium eo loco construi jussit, quo olim civitas vetus ædificata fuerat, tantumque pensionis illi assignavit, qua facillime triginta posset alere monachos.*" (Africa, pp. 725, 726.)

so shallow when at the lowest, that without a good pilot a galliot or lin could scarcely pass. Yet at the end of July, and during the whole of the months of August, September, and October, to the middle of November, but at no other season, any large galley, that has taken in a good Saracen pilot from Rosetta or Damietta, may ascend to Cairo.

Both banks of the river between Cairo and Damietta are thickly set with villages, at the distance of a mile, or at most of two miles from each other. Many of these are ports for germs and barks; several of them are large. Among others is Sammannoud, a village of very considerable size, seated on the side towards Alexandria. And farther from the river, two or three miles up the country, are villages in very great abundance. These are built with clay, reeds, and bad brick. The soil is exceedingly well cultivated, and the inland country produces plenty of wheat, barley, and fruits. They have few trees, except palms, which are of no value as timber,ⁱ nor is there any fortress or fortified town.

ⁱ Belon makes exactly the same remark; and most observers have been struck with the deficiency of the country in this respect. Invading armies of Croisaders in Syria as well as Egypt had suffered from want of this article. Great difficulties were experienced in the first croisade; and but for the large beams accidentally discovered in a cave near the city, with which those towers were constructed, that decided its fate, Jerusalem might much longer, if not effectually, have resisted the efforts of Godfrey and his companions. St. Louis in Egypt was so much distressed for want of timber to erect two military engines, that he was obliged to request his barons to allow a great part of their ships to be taken to pieces. (Joinville, vol. i. p. 138.) From this natural scarcity it became an important branch of commerce;¹ and when the Mamelukes, desirous of opposing the Portuguese in their encroachments on the Indian trade, fitted out a fleet in the Red Sea, the Venetians, alike interested in the measure, which they hoped would restore the ancient channel of trade, permitted the Sultan to cut the timber in the forests of Dalmatia. (Robertson, *Hist. Disquis.* sect. 3.) Pocock doubts whether there are any trees in Egypt, which have not been introduced from other countries. (*Descr. of the East*, c. 8.)

¹ The Bull of Pope Innocent, published in 1252, forbids all Christians under pain of excommunication to furnish the Saracens with any article of this kind. Rymer, vol. i. p. 469.

Many little islands occur in this four days passage up the river, some peopled, others without inhabitants.

Ten miles below Cairo on the way to Damietta another branch leaves the river. It is formed by art, and is called Elberke.^k It takes its course on the side towards Syria, and watering the surrounding country empties itself in a sea-port called the port of Tenes, which is mentioned hereafter. This branch is so shallow that it is scarcely navigable for little germs.

Also at twelve miles distance from Damietta another small but artificial^l branch leaves the river, and watering the surrounding country, in like manner falls into the said port of Tenes. This is still more shallow and narrow than Elberke, and navigable but for very little barks.

^k The position of this canal corresponds more than any to that of Moez. Modern maps exhibit many small cuts through the eastern bank, communicating with this towards Menzaleh. According to Niebuhr eighteen or twenty little canals fall into the lake, from the branch of Damietta, at high Nile. (*Descr. de L'Arabie*, p. 361.)

^l The canal of Ashmoun. Near the entrance of this canal, John of Brienne pitched his camp, and suffered extreme hardships from the letting out of the water. Somewhere also upon the bank of it, as appears from the narrative of Joinville, which is a little confused as to accuracy of geographical position, St. Louis wasted his time and strength in useless skirmishes with the Saracens. Near this place also was fought the bloody battle of Mansoura; and the plague coming upon the French army slew more than the swords of the Infidels. (See Abul-pharagii *Hist. Dyn.* p. 324.)

Before the Annotator closes his remarks upon this chapter, he cannot but add, that this description of the river reflects considerable credit upon the ability and accuracy of the Lord de Villerval. The whole account is so correct and judicious, considering the period in which it was written, and appears drawn up with so much diligence and fidelity, that, as far as it goes, it need not blush to be compared with the representations of more learned travellers. The loss of the chart, which originally accompanied it, and which from interspersed notices seems to have descended to particulars hardly to have been expected, is not to be repaired. Should the reader be inclined to refer to modern draughts of the course of the Nile, and of the adjacent country, those of Norden will be found most satisfactory from the Cataracts to the angle of the Delta; the remainder of the river, from that point to the Boghasses of Damietta and Rosetta, is well supplied by Niebuhr.

Survey of the Port and City of Damietta. Of the River and the smaller Streams which issue from it, and fall into the Port of Tenes.

The city of Damietta is seated along and upon the edge of the river Nile on the side towards Syria, six miles from the place where it discharges itself into the sea, in a small island,^m which is enclosed on two sides by streams, and on the other by the sea. It is of considerable length in the direction of the river, and narrower towards the champaign. It is also very large, but without fortifications on any side, except that all the houses upon the river joining each other form a sort of defence. And there at the water side, both among the houses and elsewhere, are many small gates which serve for the loading and unloading of merchandise; some of which are shut at night and others not: many of the houses there have their wicketsⁿ at their gate. This city is ancient and fallen to decay; and the houses, their lower parts consisting of bad brick, and the roofs, which are for the most part lofty, merely of reeds and clay, would be quite incapable of resisting fire. A report prevails that it has undergone much depopulation, desertion, and decay within the last twenty years;^o nor does it contain any place of strength, except the

^m Gize of Damietta, from three to six miles wide. (Savary, vol. i. l. 23.)

ⁿ *Huis* a leur porte. The various meanings attached to this word are to be found in Du Cange on Villehardouin, No. 14, and in the Glossary to the Louvre edition of Joinville.

^o The city of Damietta, considered by the ancients the key of Egypt, from its exposed situation has been subject to various calamities, and has undergone many changes. It is especially distinguished in the history of the Croisades. It was captured by Roger, King of Sicily, in 1155; attempted in vain by the Princes in 1169; taken by John, King of Jerusalem, in 1219 (Knolles' Hist. of the Turks, p. 88, &c. Vertot, vol. i. p. 126), and by St. Louis in 1249. When the Saracens recovered it after the capture by John, they rased it to the ground, and built another town farther from the sea, to which they gave the same name. (Maundeville, Haython, c. 24. Sanutus, l. iii. p. 11. c. 10.) Others affirm, that after the departure of St. Louis, it was again, with the exception of the mosques, destroyed by the Saracens themselves on the report of a new invasion; and that eleven years after, during the reign of Bibars Elbondoukdari, the mouth of the Nile was effectually choaked to prevent the entrance of any hostile fleet. (Note upon Makrisi in Joinville, vol. ii. p. 241.)

mosques or religious buildings of the Saracens, which are of no account; and a small tower, without the city, built, as they say, by order of Saint Louis.^p

Opposite to this tower, low down at the end of the city towards the sea, is a certain part of the river apparently narrower than any other, either above or below: here it is very deep, and only a strong stone's-throw in breadth. And in this spot, on both sides of the bank, appear situations very favourable for readily erecting towers or castles; because the river has so formed the place as to give it the advantage of strength, especially towards the city: for at a great depth in the water stand fine serviceable walls; there is also a small low square tower, and some houses of no strength where no guard is kept. The land rises a little as you go from this place to the city; but there is a spot altogether favourable for building a large tower on the side of the city.^q By making only a small cut in the land, the river would flow all around, enclose the whole of that spot, and render it marvellously strong.

Opposite to this also, on the other side of the river, is the beginning of a very strong position, where formerly stood a tower in the water, which the river has thrown down: this is all that is there; and any one who chose might in that strait close the river by means of a chain.^r

^p See Pocock, vol. i. p. 19, and Niebuhr. The materials of this building were removed by Mohammed Bey Abudahab to construct a tower upon the shore against the Russians. (Brown, p. 405.)

^q Here the Mamelukes afterwards erected a tower. (Savary, vol. i. l. 23. Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 53.) But this is also now destroyed. From the elevation may be seen the field of battle, in which, according to the Arabs, St. Louis was taken prisoner, called by them, "the field of blood." (Brown, p. 405.)

^r Compare with this the account given by Sanutus in his description of the unfortunate expedition of Amaury (or Almeric) in 1169. "Est ante Damiatam in flumine fortissima turris erecta; ad cujus pedem duæ fortissimæ catenæ fixæ sunt quæ usque ad turrem aliam protenduntur, quæ in civitate est, ne introitus vel exitus pateat navigantibus, nisi de Soldani licentia." (l. iii. p. 6. c. 22; also Hist. Capt. Damiatæ in Gale, vol. ii. c. 8. p. 440.) Ascolini who saw the former city, as it flourished previous to the attack of St. Louis, whilst he seems to allude to this precise spot, gives a good idea of the strength and commerce of

From that end of the city which lies towards the sea, to the mouth of the river which empties itself into that sea, it is six miles by water and as many by land.

The road for these six miles lies over a sandy level heavy for travelling : but containing many streams and water-courses which supply the gardens and the country. To arrive at the city you must cross these by small bridges of wood and earth ; and near the sea, as well as in the neighbourhood of the city you meet with small currents running over the road, and palm-trees in abundance. Rushes and tall reeds* line the edge of the river from the said mouth close up to the city ; for which reason it would be impossible to effect a landing along the bank ; without going up to the city, or landing in small boats at the mouth. There indeed you might get ashore ; although on both sides it is so shallow, that should there be the least wind, or any opposing force, it would be attended with great hazard.

a place, which is still the dépôt between Egypt and Syria, and the mart of all the productions of the Delta. *Damiette est bien garnie de double fosse, et est ennoblée de .xxxviij. hautes tours et de petites sans nombre. et a l'encontre du port el milieu du nil est assise la tour du soldan qui est forte tour et haute. Et au pied de celle tour est fermée une chaîne de fer qui est menée tout en tour. Si que sans la licence du soldan qui est roy de babylonne les neis chargées de touz biens ne peuvent monter ne descendre sans congé du soldan. et si viennent la les neis de puille, de venise, darmenie, dantyoche, de grece, de cypre, et de les autres ports, et de plusieurs illes de mer, et le soldan en reçoit rentes sans nombres.*" (MS. Mus. Brit. Bibl. Reg. 19. D. 1.) The materials of the tower and walls were afterwards applied, according to Maundeville, to the building of the new city. Nor did this situation, which De Lannoy so accurately noted, escape the observation of Niebuhr. "The place, where it is said the Nile was blocked by a chain, seems still discoverable : for on the northern bank within the town there is an old and lofty tower. The river is in this place scarcely more than one hundred feet wide : and opposite to it, on the western bank, may still be seen foundations of another similar tower, of which every thing above ground is already demolished." (Vol. i. p. 53, See also his Plans, pl. 7.)

* "Nor were my emotions unpleasant at beholding for the first time the celebrated Papyrus, pushing its green spikes through the mud of the adjacent ditches. This plant abounded formerly in the neighbourhood ; but the channel of the Nile altering, the seawater has obtained access to the marshes in which they used to grow." (Brown, p. 403.)

Should the object of making a descent in this place be to march over land to the city, you must turn aside a little to avoid those reeds, when you would meet with the above-mentioned rivulets in a level way, which the Saracens could lay under deep water^t in the course of a single night, from their wells near the river worked by wheels and oxen; besides which wells and the river, the surrounding ditches contain a great quantity of water: for the lake of Lestaignon washes up very near the road, within half a mile on the left hand as you go from this mouth to the city.

Exactly in this place at the mouth on the side towards the city a guard of six horsemen is mounted every night upon the shore under a penthouse^u supported by four stone pillars, on account of fusts of war which might arrive there.

The shoal at the mouth of Damietta extends about a mile into the sea, and is two or three or more miles in breadth. In this shoal is a channel and water-course which usually shifts its situation every year with the increase of the river, owing to the sands brought down by the current; and sometimes this channel alters more than once a year. Every one who wishes to enter the Nile must pass through it. It is very dangerous to enter, and more so to pass out, owing to the reflux of the sea, which acts against the current of the river. This water-course and channel is only seven palms and three quarters in depth; nor is it any more when the river in its increase is at the highest than when it sinks to the lowest point.

A person is appointed by the city of Damietta, who constantly takes the soundings to discover when the channel of the mouth shifts: he is

^t This circumstance greatly distressed the croisaders under the Pope's legate, who usurped the command of the army led by John of Brienne. "The river dividing itself into many armes, in some places here and there overflowing, in another cut into many ditches and channels, and in some other pent up by walls and causies, gave to our men a thousand displeasures." (Knolles, p. 89.) These rivulets rendered it the most fertile spot in the country (Savary, vol. i. l. 23.); but that fertility is greatly diminished, since the Nile has taken to the canal of Menouf. (Travels of Lord Valentia, vol. iii. p. 419.)

^u Apentich; a penthouse, an open gallery. (Cotgrave.)

also the pilot who directs those ships and fusts that wish to proceed through the passage and entrance.

Through this channel ships of two hundred tons burden, all gallies and small fusts, enter with a good pilot when the weather is fair, and a gentle breeze sets in from the sea.

Having passed this dangerous mouth there is a good bottom in the current of the river, when it is at the lowest, at least as far as the city. Here the river is a cannon-shot broad; less rather than more in many places, and somewhat winding.

About three miles out at sea off this mouth, there is a good place, and a good road for all great ships to shelter and anchor. The place is only four fathoms in depth, and is exposed to no wind so much as the south-west. All great ships usually come there during the summer; and few enter the mouth, because it is so dangerous, except some small vessels of a hundred and fifty tons at farthest, that purpose to winter or refit there. But no ships venture to remain there during winter, because it affords so little shelter.

When the wind blows hard upon this road, the ships that are there quit it to seek shelter before the port of Tenes, where they are more secure.

From one of the mouths of the Nile to the other is a distance of ninety miles by sea. That country is a very plentiful and fruitful island, abounding with towns and villages inland and along the river. It is the best part of Egypt, and is called Garbie.

The river Nile contains an immense quantity of fish;^x but it is not

^x "We remember the fish, which we did eat in Egypt freely," (Numbers, c. xi. ver. 5.) was the complaint of the murmuring Israelites in the desert, and it conveys the most ancient proof of the continual abundance of fish existing in the Nile, and in the various lakes of the country. Sonnini (Travels, c. 32 and 36.) enumerates the various species. In describing these, as well as the water, Prince Radzivil (Jerusalem, Peregrination, p. 142.) uses nearly the same expressions as De Lannoy. All the fish are very fat, and some of the eels, in particular, extremely unwholesome. (Prosp. Alpinus, l. iv. c. 1.) Their bad qualities are attributed by Sandys to the mud of the river. But, if Benjamin of Tudela is to be believed, any one who has eaten too abundantly of them, has only to drink the water and he will feel no harm.

wholesome to eat heartily of them : the water however is so wholesome that it may be drank in any quantity.⁷

The river Nile also contains fish resembling great wild horses,⁸ and a multitude of crocodiles, especially towards Rosetta.

⁷ Many opinions with regard to the salubrious or noxious properties of the water are examined and balanced by Ludolf. (*Hist. Æthiopic. Comm.* l. i. c. 8. No. 53.) Entirely opposite qualities are ascribed to it by various authors, whose assertions are to be received, says this writer, "cum grano salis." The time of the year, and the pure or turbid state of the stream, are to be taken into the account. The answer of Pescennius Niger to his soldiers, when they murmured for wine, has been frequently repeated. "Have ye the Nile, and do ye ask for wine?" In the same strain Prosper Alpinus is extravagant in its praise. "Quam suavis, et jucunda ad potum sit, dici satis non potest, eoque argumento etiam intelligitur, quod homines, vino quoque assueti, ipsum spernant, aquamque libentius complectantur." (*Rer. Ægyptiac.* l. i. c. 3.) "Than the water," says Sandys, "none is more sweet; being not unpleasantly cold, and of all others the most wholesome." Sonnini (*Travels*, c. 22.) is entirely on the same side, and attempts to set the question at rest. Berthier, in his account of the Egyptian campaign, mentions the delight with which the French soldiers discovered, rushed into, and eagerly drank of the river on their march to Cairo.

⁸ Naturalists and travellers unite in assuring us that neither the hippopotamus nor crocodile are any longer to be found in Lower Egypt. In the days of Abdollatiph, or about the beginning of the thirteenth century, the hippopotamus was not uncommon even about Damietta; and he has given an animated description of its form and qualities, which has been thus rendered by the learned White. "Est animal mole magnum, aspectu terribile, robore præstans; naves assequitur easque submergit, et si quas earum invadat, pereunt: est autem bubalis quam equo similior, nisi quod non sint ipsi cornua. Inest voci ejus rauco, similis hinnitui equino, aut muli potius; estque magno capite, curtis cruribus, insultu ferox, impetu fortis, terribilis forma, fraudulentia metuendus." (*Ægypti Compendium*, c. 3.) He afterwards speaks of the havoc committed by two of these monsters in the environs of Damietta, and the difficulty of destroying them. Radzivil (*Jerosol. Peregrin.* p. 142.) and Sanderson (*Purchas*, vol. i. l. 9. c. 16. § 1.), in 1582 and 4, met with several in the river near Damietta. But in the course of the ensuing century they rapidly disappeared. Sonnini (*Travels*, c. 47.), after comparing various accounts, concludes that the year 1658 was the precise date of the last appearance of the hippopotamus in Egypt.

The crocodile also has retired into the interior of the country.

Survey of the Lake of Lestaignon.

In the city of Damietta a small narrow cut of running water formed like a fosse, leaves the Nile, and passes through the gardens of the city, which are full four miles long. This empties itself at the distance of six miles from Damietta into a great lake of salt ^a water long ago gained by the sea, ^b called Lestaignon, which is two hundred miles in circumference, and full of small barren islands. Through this rivulet, which is only two or three feet in depth, during the season when the water in the main river is at the lowest, some small griperios easily pass without any lading from Damietta into the lake of Lestaignon. They find sufficient depth of water for them in the lake, and there they wait to take in their lading, which other small barks bring from Damietta and place in these griperios and in germs. The part of the lake where they thus take in their cargoes is twenty-five or thirty miles distant from Damietta; thus laden they proceed through the lake of Lestaignon in four or five feet of water to the mouth ^c of the port of Tenes already mentioned where the main sea comes. It is more usual for these small vessels to convey their merchandise from Damietta through this stream, than through the great mouth of the Nile at Damietta, because it is attended with so much danger.

The lake contains a wonderful quantity of fish, ^d considerably more than even the river Nile.

Large germs and griperios which take cargoes from Damietta do not

^a It is salt at low Nile, and only five or six feet in depth; but it rises four or five feet with the increase of the river, and is then fit for drinking. (Niebuhr, *Descript. de l'Arabie*, p. 362.)

^b See Rennell, *Geogr. of Herodotus*, sect. xix. p. 541.

^c Pelusiac mouth. (Id. p. 536.)

^d The navigation and fishery of the lake are supposed to employ six or seven thousand small boats. (Niebuhr, *ut supra*, p. 362.)

at any time go through this rivulet^e to receive their lading at the above-mentioned place of Lestaignon, because it is so shallow. But they pass out by the mouth of the river at Damietta, and coasting round by sea enter the port of Tenes; then they always return by the lake of Lestaignon in sufficient depth of water to the place above-mentioned, where having also a good depth they take in their cargoes from little boats as has been related.

It is not advisable for any captain who has a fust as large as a griperio or great germ to enter the port of Tenes with a view of proceeding through the lake and passage to Damietta, unless he has a proper pilot of the country. Because it is very difficult to keep the track between several small islands, where owing to the shallowness of many places you find yourself aground every minute.

It is seventy miles by this way from Damietta to the port of Tenes, which discharges itself into the sea: round by sea the distance is also the same.

Survey of the Port of Tenes.

Tenes is a very good port for small vessels, gallies, and flat-bottomed fusts, and the entrance is very wide from shore to shore. It is situated to the south-west as you arrive by sea. But as you advance a little further between the opposite shores there is a mouth two or three miles broad, equally dangerous for passing in and out as that of Damietta, on account of the re-action of the sea against the streams of fresh water which fall into the lake of Lestaignon and consequently into the port. The entrance into this mouth consists of a single channel, called the water-course, no more than seven or eight quarters in depth; by which you are obliged to enter and pass out, although the opening of the

^e This small stream is mentioned by the historian of the siege of Damietta in 1218. After the capture of the city, parties were sent "per pervium flumen in naviculis, qui fluvius Thannis appellatur, ut de casalibus tollerent sibi victualia." (Cap. Damiatæ, c. 21. Gale, vol. ii. p. 451.)

mouth is very large. This channel^f is frequently shifting, owing to the surprising currents which move the sands from one side to another; and any ship of two hundred tons, that has no pilot, can scarcely enter; but with a good pilot, ships of three and four hundred tons pass in with ease, when a favourable gentle breeze sets in from the sea. When you are within the mouth, there is a very good bottom at the depth of two, three, and four fathoms.

Two or three miles out at sea off this mouth there is very good anchorage for large vessels and shelter from many winds; owing to the size of the entrance formed by the distance of the opposite shores, which afford shelter, though it is no more than an open road. But in winter when vessels dare not continue before Damietta owing to boisterous weather, they come for security to lie at anchor here.

The mouth, in the part where the channel begins, is about two or three miles broad, and the port, contracting by degrees, communicates, like a river, with the lake of Lestaignon, as has been already described.

Neither town nor village stand upon the port, only two or three half ruined uninhabited houses: and yet people, barks, camels, and merchandise are constantly passing to and fro in this place by land or by water; for by both of these it is the direct road from Cairo to Gaza and Jerusalem.

^f Through the slip of sandy country, which lies between the lake and the sea, called El-Arish, three streams pass into the Mediterranean. The most eastern of these is the largest. (Niebuhr, *ut supra*, p. 362.)

The whole account of the lake may be sufficiently illustrated by reference to an able Memoir of General Andreossi in *Mem. sur L'Egypte* (vol. i. p. 163, et seq.) Accompanied by the sçavans Lefevre and Bouchard, he surveyed the lake in October 1798, taking the soundings and a chart, for the formation of which he measured the coast with the chain, to the extent of more than 45,000 toises. In this chart may be seen the small canal at Damietta, the outlets by which the lake discharges itself into the Mediterranean, the islands and the site of the ruins of Pelusium and Pharma. See also the chart and description of Rennell. (*Geography of Herodotus*, sect. xvii. p. 449.)

Survey of Jaffa.

Jaffa stands upon the sea-coast of Syria, two hundred miles from the port of Tenes by sea, and thirty miles from Jerusalem by land. It is the nearest port to Jerusalem, and was formerly a large fortified city. At present it is entirely in a state of decay, having only three uninhabited vaults,^z

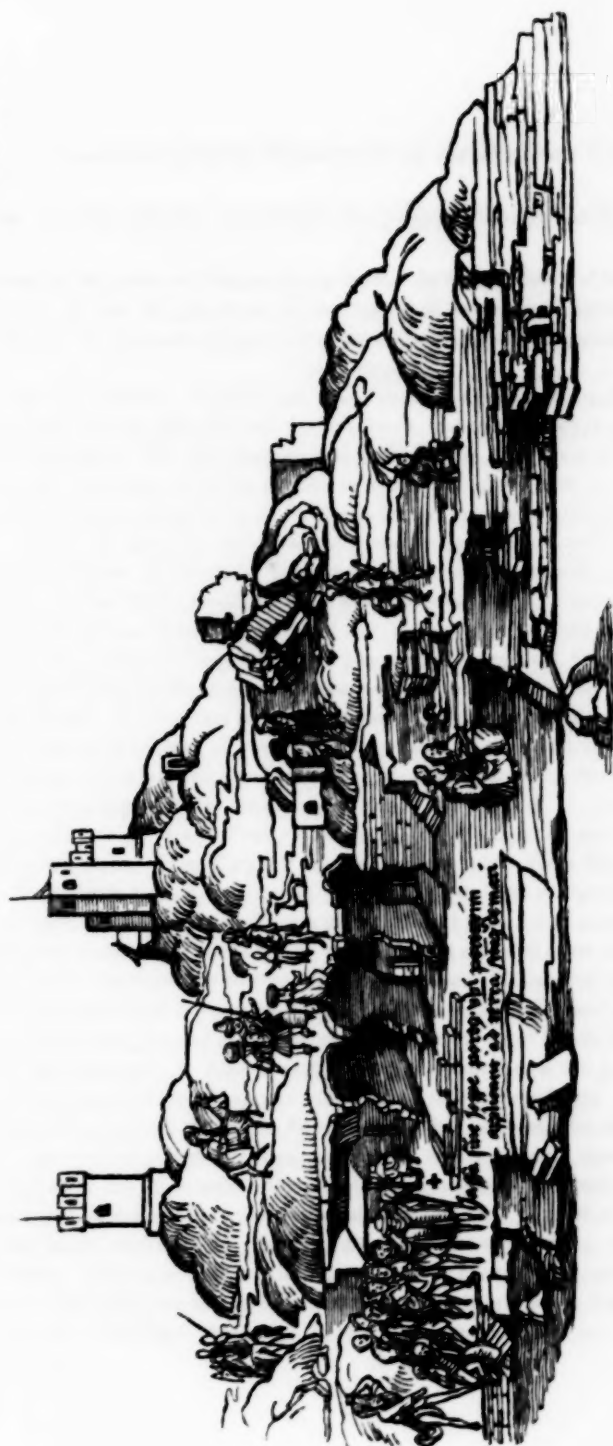
^z Jaffa had continued in ruins ever since the expulsion of the Franks, and the only accommodation for strangers was to be found in three miserable vaults, which are often mentioned by the pilgrims. These continued in use till the seventeenth century, in the course of which the Franks were more commodiously lodged. (Le Brun, *Voyages*, c. 45.) The Armenian convent is capable of containing four or five thousand persons. (Lusignan, *Revolt of Ali Bey*, &c. p. 186.)

We have already observed the frequency of pilgrimage in the time of De Lannoy, and shall in this place introduce some farther details concerning it.

At Jaffa began the pardons of the Holy Land (B. de la Brocquiere, p. 474.), but here also began the trial of the pilgrim. As soon as he reached the shore he discovered that he was in a land of intolerance and oppression. Guards were immediately despatched to announce his arrival, and his first lodging was a filthy cave, which might serve to remind him that he was now approaching the sepulchre of him, who, in his life despised and rejected of men, had not even where to lay his head. Insult, exaction, and robbery attended him in his course towards the interior; and he might think himself happy if, sailing homeward from Jaffa, he had escaped the pestilence of the country, as well as the perils of the way.

Annexed is a view of Joppa, copied from the narrative of Breidenbach, whose book has been quoted and described in a former part of this work. The pilgrims are in the act of landing, and a Saracen is inflicting blows upon one of the troop to the terror of his companions. At the lower part of the ruinous town appear the caves, and above them sits one who from his attendants, the dog, and the page bearing his bow, seems a person of distinction. He is in the act of examining a pilgrim; and farther to the right is another undergoing a scrutiny of a stricter kind: others, both mounted and on foot, are represented as released and on their road. And, as, according to the custom of the old masters, various actions are introduced into one point of view; two horsemen on the left are probably intended for the guards, which as soon as the ship arrived, set out to give notice to the ammiral at Ramla. A view of the caves is also to be found in Joannis Cotovici *Itiner.* Antwerp, 1619.

William Wey, B.D. Fellow of the Royal College of St. Mary and St. Nicholas at Eton, near Windsor, who died in 1474, had been twice to the Sepulchre, and had once visited



VIEW OF JAFFA.

From one of the Pictures in Bernhard de Breydenbach's, "Opus Transmarinæ Peregrinationis ad Sepulchrum Domini in Jerusalem," fol. Megunt. 1486.

where no one dwells, in which the pilgrims lodge on their way to the

the shrine of St. James of Compostella in Spain. At the beginning of his Itinerary (MSS. Bodl. 565.) he has left directions for the benefit of succeeding pilgrims, which may give some idea of the best mode of proceeding upon this hazardous expedition in that age.

" A Provysyon.

" A good provysyon. When a man is at Venyse and purposeth by the grase of God to passe by the see unto port Jaff and the holy londe, and so to sepulkyr of owre Lord cryst Jhu in Jherusalem. He most dyspose hym in thys wyse. 1. Fyrste yf ye goo in a galley make yowre covenante wyth the patrone by tyme, and chese yow a place in the seyde galey in the overest stage, for in the lawyst under hyt ys ryght smolderyng hote and stynkyng. 2. And ye schal pay for yowre galey and for yowre mete and drynke to port Jaff and ayen to Venyse xl ducatt for to be in a goyd honeste plase. and to have yowre ese in the galey and also to be cherisheit. Also when ye schal yowre covenant take take goyde hede that the patron be boundeyn to yow afor the duke other lord of Venyse yn an c doketts to kepe all maner covenants wyth yow that ys to say thatt he schal conduce yowe to certeyne havenys by the way to refreshe yow and to gete yow fresch water and fresch bred and flesch. 3. Also that he schal not tary longer at none havyn than thre days at the most with oute consent of yow all. 4. And that he schal nat take yn to the vessel nother goyng nother comyng no maner of marchandyse wyth owte yowre wylle to destresse yow yn yowre plasyng and also for taryng of passage by the see. 5. And by the havenes he schal lede yow yf ye wyl First to Pole c mile from Venyse by water. From Pole to Curphew vi c myle. From Curphew to Modyn iii c mile. From Modyn to Cande iii c myle. From Cande to Rodys iij c myle. From Rodys to Baffe in cipres iiij c myle. From Baffe to port Jaffe iij c myle wyth owte more. 6. But make covenante that ye com nat at Famagust in cipres, for no thing, for meny englysh men and other also have dyde. for that eyre ys so corrupte ther abowte and the water also. 7. Also that yowre patrone yeff yow every day hote mete twyes at too melyn. Yn the morning at dyn and afternone at soper. And the wyne that ye schal drynke be goyd and yowre watyr fresch yf ye may com ther too. and also bystocte. 8. Also ye most ordeyne for yowre selfe and yowre felow and ye have eny iij barellys eche of a quarte which quarte holdyth x galynys. Too of thes barell schal serve for wyne and the therde for water. In that on barell take rede wyne and kep evyr in store and tame hyt not yf ye may tyl ye com hamwarde ayen withoute syknes cause hyt other eny other nede. For ye schal thys in specyal note and ye had the flux yf ye wolde yeff xx doketes for a barell ye schal none have after ye passe moche venyse. And that othyr barell schal serve when ye have dronke up yowre drynkyng wyne to syl ageyne at the havyn. Where ye next com un to. 9. Also ye most by yow a chest to put yn yowr thyngys. And yf ye may have a felow with yow too or thre y wolde then by a chest that were as brode as the barell were long. In that one ende ye wolde have loke and key. and

Sepulchre. The country is a sort of level plain, except the site of the

a lytyl dore and ley that same barell that ye wolde spende frust at the same dore ende. for yf the galyemen other pylgremys may com ther to meny wyl tame and drynke ther of and stele yowre watyr whyche ye wolde nat mysse oft time for yowre wyne. And in the other part of the cheste ye may ley yowre bred ches spyses. and al other thynges. 10. Also ye most ordeyne your bistockte to have wyth yow. for thow ye schal be at the tabyl wyth yowre patrone not wyth stondyng ye schal oft tyme have nede to yowre vytelys bred chese eggys frute and bakyn wyne and other to make yowre collasyun. For sum tyme ye schal have febyl brede wyne and stynkyng water. many tymes ye schal be ful fayne to ete of yowre owne. 11. Also y consel yow to have wyth yow oute of venyse confettyunnys confortatynys laxatynys restoratynys gyngever ryse fygyys. reysenes. gret and smal whyche schal do yow gret ese by the wey. pepyr saferyn clowys masys a fewe as ye thenge nede. and powder dekke. 12. Also take wyth yow a lytyl cawdren and fryyng pan. dysches platerrys sawserrys of the cuppys of glas. a grater for brede. and such nessaries. 13. Also when ye com to venyse ye schal by a bedde by seynt Markys cherche ye schal have a fedyr bedde a mattres too pylwys too peyr schettes and a qwylt. and ye schal pay iij dokettes. And when ye com ayen bryng the same bedde to the man that ye bowt hyt of and ye schal have a doket and halfe ayen thow hyt be broke and worne. 14. Also make yowre chaunge at Venyse and take wyth yow at the leste xxx doketes of grotes and grossynes ye schal have at Venyse xxviij of new grossetes and di'. For when ye passe venyse ye schal have in sum plase xxvj grossetes or xxviij. And take also wyth yow iij other iij doketys of soldys that galy halpanse of venyse for every grosset iij soldys. Take also wyth yow fro venyse a doket other too of torneys hyt ys bras money of candi hyt wyll go by all the wey ye schal have viij for a solde at Venyse. at Modyn and Cande oftyn tyme but iij. v other vj at the most for a solde. 15. Also by yow a cage for half a dosen of hennys or chekyn to have wyth yow in the galey. For ye schal have nede un to them meny tymes. And by yow halfe a buschel of myle sede of venyse for them. 16. Also take a barell wyth yow close for a sege for yowre chamber in the galey. hyt ys ful nessessary yf ye be syke that ye com not in the eyre. 17. Also whan ye com to havyn townys yf ye wyl ye may by eggys yf ye com by tyme to londe for then ye may have goyde chep for they be ful nessessary in the galey sum tyme fryed wyth oyle olyfe and sum tyme for a caudel. 18. Also when ye com to havyn townys yf ye schal tary there iij days go by tyme to londe for then ye may have logyng by fore other. For hyt wyl be take up a none. And yf eny goyd vytel be. bee ye speed afore other. 19. Also when ye com to dyverse havynns be wel ware of dyverse frutys. For they be not acordyng to yowre complexion. And they gender a bloody fluxe. And yf an englysch man have that sykeness hyt ys a marvel and scape hyt but he dye therof. 20. Also when ye schal com to port Jaff take wyth yow oute of the galey un to the londe too gordys one wyth wyne another wyth

city, which stood aloft upon an eminence, and might be made a place of strength.^h

^h The vicinity of this place to Jerusalem rendered it of importance to the Franks in all their religious expeditions as pilgrims or warriors. It accordingly became the theatre of much military enterprise. Here on the shore, in sight of the city and castle, Richard Cœur de Lion, rivalled the heroes of romance, and astonished the Saracens by his deeds in arms. The king, with only eighty knights and four hundred cross-bow-men, "hasted to Joppe by sea: Saladin having already taken the town, the souldiers were upon delivery of the castle; when King Richard brake in among them like a furious lion, and chased the Saracens to Ramula. But hearing the next day of the king's small number they returned. Saladin sent 62,000 to set upon the king, which encompassed his tents, and awaked him with their noise. He gate upon his horse, attended by eleven others, and beyond belief laid about him, making way for the rest, that they in the towne also made out, and quited the field of them." (Purchas, vol. i. l. 8. c. 4. § 2, from Matth. Paris.)

Safadin, the successor of Saladin, took a bloody revenge for this repulse; for he stormed the city in 1193, and put 20,000 Christians to the sword. (Vertot, vol. i. p. 101.) St. Louis, during his stay in the Holy Land, rebuilt the walls at an immense expence, and furnished them with twenty-four towers, A. D. 1250. (Joinville, vol. i. p. 216.) But these were destroyed by the Sultan who expelled the Franks from Syria, and Jaffa continued little better than a heap of ruins for several ages. "Totaliter est destructa," says Wey, (MS. fol. 20.); and Sandys (Travels, p. 153.) found no part of it standing. By degrees it revived to more recent miseries. It suffered severely in the sieges undertaken against it, by Ali Bey in 1771, and Mohammed Abudahab in 1776. (Volney, vol. i. c. 8 and 9.) It was also taken by assault by the French, March 6, 1799.

water eche of a potel at the lest. for ye schal none have tyl ye com to ramys and that ys ryght febyl and dyre. And at Jherusalem hyt ys goyde wyne and dere. 21. Also se that the patron of the galey take charge of yowre harneys wyth yn the galey tyl ye com ayen to the galey. ye schal tary in the holy lond xiiij other xiiij days. 22. Also take goyde hede of yowre knyves and other smal thynges that ye ber upon yow for the sarsenes wyl go talkynge wyth yow and make goyde chere but they wyl stele fro yow that ye have and they may. 23. Also when ye schal take yowre asse at port Jaffe be not to longe be hynde yowre felowys for and ye com by tym ye may chese the beste mule other asse. for ye schal pay no more for the best then for the worst. And ye most yeve yowre asman curtesy a grot other a grosset of venyse. And be not to moche by fore nether to fer by hynde yowre felowys for drede of strewys.ⁱ 24. Also whan ye schal ryde to flum Jordan take wyth yow out of Jerusalem bred wyne water hard chese

ⁱ In the Latin version it is "malorum." Q. stragglers?

Below these three vaults, is a little portⁱ apparently formed as it were by art for flat-bottomed and small fusts, such as griperios and galliots: a galley could scarcely enter. This small port has two mouths: the best and largest is as you arrive about south, south-west; and the other about east, south-east.

and harde eggys and suche vytellys as ye may have for too days for ther nether by the way ys none to sell. 25. Also kepe on of yowre botell other gordys wyth wyne and ye may when ye com from flum Jordan to munte quarentyne. And yf ye go up to the plase where oure lorde Jhu cryste fastyde xl days and xl nhyte hyt ys passyng hote and ryght hyee. When ye com down ayen for no thyng drynk no water but rest you a lytyl and then ette bred and drynke clene wyne wyth oute water after that grete hete water genderyth a gret fluxe other a fever. other bothe than a man may haply lese hys lyfe ther by. Kepe all thes thynges afor wryt and ye schal wyth the grace of God spede yn yowre journey to goo and cum to the plesur of God and encrease of yowre blys the whyche Jh's graunt yow Amen."

In after times, owing to the difficulty of ascending the country, peculiar privileges were granted by the Popes to those who in repairing to Joppa should merely set foot on holy ground. Prince Radzivil, who from pious motives performed the journey a hundred years later than Wey, has thus explained the matter. *Illud etiam prætermittendum non est Pontifices maximos huic loco Joppæ singulare quoddam indulgentiarum privilegium concessisse. Nam qui peregrinus huc appulerit (prout recta Cypro et ex aliis Christianorum locis multi adnavigant) etiamsi ulteriora Terræ Sanctæ non visitaverit, littus attingens eadem indulgentias consequitur, quas eadem personaliter accedentes adipisci solent. Id autem ea de causa concessum est, quod propter bella, Arabum latrocinia, pestem, morbos, paupertatem, multi ex peregrinis inde ulterius progredi non possunt.*" (*Jerosol. Peregr.* p. 125.)

From various licences granted to the masters of vessels for the transportation of pilgrims preserved in the *Fœdera* of Rymer, it appears as though about this period St. James of Compostella, being easier of access, had attracted a great proportion of the Western, or at least British devotees, and latterly proved a formidable rival to the Sepulchre. At length the reformation in many countries of Europe obliterated the passage to Jerusalem, and pilgrimage since that event has been upon the decline. Yet the practice is not totally abandoned; and Jaffa still annually receives the remnant of those who as an exercise of piety visit the hallowed scenes of Palestine, in which the divine Author of our religion lived and died. (Brown, p. 411. See also an account in Lusignan, *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 234, et seq. and in his rival Volney, vol. ii. p. 304, et seq.)

ⁱ Jaffa presents an object rather extraordinary in the Levant, a good wharf. (Brown, page 410.)

Three miles out at sea is a good anchorage for large vessels at the depth of four or five fathoms ; but it is exposed to all the winds blowing from the sea.

At Jaffa are two springs upon the sea-shore, and whoever digs in the sand upon this shore will every where meet with a good spring.^k

There are always guards at Jaffa to give notice at Ramla of the arrival of merchants and pilgrims.

Survey of Ramla.

It is ten miles by land from Jaffa to Ramla, through a very fine flat country, and a succession of good villages, in some of which are wells of fresh water ; but the supply is very small, because it seldom rains. When abundance of rain falls they have fine crops. There are beautiful gardens around Ramla, and a considerable stock of all kinds of fruit-trees, considering the drought of the country. The August of that country is in the middle of our July.^l

Ramla is a large unfortified town seated in a plain ; the houses, roofs and all, built of fine white hewn free-stone ; all of them have terraces, and are for the most part low. This town belongs to the Sultan, and is the residence of an ammiral.^m

^k Pocock (vol. ii. part 1. p. 3.) asserts the same ; yet water is scarce, being principally carried by women from a small river in the vicinity. One of the governors engaged to remedy this inconvenience ; but before he could accomplish his purpose, he was strangled by order of that barbarian, Djezzar Pacha of Damascus. (Brown, p. 411.)

^l The harvest is very early at Ramla according to the historians in the *Gesta Dei*, Raymond de Agiles, p. 173, and Fulcherius Carnotensis, p. 413. See also Harmer's Observations concerning the weather in the Holy Land, vol. i. pp. 41, 68.

^m On this fertile spot the adventurers of the first Croisade, in 1099, found ample supplies of corn and provisions for themselves and their cattle. Here they received intelligence concerning the Saracens from their spies, and from the Syrian Christians of Beth-lehem. The inhabitants of Ramla having fled upon their approach, they continued in the town four days to refresh and prepare themselves for the siege of Jerusalem. (*Gesta Francor. Expugn. Hierus. in Gesta Dei*, p. 572.) The condition of this place in later days has been very deplorable. (Lusignan, p. 186.)

Brief Survey of Jerusalem.

The distance from Ramla to Jerusalem is twenty miles, through a country consisting entirely of rocky mountains. Very little cultivation is to be met with, the land being poor and wild, with here and there a few vines. There are three or four hamletsⁿ or villages in the way, and others are visible on either hand. Water is found only in two places upon the road in very deep and dangerous wells. But near Jerusalem you discover many castles upon lofty mountains, some fallen to decay, others in a perfect state. These were built by the Christians in times past; and some of them are still inhabited by Christians of the cincture, and contain wells.

Jerusalem is seated on the slope of a hill,^o having one side towards the west, and the other towards the east. It stands above the valley of Jehosaphat,^p and that of Siloë. And on the eastern side, adjoining the walls of the city, is the temple of Solomon; the golden gate too is very near the walls. Below, in the valley of Jehosaphat, is the sepulchre of our Lady;^q and farther off towards the east, upon an eminence, is the Mount of Olives.

Jerusalem is longest from south to north, and the breadth of it is

ⁿ The word *casale*, or *casellum*, frequently used by the writers of the Croisades, is sometimes applied to towns of considerable size, and sometimes to smaller collections of habitations, to villages or hamlets. (See Lithgow's *Travels*, part viii. p. 353.) Thus Damietta is called by Sanutus "*casale longum*," and the same term is used by Matthew of Paris when he speaks of Mansoura, in the account of the expedition of St. Louis in 1250. (Vinisauf in Gale, vol. ii. p. 362, and Hist. Capt. Damiatæ, *ibid.* pp. 440, 451.) Will. Tyriensis in Bongars, p. 808—1031, explains it by "*loca suburbana*." For a variety of testimonies upon this subject see the Glossary of Du Cange.

^o Acra.

^p This valley, and that of Siloë, are designated in D'Anville's plan as the valley of Kedron and the valley of Benhinnom. *Dissertat. sur l'étendue de Jerusalem.*

^q A curious article of intelligence is given, in a Latin description of the holy places, concerning this valley. "*Inter templum domini et montem oliveti est vallis iosaphat: ubi*

from east to west; and about the middle of the city, very near south, stands the church of the Holy Sepulchre.^r Jerusalem is well built with

virgo maria ab angelis sepulta fuit. *In quam vallem, mundum judicaturus, veniet dominus.* (MS. Bodl. 2661. 750.)

In this manner were the superstitious visitants imposed upon by the resident Christians, whose office it was to point out the sacred spots, and who delighted to load them with wonders. We may therefore search in vain in the greater part of the few accounts, which the earliest of these religious travellers since the Croisades have left us, for any interesting particulars respecting the existing condition of this city and country. They are filled with memorials of the weakness of the human mind. The mention of any place is immediately followed by the superstitious legend attached to it, or the number of pardons to be obtained there. The rhymers are intolerably barren. Take a sample from the opening of William Wey;

"Fro Venyse to Port Jaff by the see
Hyt ys ij myle and hundrys thre
And yn that see ther ys a place
Wher the whale swallowyd Jonas
Ther ys yn the same by syde that
A Stone that Seynt Peter fyschyd at." &c. &c.

Wey has, however, a mixture of a few better things in the prose part of his book; but of the above-mentioned unprofitable class are two MSS. preserved in the Bodleian Collection (MS. Laud. 1. 74. fol. 65, and MS. Bodl. 2004. 57.), besides the Latin MS. already quoted, and observations made in Pilgrimage in the first volume of Purchas. These are little more than mere catalogues of distances, indulgences, and scriptural and traditional references. Breidenbach is strongly infected with the same taste. Baumgarten and De la Brocquiere are perhaps some of the best among the old pilgrims, whose accounts have been handed down.

^r This venerable building which contained the ostensible cause of so many murderous expeditions to the East, was respected by the Mahometans themselves; and they have even suffered the tombs of Godfrey and Baldwin to remain uninjured to the present day. Indeed the Saracens appear to have been much more careful of this edifice than the Christians, at one period of the barbarous ages. It might be imagined that those who had made such sacrifices to become the masters of it, would have preserved it inviolate, and transmitted the same disposition to their successors. But the contrary seems to have been the case. It should seem as though the settlers after the first Croisade manifested too little respect for it, and that, whatever might have been the fate of it, under the reign of the devout Godfrey of Bouillon, it became, probably after his death, an object of plunder. A contemporary rhymers, who witnessed this disgraceful conduct, gives an account of the

handsome houses of fine hewn free-stone, all with terraces. But it has

revolutions which this structure had undergone; ¹ and in an apostrophe to King Baldwin, exhorting him to remedy the prevalent neglect and abuses, proves that the Christians were not very careful to preserve inviolate that which they had lavished so much blood to obtain.

" Gratias agamus Deo qui nostris temporibus
Templum suum cum sepulcro sicut ipsi cernimus
De turcorum perfidorum liberavit manibus
Atque suis excolendum reddidit fidelibus.
Sed adversus eos quiddam graviter conquerimur
Qui eidem templo modo deservire cernimur.
Nam cum bona sua templo sunt ab infidelibus
Conservata sicut patet in structuris ipsius
Neque enim de musino sive de marmoribus
Opera tot essent facta extra vel interius
Nisi de collatis sibi maximis redditibus.
*Illud vero venerari qui deberet amplius
Rebus suis spoliavit Christianus populus.*"

Verum tu Baldwine miles invictissime
Fac eos qui rapuerunt templo sua reddere
Erit enim sempiternum nobis ad opprobrium
Si ruinam patiatur tempore fidelium
Quod honeste tenuerunt nationes gentium
Qui tamen ipsius templi non noverunt dominum."

MS. Bibl. Bodl. 2394. Bodl. 603.

Eighty-eight years the Christians retained it in their possession, till at length it was wrested from them by Saladin in 1187. When this prince recovered the city, he made the patriarchal church the object of his especial care; for he caused the bells to be melted down, and the building to be washed with rose water, and converted into a mosque. Though it was afterwards restored to the Franks by Al Kamel in 1227, they were in a few years obliged to relinquish it, never more to resume the possession of the sacred tomb. (Vertot, *ut supra*.)

Many descriptions of the city were printed in the sixteenth century; a list of which may be seen at the end of *Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ*. Col. Agrip. 1589. But Sandys and

¹ The writer apparently confounds this building with the original Jewish temple; but this was a traditional error among the pilgrims. See Vertot, vol. i. p. 89.

² Perhaps by way of sending them as relics to Europe.

very few springs, and great scarcity of water,* for very little rain falls there. But should it rain abundantly, they have wells and cisterns enough to contain plenty of water. The best water rises in a well which is in the church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Maundrell are, perhaps, the best guides. The judicious relation of the latter is the subject of universal praise; and Sandys has all the devotion without the blind credulity of the pilgrim character. At the sight of the relic in possession of the Turks, he exclaims, "O who can without sorrow, without indignation, behold the enemies of Christ to be the Lords of his Sepulchre!" (Travels, p. 161.)

Latterly, owing to the decrease of the revenues arising from pilgrimage, the church had been much neglected, and was rapidly falling to decay (Brown, p. 413.): when on the night of the 11th of October 1808 it was destroyed by fire. The interior of the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre is said, however, to have escaped without the least injury. (See Literary Panorama, Nos. 35, 36, 37. May, June, and July 1809.)

* The want of it was bitterly experienced by the army under Godfrey of Bouillon. (Gul. Tyr. l. viii. p. 7. and Albert. Acquensis, l. vi. p. 6.) This is noticed in an old MS. Romance of the first Croisade, Bibl. Bodl. Hatton, 68.

"Mult angoissement fud lost de eue greuee
Por en porent trouer al mains dune iornee
Et cele que i trouent ere si eschaufee
Et quant ele est en lost a paine est a desee," &c.

The thirst of the besiegers was so extreme that "they digged holes in the earth, and put the moist turfs to their mouths; they licked the dewy marbles, and sewed beasts skins newly killed to fetch water." (Purchas, vol. i. l. 8. c. 1.)

While thus they daily suffered under a burning sun, the Saracens within the city were amply supplied, principally from an enormous cistern. (Alb. Acquensis, l. vi. p. 22.) The facility with which every local advantage of this nature may be cut off, without the walls, has ever constituted one of the best defences of the place. When Saladin expected to be attacked by the confederate Christians, he began, according to the author of his life, translated by Schultens, "aquas extra urbem corrumpere, cisternasque et puteos diruere; ita ut circa nihil remaneret omnino quod bibi posset. Contentissimo studio et labore isti rei perficiendæ incubuit, quod terra Hierosolymitana apta nata haud sit ad puteos aquæ limpidæ ac perennis effodiendos, quæ magno duroque saxo in montem consurgat." (Bohadin, Vita Saladini, c. 155.) And the same historian asserts that the French and English quarrelled upon the difficulty of procuring water, when, led by Richard Cœur de Lion, they approached in sight of Jerusalem and retired. (Id. c. 156.) This concurrent cause of the failure of that attempt is, I believe, unnoticed by Christian writers.

At the distance of a cannon-shot without the city towards the west, is a small castle^t out of repair.

Also towards the west, within the walls of the city, stands another small castle^u of very fine hewn free-stone called the Castle of David, seated upon a little eminence, inhabited and guarded; it is strong on the side towards the country, and in some places lined with stone; yet in other parts all around and within the city it is but weak, has shallow and indifferent fosses, and would be incapable of holding out after the capture of the city.

Jerusalem is surrounded by walls, but they are neither lofty nor in good condition, and in some places it has a few poor towers. Here and

^t *Turris Hippicos.* D'Anville. *Psephina turris.* Castel Pisano.

^u The fortress of the city during the Croisades. It had been of considerable magnitude; and the consequence attached to it may be collected from a circumstance related by Vertot; that the ambassadors soliciting the aid of Philip II. King of France, presented him with the keys of this important tower, as well as those of the city, as a sort of investiture or right of possession which he was to acquire by his arms. (Vertot, vol. i. p. 78.) Benjamin of Tudela mentions it as the strongest building in Jerusalem; and the Archbishop of Tyre has thus described it: "*Turris David, opere constructa solidissimo, quæ quasi præsidium civitatis cum turribus, muris et antemuralibus sibi annexis, universæ sub se positæ præeminet civitati.*" (Gul. Tyr. in *Gesta Dei*, p. 747.)

When during the siege of 1099, the besiegers in the quarter of Godfrey were constructing that moveable tower which proved so fatal to the Saracens, the latter, considering it impossible to move the ponderous machine from the place where it stood, boasted in derision, that if it could be advanced to the walls they would bring the tower of David from the other side of the city to oppose it. (*Gesta Franc. expugnant. Hierusalem*, in *Gesta Dei*, p. 575.) Immediately after the capture of the place, the garrison, terrified with the general slaughter which they beheld from the walls of this castle, surrendered it to Raymond, who, with an honourable exception to the savage treatment which the inhabitants experienced at large, granted them safe conduct to Ascalon. (Raimond de Agiles, p. 179.)

It is still the citadel, the residence of the Turkish Aga, and commands a prospect of the Red Sea, Judæa, and Arabia. (D'Anville, *Dissert. sur l'étendue de Jerusalem*, pp. 19, 23.)

^t P. 41. Ed. L'Empereur. Notwithstanding the apparent deviations from truth contained in the narrative of his journey, I am unwilling to reject the whole of it as dross. His description of this tower is circumstantial and striking.

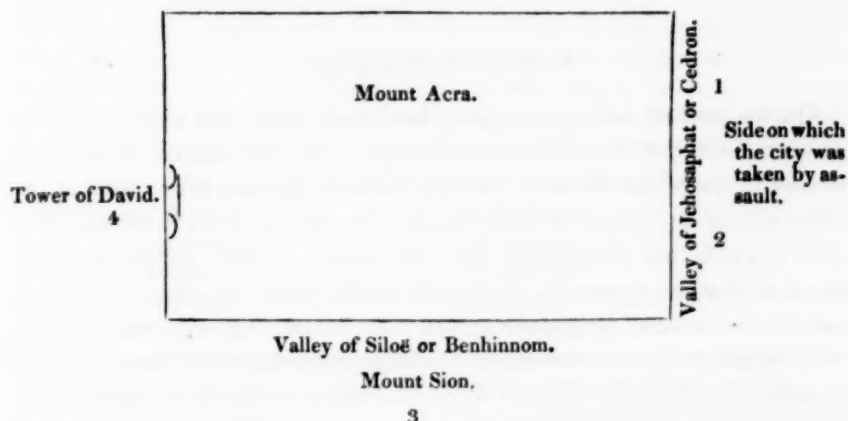
there also are some trifling shallow fosses. It appears unable to resist a strong body of men,^x and its chief strength consists in its situation.

The surrounding country is very poor, full of mountains, very deficient in water, and producing nothing but a few thinly scattered vines.

Survey of the Port of Acre.

Acre has an excellent port for gallies and other fusts, sheltered from all winds, and enclosed by great rocks. It seems to have been originally formed by art, and is two miles in circumference. The entrance^y is to the north-east, as you arrive, a cross-bow-shot in breadth, and deep

^x The following is a representation of the different positions of the besieging army in the memorable first Croisade.



1. Position of Godfrey of Bouillon.
 2. Position of Robert Count of Normandy and Robert Count of Flanders.
 3. Position of Raymond.
 4. Position of Tancred: but he afterwards drew off to support the two Roberts. (See *Gesta Franc. expugn. Hierus.* in *Gesta Dei*, p. 574.)
- ^y It is greatly choked up since the time of Fakr-el-din, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. (Volney, vol. ii. p. 227.)

enough to admit vessels from four to five hundred tons burden. Having entered, they cast anchor very near the largest rock, which forms the port, where the water is deeper than in any other part of the harbour.

No vessels enter that are above five hundred tons burden: but they cast anchor directly before the said entrance, in a place where there is an excellent bottom for large vessels of every kind. Here they ride securely during all blowing weather, owing to the favourable projections of the shore. The winds most troublesome there are the north and north-west.

On the same side is also another small port very well enclosed by a wall, where the sea comes. It serves to contain small fusts, and might still be easily put in order for the reception of galleys.

This matter and others may be shewn by the draught that is made of it, much better than by any account that can be given in writing.

Form of the City of Acre.

On the port of Acre, a tongue of land upon which the city was seated projects from the terra firma into the sea. The sea washes up within a stone's throw of the walls on the side towards the said port; and on the other side of the tongue towards the sea, the wall was built in the sea. The side towards the champaign had fine double fosses* perpendicularly faced with stone apparently dry; and double walls with large projecting round towers faced with stone on the talus below. The city was formerly very handsome, and contained buildings remarkable for their size and beauty,^a churches and palaces of great dimensions, built in a most costly

* Henry, Count of Champagne, and nephew to the King of England, who by marriage with Isabella had obtained a right to the kingdom of Jerusalem, fell from a window in the wall of Acre, as he was looking upon a review of troops in the plain below, and died in the fosse. An. 1193. (Vertot, vol. i. p. 101.)

^a The importance and beauty of Acre and its miserable downfall have been the theme of much panegyric and lamentation. This city was celebrated for the splendour of its buildings, and the number and variety of its population; and being of great consequence in

manner of fine hewn free-stone. At present it lies in ruins, and is entirely destitute of inhabitants, the walls and towers are overthrown and

point of situation, was several times lost and won by the contending parties in the Croisades.

Acre was taken by Baldwin the First, King of Jerusalem, assisted by seventy Genoese galleys, in 1104; and in 1187 the Saracens again became masters of it under Saladin. In 1191, after a blockade and many obstinate conflicts during two years, it yielded to the Christians commanded by Richard I. and Philip Augustus, Kings of England and France. This is a siege which is celebrated in the annals of chivalry, and the pages of romance; and is singular for the great variety of nations engaged upon the occasion. "Si decennale bellum," says an old historian, "Trojam celebrem reddidit; si Christicolarum triumphus Antiochiam illustrius extulit, Accon profecto perpetua fama extollet, pro quo pariter totus orbis confluit." (Hist. Hierosolym. in Gesta Dei, p. 1166. Marin in Hist. de Saladin, draws a brief parallel between the sieges of Troy and Acre, l. 11.)

St. Louis, who rendered this the place of his residence, after his escape from Egypt, strengthened the fortifications by heightening the walls and erecting towers. (Joinville, vol. ii. p. 224.) As the Franks towards the close of their continuance in Syria, were gradually pressed and straightened by the Saracens on every side, Acre became a place of increasing resort, a refuge for characters of every description, and the seat of insubordination and every crime. It was besides peculiarly unfortunate in having no head to reform its abuses, direct its strength, and watch over its safety. The number of independent sovereigns having authority there in 1263 is almost incredible. They are said to have been

Henry King of Jerusalem and Cyprus.	The Duke of Athens.
The King of Naples and Sicily.	The Venetians.
The Prince of Antioch.	The English.
The Count of Jaffa.	The Genoese.
The Count of Tripoli.	The Pisans.
The Prince of Galilee.	The Florentines.
The Legate of the Pope, maintaining at his own cost 2,500 men.	The Grand Master of the Templars.
The Prince of Tarentum.	The Grand Master of the Hospitallers.
The King of Armenia.	The Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights.
	The Grand Master of St. Lazarus. ¹

To which some add the Patriarch of Jerusalem; and others even affirm that within the walls there were no less than twenty-nine distinct tribunals appointed to judge and determine the affairs of so many different nations. (Perry's View of the Levant, p. 132.) The consequence may easily be anticipated. As all these were occasionally at variance with

¹ Dornidan, Voyage de la Terre Sainte, c. 56.

undermined, and the fosses in many places filled up by the buildings which have fallen into them. But in some parts there are still the

each other, a criminal had only to fly from the quarter, in which the offence was committed, to the protection of a rival governor, and he was screened from punishment. Such a state of things could not continue long; and Seraf, the Sultan of Egypt, taking advantage of an outrage that had been committed upon some of his subjects, and for which he in vain demanded satisfaction, laid siege to Acre in the spring of 1291, with the determination of razing it to the ground. (The geographer Abulfeda was with the army employed upon this service. *Tabula Syriæ* a Kæhler, p. 82.)

From Marinus Sanutus, who had frequently visited it before it was destroyed, the annexed plan is given of the city, together with an account of the circumstances which preceded, attended, and followed its fall, including the total expulsion of the Franks from the Holy Land;—a narrative, which is at least so far interesting as it comes from the pen of one who was living at the time when these events occurred, and who enjoyed every opportunity of inquiry.

Lib. III. p. xii. c. xxi.

Continet amissionem Ptolomayde civitatis.

XXI.

A. D. 1290. Cogitavit Melec Messor Soldanus parare exercitum ad destruendam in Terra Surie Christianorum reliquias; et mccc. de mense Octobris movit exercitum. Sed qui Amoræos inde expellere noluit, nisi completæ forent iniquitates eorum, adhuc patienter sustinuit, si forte ad pœnitentiam redeant de via sua mala; et mortuus est Messor in itinere, successitque illi filius vocatus Seraf. Cum vero carnalia, cæteraque peccata continuè augerentur in fractoribus fœderis baptismalis, nec de malis vellent conteri, nec per pœnitentiam redire ad viam justitiæ, assumpsit Seraf paternum propositum, eò audentius commotus, quod xix Saracenos mercatores Ptolomayde, in loco vocato Lafunda, juxta cambium, contra fidem treugarum, cruce signati gladio peremerunt, ac poscenti justitiæ denegata sit: et quasi instrumentum, licet dirum, severi judicis, negli-

A. D. 1291. gentibus misericordiæ tempus, mcccxi. quinto Aprilis, undique obsedit Ptolomaydam civitatem: in exercitu enim suo habuisse dicitur lx. millia equitum, et clx. millia peditum. Erexit autem in locis variis machinas multas, demolientes muros civitatis et turres: fecit quoque plures *mines*, seu caniculos, respondentes ad terram novam, factam nuper ante turrem Maledictam, et ad sbaralium sive barbacanum regis Hugonis, et ad turrem Comitissæ de Blois, et ad turrem Sancti Nicolai, usque ad sbaralium Domini Odoardi; et post leboauchiers fecit erigi plures Carabagas, projicientes magnos lapides, et frequenter, ita ut prosternerent muros eum turribus. Venit autem Rex Henricus in succursum obsessis. iv. Madii cum ducentis militibus, et quingentis peditibus: et viii die ejusdem men-

$10^{-1} \text{ M} \text{ Na}^+ \text{ and } 10^{-2} \text{ M} \text{ Ca}^{2+}$ 

PLAN OF ACRE.

foundations of many fine towers and of the walls of the city, and a great number of very fine vaults under ground in good preservation ; besides

sis destruxerunt sbaralium Regis Hugonis, imposueruntque ignem : pontem quoque muro adhærentem similiter : quia aliquibus videbatur quod hæc defendere non valerent. Saraceni autem xv Madii, violenter ceperunt turrim rotundam novam Regis, quæ erat ante turrem Maledictam ; et ipsam electis bellatoribus muniere. xviii. autem ejusdem mensis in sexta feria, Soldanus durissimum civitati dedit insultum, omnem apponens exercitus sui virtutem, contra totum muri circuitum, a mari videlicet usque ad mare : et intraverunt Saraceni per dictam turrim novam toto conatu, usque ad barbicanum, et obtinuerunt : inde per pontem lapideum, quem fecerant Christiani, ut per eum a magno muro ad barbicanum transirent, civitatem ingressi sunt ; diverteruntque aliqui versus portam Sancti Nicolai ; alii versus portam Legati. Tunc Christiani fugam capiunt versus mare ; et Saraceni per scalas liberè muros ascendunt, et infra civitatem jam omnia occupant. Rex autem et Magistri Templi, et Hospitalis Alamannorum, Johannes de Grelli, et cæteri bellatores processerunt ad portam civitatis, ut exirent ad barbicanum ; sed major fuit potentia resistentium. Magister enim Templi cum aliquibus confratrum ulteriorem moliens insultum, spiculo percussus interiit, et ad Templum usque delatus est. Post hæc videntes Turchi quod nulla esset defensio ad portam Turris Maledictæ in civitatem intrantes, quoscunque reperiunt gladio secant. Cernentes autem Rex et Capitaneus qui secum erant, illorum liberum introitum, cunctosque perimere, versus mare pergunt ; et cum majoribus galeas ascendunt. Eorum vero qui gladios effugerant impiorum, nonnulli ad templum habuere recursum. Patriarcha solus, quasi pastor bonus, sollicitus erat de ovibus, et cum propinqua illi esset galea ad recipiendum parata, ut gregem salvaret commissum, cunctos per aquam ambulantes ad se in parvo suo navigio recolligere cupiebat, donec nimia fuit repletionem submersa. Sic animam pro ovibus suis, et simul cum ovibus suis dedit : solusque evasit qui portabat crucem, et crucifixi imaginem, ante eum. Multitudo itaque ad maritimam partem concurrerat ; et cum parva navigia vellent ascendere, ut ad majora confugerent, seipsos impediētes, (nam ubi multitudo maxima timore mortis perterrita, ibi confusio) in mare alterutrum impellebant. Erat quoque in mari tempestas valida, ut ad magna navigia accedere non valerent : undique erat tremor, et pavor, et gemitus mortis. Soldanus quoque ad quatuor partes civitatis fecit ignes accendi, ut ferro et igne consumeret universa. Nunc luit peccata, sed non abluit civitas scelerata, gratiis divinis ingrata. Ad ipsam confluebant Reges et Principes terræ, ad ipsam mittebant succursum tributariæ cunctæ partes Occidui ; et nunc contra eam pugnant omnia elementa. Terra enim, ejus sanguinem devorat quæ Christiano sanguine tota madescit, mare absorbit populum ; ædificia consumit ignis, aer fumo et caligine tenebratur. Juste proinde Maledicta vocata est turris illa, quæ maledicta gens Saracenicæ subintravit ; et qui illi nomen imposuit, eventum tam diri infortunii, nesciens quid diceret, prophetavit.

a considerable quantity of fragments of the walls of palaces and

Cap. XXII.

Continet amissionem reliquarum partium Terræ Sanctæ.

XXII. Eodem die quo Ptolomayda capta est, Tyrîi civitatem vacuum in vesperis relinquentes victoribus, sine ictu gladii, absque tumultu belli occupandam liberè, ascensis navibus, reliquerunt; in crastino vero, Saraceni intraverunt, nemine prohibente, feceruntque quod libuit. In crastino quoque Ptolomaydæ captionis Soldanus misit ad eos qui ad Templum confugerant, ut locum reddant; salvosque conduci faceret, quo ipsi elegerint: firmata conventionem Soldanus Admiraldum quendam cum trecentis transmittit ad locum: quorum nonnulli Christianas capiunt mulieres, cum illis affectantes turpitudinem operari. Tunc Christiani arma capiunt, et interficiunt universos. Soldanus dissimulata ira, iterum priora requirit; culpatque suos, quasi negligat quod evenit. Accedit proinde ad Soldanum Marescalcus Templi, cum aliis pluribus ignarus perfidiæ, capiteque truncatur. Quod cernentes qui in Templo remanserant, in turri quæ Magistri vocabatur, se reduserunt. Saraceni vero turrim suffoderunt, trabibus sustentantes; et tunc cum Christiani se redderent, tot Saraceni turrim ascenderunt, ut ruptis scalis ex pondere, turrique ruente cum Christianis, non solum qui intra, sed etiam multi qui erant exterius Saraceni, extincti sunt. Templarii autem qui prius fugerant, Sydonem adeunt, et muniunt castrum maris: contra quos Soldanus unum Admiratum transmisit, nomine Segei: qui cum eos ex parte terræ superare non posset, in Licia præparavit navigia: quod cernentes Templarii, timore percussi, ad Tortosæ insulam primo, Cyprum deinde confugerunt; Admiraldus vero castrum dirui jussit. Tunc qui Baruthi erant, nuntios illis transmittunt petentes quid de eis intenderet: responditque subdolis Segey cum inter eos esset treugæ conventio et Soldanum, ideo sibi per confines suos transeunti festive occurrant; illi dum jussa perficiunt, trucidantur, capiuntur, catenisque necluntur; diruitque muros civitatis et castrum. Post hæc parvo elapso tempore, castrum Peregrinorum a Christianis relinquitur, et a Saracenis destruitur. Tunc omnis Suria amissa est, cunctique Christiani habitatores Terræ Promissionis, aut morte extincti sunt, aut profugi exulesque suis demeritis, inde ad Insulam Cypri habuere refugium: illicque secum habentes, quam secum in conscientia portaverant sarcinam peccatorum, et causam desolationis præfatæ, in multa angustia multoque tremore miseram vitam agunt.

(Mar. Sanuti Tors. *Secreta Fidel. Cruc. in Gesta Dei per Francos*, vol. ii.)

Acre remained for several centuries in a state of complete desolation; though the works, indeed, were in some degree repaired by the Mamelukes, from whom they were taken by the Turks in 1517. (Pocock, vol. ii. part 1. p. 52.) The palace of the Knights of St. John was also partly restored by the extraordinary Fakr-el-din, Emir of the Druses (Id. vol. ii. part 1. pp. 52, 53.); but the rest of the city continued much in the same condition in

churches standing. To a distant spectator this city appears of surprising beauty.^b

It was full three miles in circumference, and is seated in a good soil for wheat, cotton, and other produce. The country twenty miles round is of the most excellent kind, some of it being level,^c and the rest mountainous, without trees, which are scarce in those parts. A small rivulet or brook of fresh water falls from a mountain at no great distance, and passing very near the walls on the side of the champaign empties itself

which it is described by De Lannoy, till within about the last fifty years. The modern restoration of this place arose from the industry of Sheik Daher in 1751 (Hasselquist); and the various buildings since erected by Djezzar Pacha, the mosque and the palace, the reservoir, baths and markets rendered it one of the principal towns upon the coast. The population in 1797 amounted to between 15 and 20,000. (Volney, vol. ii. p. 226, and Brown, p. 420.) The circumstances of the last siege are well known. The valour of contending nations was never more eminently displayed; and France and England disputed the palm of victory on the same remote spot, where, with a singularity almost unparalleled in their histories, they had formerly fought as allies.

^b The ruins were very splendid; among which were reckoned the vestiges of thirty churches. (Thevenot.) "The carkasse shews that the body hath bin strong; double imured, fortified with bulwarks and towers; to each wall a ditch, lined with stone, and under those divers secret posternes. You would thinke by the ruines that the city rather consisted wholly of divers conjoyning castles, than any way mixed with private dwellings: which witnes a notable defence, and an unequall assault; or that the rage of the conquerours extended beyond conquest: the huge wals and arches turned topsie turvy, and lying like rocks upon the foundation." (Sandys, pp. 204, 205.) Under the temple of the Knights Hospitallers was concealed a treasure in a vault, which escaped the general pillage; but the place being marked with a piece of marble, and the knowledge of it being successively communicated to the members of that society, they landed at Acre, sometime about the year 1570, and conveyed it in safety to Malta. (Thevenot, Sandys, *ut supra*.) A particular description of the ruins is given by Doubdan (*Voyage de la Terre Sainte*), a pilgrim who travelled in 1651, and dedicated his book to the Virgin Mary. Two pillars of white marble, said to be brought from Acre, stand near the great gate of the palace of St. Mark at Venice, and the vulgar believed that they were to serve as a gibbet for the Doge, should he do any thing contrary to law. (Blainville's *Travels*, p. 522.)

^c Saladin laid it entirely waste in the third Croisade. In this plain Fulk of Anjou, King of Jerusalem, was killed in hunting by a fall from his horse. Will. Tyriens, l. 15. The mountains to the north are Antilibanon, and to the east the hills of Galilee.

into the sea within the port. But this water is brackish and unwholesome; the air also of the country about Acre is not healthful, because the land lies low, and is subject to heavy rains, as well as to extreme heat in the summer.^d

The city possesses only one spring^e of good water, which is situated on the side of the champaign, near the port within the fosses, and is very abundant, and of excellent quality. There is no river in all the surrounding country, and little water, except in some hamlets where there are wells; in others there are none at all. But if the city were inhabited, the rain collected in cisterns would furnish a sufficient supply.

Just opposite to Acre, towards the champaign, at the distance of a cannon-shot without the city is a small mound^f of earth formed by art.

^d About the cities of Tripoli and Acre an epidemic disorder usually prevails from May to the end of September. It is an intermitting fever of a most malignant kind arising from adjoining morasses, stagnant waters, and their noxious exhalations. In the season when no rain has fallen the disorder is unknown. (Volney, vol. ii. pp. 158, 159.) During the celebrated two years siege, a dreadful mortality raged in the camp of the Franks. In the first winter, before the arrival of the King of England, the debatable ground was turned into a swamp; and the mire was so deep between the encampment of the besiegers and that of Saladin, who had taken up a position beyond them, that it reached to the girths of the horses, and for a time put a stop to all hostilities. (Abul-pharagius and Bohadin, c. 64.) In the second winter, that of 1190, Saladin retired on account of the incessant rain (Bohadin, c. 88.); and the Christians, continuing at their post, were, in the absence of the Saracens, assailed by a far more destructive enemy. (Id. c. 92.) Guy of Lusignan saw four of his sons and his queen Sybilla perish. (Vertot, vol. i. p. 95.) Richard himself was seized with the distemper (Bohadin, c. 104.); and its ravages furnished Philip with a pretext for returning to France.

^e The fountain of St. Mary. (Pocock, vol. ii. p. 53.) See also his plan of the site of the city.

^f This mound is famous in history, and is so obviously calculated for advantage, that it seems to have been selected by every assailant. Guy King of Jerusalem made choice of it when he first invested the place. "Rex montem proximum, quem vulgo Turonem dicunt, tentoriis figendis eligit; unde loci beneficio et maris et terræ speculetur accessus. Mons iste, a parte urbis orientali consurgit editior; et in circuitu oculo spatiantie liberius, longe lateque prospectum in plana diffundit." (Hist. Hierosol. in Gesta Dei, p. 1165.)

This was made long ago by order of a Sultan, who posted himself upon it, when he continued to besiege the city for six years, and took it.

No one resides in this city, except two or three Saracen guards to observe when any ship arrives. But at the distance of two miles is a well-inhabited village, called New Acre, where these guards announce the arrival of any vessel.

In Old Acre, close to the port are several strong houses, where the Venetian merchants deposit their cotton. A Venetian, who is factor for the rest, always resides in New Acre, for the purpose of collecting the said cotton.

Acre would be a good city to re-people, but it would require time and numbers.

It is sixty miles from Jaffa to Acre by sea, and as many by land.

Survey of the Port of Sur.

Sur stands on the coast of Syria, on the sea, twenty-five miles from Acre both by sea and land. Four or five large and long rocks lie in the

In the translation of Bohadin it is styled, "*Collis precantium*." (c. 56. 58.) Upon another elevation, more towards the north, Saladin pitched his tents to watch the motions and harass the army of the Croisaders. "*Mons quidem Turoni objectus eminent, his hostis papiliones fixerat, et ingens camporum interjecta planities, aream bellis accommodam latius explicabat.*" (*Hist. Hierosol. ut supra*, p. 1165.) Thus a double line of enemies and friends was formed around this devoted city.

Both these eminences are thus noticed by Pocock. "Half a mile east of the city is a small hill, improved by art, it is about half a mile in length, and a quarter of a mile broad, and is very steep every way, except to the south-west. This was probably the camp of the besiegers, as it was a fine situation for that purpose; and the Pacha pitches his tent on the hill when he goes the yearly circuit to receive his tribute. To the north-west of this place, and a mile to the north of the city, there is another firm situation for a camp, being a rising ground." (*Vol. ii. part 1. p. 54.* Marin in *Hist. de Saladin*, l. 9, has given a good account of Acre and the environs.)

The French occupied the first of these eminences in 1799. The siege of six years mentioned by our author, is most probably a traditional reference to that which occurred in the reign of Saladin.

sea before the city, some of them appearing a little above the water, the rest concealed below it. These rocks form the port of Sur, which admits ships of sixty or eighty tons, but none of a larger size; and all flat-bottomed fusts. It is an excellent harbour, and secure from all winds, having many entrances between the rocks of a convenient size for small fusts, but neither deep nor safe for the passage of the above-mentioned ships of sixty or eighty tons; except as you come along the coast from Barut; and this is the safest entrance. It is situated to the south as you arrive, and the rocks stand at a sufficient distance from each other.

The port between the city and the said rocks is of considerable size and length, and five or six miles in circumference.^g

The Port for large ships at Sur.

When large ships from four hundred to a thousand tons arrive at Sur, they all anchor in the sea on the outside of these rocks, where there is a good bottom and harbour for all large vessels. Because the shore towards Barut on one side, and the city on the other, shelter them from many winds. But it is not a place where they can continue for any length of time, owing to the strong winds from the west, north-west, and north, which might do them mischief.

There is also within the port of the rocks, another smaller port very handsome and quite circular, for galliots, lins, and other small craft less than galleys. This is enclosed by the fortification of the city; and though these works are considerably decayed, no fusts can enter but by a little mouth too small to permit two galleys to pass abreast. The entrance is shallow, having a little square tower on one side, and the wall on the other.^h

^g In this port was fought a battle between the fleet of Saladin and the navy of the Franks, in which that of the Sultan was destroyed before his eyes, A. 1188. (Abul-phar. Hist. Dynast. a Pocock, p. 274.)

^h Benjamin of Tudela, whom I am not disposed to think entirely unworthy of credit, saw the city in the hands of the Christians, and has particularly mentioned this port.

A small fustelett of war, a sort of galliot, lay there when Sir Gilbert visited the place ; and two or three new ones were building by order of the ammiral.

Form of the City of Sur.

A round headland projects into the sea at Sur, and the isthmus which joins it to the Continent is not quite a mile across. Here formerly stood the handsome and spacious city of Sur. All the surrounding walls within the sea and towards the champaign were secured at this isthmus of a mile in breadth by double walls, and very fine large towers, together with treble fosses without water, of which the two nearest to the walls were perpendicularly faced in a very costly manner. This city in the days of the Christians was furnished with large churches and palaces, and full of magnificent, lofty, and beautiful houses, all of hewn free-stone as at Acre. But when it was retaken by the Saracens it was entirely destroyed, the foundations of the public buildings, houses, walls, and large towers being undermined as in Acre. Hence the fosses were very much filled up towards the champaign by the buildings which were thrown down into them, so that the whole is at present in a state of entire desolation. Exceptⁱ that part which was built round on the sea-side, which is still very handsome, and several houses with fine vaults^k that might easily be restored.

"Tyre is a very neat city, which has within itself a haven or port, where the ships ride at anchor between two towers. But in the night time, the Publicans extend an iron chain from one tower to another, that no persons, should they rob the ships, may have an opportunity of escaping. Nor is there any thing in the world which can compare with this haven." (Travels translated by Gerrans, c. vii. p. 66.) The opening of this bason is still defended by two towers, but the port itself is so choked up that children pass it without being wet above the middle. (Volney, vol. ii. p. 211.)

ⁱ It discovers still the foundations of a wall which anciently encompassed it round, at the utmost margin of the land. (Maundrell, p. 50.)

^k Necessity taught the inhabitants to remedy the want of water in the island by cisterns, the remains of which are still to be found in the form of vaulted caves, paved and walled with the utmost care. A considerable one was some time since discovered without the walls. (Volney, vol. ii. pp. 219, 220.)

Sur¹ was the city where the Kings of Syria used formerly to be crowned before two very large triple columns of marble which stood in a great church: at present both these and the church are levelled with the ground.^m

¹ The last King of Jerusalem crowned at Tyre was Hugh VII. King of Cyprus, about twelve or fourteen years before the loss of the Holy Land. (Vertot under Hugh de Revel, vol. i. p. 167.)

^m The most remarkable building is a ruin at the south-east corner. This was a Christian church, built probably by the Croisaders; a part of the choir only is remaining; close to which, amidst heaps of stones, lie two beautiful columns, with shafts of red granite, of a kind unknown in Syria. Djazzar, who stripped all this country to ornament his mosque at Acre, wished to carry them away, but his engineers were not able even to move them. (Volney, vol. ii. pp. 212, 213.) "They extend," says Lusignan, "from east to west: each of them consists of a triple column on a flat stone, the length of which is about sixteen feet, besides the piece which is broken off the main body; the diameter I could not measure, as they lay on the ground covered with nettles; but as nearly as I could guess, the diameter of the three united columns, which were of a single granite, might be about seven feet." (Revolt of Ali Bey, &c. p. 173. See also *Extrait du Journal de General Vial*, in *Mem. sur L'Egypte*, vol. iv. p. 217.)

Maundrell conjectures that this might have been the cathedral; Pocock (*Travels*, ii. p. 49.) was informed that it had been dedicated to St. John. In the cathedral the unfortunate Frederic Barbarossa was interred (Herold, *Contin. bell. sacr.* l. ii. c. 6, 7.); and in the church of the Holy Sepulchre in this city the tomb of the great Origen was still to be seen in the time of Brocard; "cujus titulum," says the monk, "et vidi et legi." (p. 5.)

The denunciation of the prophet (Ezekiel, c. xxvii.) is literally fulfilled in the desolation of Tyre. During the holy wars, however, the city was distinguished by population and trade: and was the seat of an archbishop, next in precedence to the Patriarch of Jerusalem. (Sandys, p. 216.) It seems to have experienced fewer revolutions than some of the other cities upon the coast, owing perhaps to the strength of its fortifications; which were by some thought much superior to those of Acre. (Brocard. See also Abulfedæ *Syria* a Kæhler, under the article Tyre.) Sanutus was there before the final destruction of the place, and his account may give some idea of its strength and grandeur. "Tyrus ex parte terræ triplici muro crasso cingitur, habetque fossas profundas et latas, ad quas facile esset introducere aquas maris. Muri quoque xii turribus munitissimis ornantur: turribus vero continuatur arx civitatis in rupe in corde maris, et ipsa turribus et palatiis distincta." (*Secr. fidel. Crucisign.* l. ii. p. 4. c. 22.)

The changes that it underwent during the croisades are briefly these. Though in 1112 it successfully resisted the attempts of Baldwin I. during a siege of four months, it sur-

The city of Sur contains no running water, but it has two or three cisterns and several wells of an inferior kind of water. Within the fosses towards the champaign is a fine and excellent spring.^a

Four miles out of Sur, up the country towards the mountains, is a very large plentiful fountain,^o formed and wrought with marble in a costly manner. This was originally made by Solomon, and in the times of the Christians flowed through an aqueduct and supplied the city, but the aqueduct is at present destroyed.

Another large and beautiful spring^p rises at the distance of a mile on the other side towards Saida.

The surrounding country is in a good state of cultivation, and the usual produce is corn and cotton. Almost the whole of the distance from Acre to Sur, and thence along the sea-coast to Saida, is a well-cultivated plain extending inland for four or five miles. This is bounded by lofty mountains,^q in which are many villages and fortresses of various kinds, garrisoned and stored with troops and horses.

Five miles distant from Sur on the other side towards Saida is a very

rendered about twelve years after to Baldwin II. In 1188 it was attempted by Saladin, who directed the efforts of a large army furnished with many powerful military engines against that part of the wall which crossed the isthmus; he endeavoured also to blockade it by sea; but was at length compelled to retire. (Abul-phar. Hist. Dynast. p. 274.) The year 1291 brought it finally under the destructive dominion of the Saracens. Terrified at the unsparing capture of Acre, on the evening of the same day in which that signal event occurred, the Christian inhabitants with universal consent embarked on board their ships, and abandoned their city: their enemies marched in without opposition on the ensuing morning, and Tyre was shortly levelled in the dust. (Pocock, vol. ii. part 1. p. 83.)

^a See Volney, vol. ii. p. 213.

^o This fountain is said to have been made by Solomon, at the time when he cultivated an alliance with Hiram, King of Tyre. (Pocock, vol. ii. part 1. p. 81.) Maundrell (*Journey*, p. 50, and Volney, vol. ii. p. 213 et seq.) however, advances an argument which tends to prove it of a much later date. It is so abundant that it drives three mills which are near it; and forms a rivulet before it reaches the sea, which is only four hundred paces distant.

^p Ras-el-aen, Volney. Bakwok. Pocock, vol. ii. p. 84.

^q Libanon and Antilibanon.

fine river, clear and deep, called Casenije, almost as broad as the Lis,^r which falling from the mountains discharges itself into the sea at that place, and is there crossed by a bridge.

There are many other small streams of fresh water between Sur and Saida.

The city of Sur continued without any inhabitants from the time of its destruction to the year one thousand four hundred and twenty-one, when a great ammiral named Ebboe, a worthy Saracen, began to re-people it. When Sir Gilbert passed through, it contained as many as three hundred families; which make but little shew, for the city is full three miles in circumference.

The country around it is incomparably finer, more wholesome and better watered than that about Acre. And it would be an admirable thing to colonise it again; but this would require great numbers and a considerable time.

Survey of Saida.

Saida stands on the sea-coast of Syria, twenty miles from Sur by sea, and as many by land. And on the side towards Barut, a large and long rock distinctly shews itself above the sea, full a mile from the shore at the back of the city. This, together with a small circular island situated on the same side at a stone's throw from the walls of the city,

^r A river of Flanders, which rises at Lisbourg, and after passing by Aire, St. Venant, La Gorgue, Armentieres, Varneton, and Commynes, falls into the Scheldt at Ghent. (Martiniere, Diction. Geograph. in the article.) The attempt of the people of Bruges to turn its course, by opening a canal to their town, occasioned disturbances between them and the people of Ghent, which in the fourteenth century, proved so murderous and destructive to Flanders. (Froissart, vol. iv. c. 20. 26.)

In the year 1423 an inundation of this river did much damage to the surrounding country. (Joan, Burgund. Annal. sive Hist. Rerum Belgic. p. 304.)

Hugh De Lannoy, grandfather of Gilbert II. was Lord of Lys. (See Dict. de Morery.)

forms the port of Saida. A stone pier constructed upon arches extends from this little island to a very round large tower standing on the extremity of the terra firma at the end of that side of the city walls. Over this you pass to the small island ; and it was formerly used as a retreat, which is of little account in the present day.*

Form of the Port of Saida.

The port of Saida is large and good enough for all manner of shipping. It has sufficient depth for vessels of four or five hundred tons burden ; but is very much exposed to tempestuous winds from the north-east and north-north-east.† The entrance is a mile or more in breadth, and is situated about south-west, as you arrive by sea, towards the direction of Barut.

Directly in front of the city towards the sea is another small shallow port for little fustelletts, such as small galliots and barks, &c. This is apparently formed by art : on the side towards Sur it is closed by large rocks, and on the other side towards Barut is fashioned and closed by the little round island. The mouth of it, as you approach, is on the south.‡

Form of the City of Saida.

Saida* is a very small fortified city, well built with low houses all of

* On the rock stood a tower built by the Teutonic Knights. (Sanutus, l. iii. p.14. c. 3.)

† Boucicaut, in his Croisade in 1403, intended to have made an attempt upon this place ; and had disembarked some of his troops in the water, in sight of twelve thousand horse and foot drawn out upon the shore ; but the wind suddenly changing set in from the land and obliged him to retire. (Hist. de Boucicaut, pp. 158, 154.)

‡ Fakr-el-din destroyed this as well as every other little port from Bairout to Acre, by sinking boats and stones to prevent the Turkish ships from entering them. The bason of Saida, if it were emptied, might contain twenty or twenty-five small vessels. (Volney, vol. ii. p. 208.)

* The evidence of Sanutus, so often adverted to, is interesting upon the subject of the
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greystone, seated below upon these two ports, as may be seen by the representation. The whole of the fortification towards the sea consists of nothing but a low wall with some paltry little towers; except the corner tower on the side of Barut, which is handsome. And towards the champaign there is a kind of double wall, out of repair, low and poor; and a single paltry small foss, shallow, dry, and half choked up in some places with the houses which have fallen from the walls above, and with the rubbish of the city which is cast into it. The outer walls are formed merely of stone houses adjoining each other, with two or three small indifferent towers out of repair. The second wall consists in like manner of contiguous houses; and between these houses and the first wall is a sort of street. On the side of the champaign there are no wickets to the gates, though the entrances are rather strong. The side towards the champaign is very weak.

sea-ports of Syria; since being continually engaged in mercantile pursuits, he spent his life chiefly in foreign parts; and had frequently visited the towns in the hands of the Franks, at a time when they were about to be wrested from them by the Saracens. He thus describes Saida: "*Sydon magna fuit, autem in campo per longum disposita, tendens ab Austro ad Aquilonem, sub monte Antilibano: de ruinis autem ejus alia parva, sed munita edificata est, et etiam ex parte una in corde maris sita: habens hinc inde duo castra satis munita; unum ab Aquilone, in rupe quadam in mari, quod ibidem edificaverunt Peregrini Theutonici; aliud ex parte Australi, in colle situm; quæ castra, cum civitate, tenebant milites templi; et est ibi terra fertilis et aer saluberrimus.*" (*Secreta Fidel. Crucisign.* l. 3. p. 14. c. 3.) Baldwin I. took Saida by the assistance of the pilgrims and croisaders of Denmark and Norway. It was much improved by St. Louis when he sojourned in Syria; and he rebuilt the castle on the south side, which still retains his name. (Pocock, vol. ii. pp. 86, 87.) The town was lost by the Christians in 1291. (*Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ* under the word.) It had been an episcopal see, depending upon the Archbishop of Tyre; and in the political revolutions of those days generally underwent the same fate as that city.

Fakr-el-din, Emir of the Druses, of whose genius and achievements an account may be seen in Sandys (*Travels*, p. 210, &c. and Volney vol. ii. p. 41, &c.) has here left vestiges of his power in a castle and the ruins of a magnificent palace. Saida is still flourishing; the situation is good, and the air salubrious. For the modern state of it compare Volney (vol. ii. p. 207, &c.), Lusignan (*Revolt of Ali Bey*, p. 174, &c.), and Brown (*Travels*, p. 430.)

Towards the champaign at the other end of the city in the direction of Sur, near the sea stands a lofty mound of earth surrounded by bad walls, low and fallen to decay; within is a miserable square and low turret, from which you command the port and city. It is a sort of castle, and the two walls of the city ascend on both sides to the walls of the enclosures of this castle above.

The city of Saida and the mound with the castle are situated upon a spot which is a sort of large circular mount; and it appears as though the enclosure of the city formerly extended below it.

The gates which lead to the sea have small doors which are closed at night; many other entrances without doors are left open; but they are narrow and strong. The walls and towers which face the sea are in better condition than those towards the champaign; it is also much stronger there on account of the small port directly in front of it, which can be entered by no vessels but barks.

Saida contains no cistern, nor any water except that which is drawn from wells, and even that in no abundance. But at a mile from the city, as you pass along the coast, through the champaign towards Barut, there is a small stream of good water which comes from the mountains; the surrounding villages also furnish a sufficient supply.

A small plain surrounds Saida producing many fig and other trees. Here are also fine villages built of stone, and the land is well cultivated with a sufficiency of corn and cotton. Beyond this plain are vast mountains, containing, according to report, a large population, water, and a good tract of country.

As you travel between Saida and Barut you meet with three or four streams or rivulets; the road here is bad and rocky, and the country mountainous and uncultivated, except within four or six miles of Barut, where there is a plain, and a very fine wood of firs, vines, and olives, which begins in that place and continues all the way to the city of Barut.

Survey of the City of Barut.

Barut stands on the sea-coast of Syria, twenty-five miles from Saida by sea and land. It is a good city, carrying on a considerable trade, unfortified, the houses built of fine hewn stone. It belongs to the Sultan. And formerly in the time^y of the Christians it was a very large fortified town; but at present it is reduced in size; although a great number of Christian^z merchants, Venetians, Genoese, Greek and others reside there with the Saracens. This place has two castles situated on the shore, on either side of the port. That within Saida is the largest, and resembles a house; here the ammiral resides. It is neither strong nor has it any guard, so that it would be deserted on the approach of any force. And the other on the opposite side of the port towards Turkey and Tripoli is a small castle seated on a craggy rock, which has its base in the water on the side towards the sea; the part of the castle facing the champaign stands on solid ground good for mining, and is surrounded by double fosses without water. But it has nothing towards the sea save the wall, and the high and craggy rock below it. To conclude the account of this castle: it consists of only two square towers enclosed by walls, one upon the rock, and the other farther back towards the champaign. Neither of them has any beauty or excellence; only they are guarded by the Saracens.

This small castle stands on an elevated situation both with respect to

^y This place was taken from the Saracens by Baldwin I. in 1111, and retaken by Saladin in 1187. Ten years afterwards the Franks regained it, and it was frequently ravaged by both parties in the holy wars. (Pocock, vol. ii. part 1. p. 90.) Boucicaut, in 1403, landed in spite of opposition, stormed and burned the city, and destroyed the vessels in the harbour. (Hist. de Boucicaut, p. 153.)

^z De la Brocquiere (Voyage, p. 486.) observed the commercial advantages of Bairout in the residence of merchants from Europe. The reason of the difference between the prosperity of this town and the others upon the coast is very obvious. Saida had no particular communication with the interior; and Jaffa only received the pilgrims of the Sepulchre; but Bairout was a warehouse for the costly merchandise of Damascus.

the sea and the champaign. It has a strong entrance towards the city of Barut ; but this is out of repair, and seemingly little regarded.

Below the castle, nearer to the city of Barut, on a flat low down upon the sea, stands another small, square tower. It is a good one, and is kept in order and guarded. The Egyptians^a keep especial watch every night in two places for the security of the port and city. One is in this tower, and the other upon a tower of the small castle. Both have large drums ; and when one of them strikes, the other sounds in reply. They divide the night into three watches. Those of the first watch strike once ; the second twice, and the third thrice.

The city of Barut is badly supplied with fresh water : but at the distance of two miles on the road towards Tripoli, near the shore is the place where Saint George slew the dragon. A chapel stands upon the spot ; and near at hand a rivulet of good fresh water, running from the mountains, there discharges itself into the sea. Barut is surrounded by beautiful^b gardens, producing all sorts of excellent fruits, and abundance of firs ; particularly four miles from the city towards Saida.^c On the road to Damascus is a very hollow way through mountains, and vallies parched and badly tilled. Though some villages stand on both sides of the road, and there are rock springs in sufficient abundance.

^a See Harmer, vol. i. p. 210, for a similar custom.

^b The approach to Bairout is even now finer than that of any other town on the coast. (Brown, p. 443.) The mulberry, olive, and fig-tree flourish here, and their grape (*Berytia uva*) has been in high repute. Maundrell (*Journey*, p. 39.) has described the sumptuous gardens belonging to the palace of Fakr-el-din ; but these, together with the edifice, have totally disappeared.

^c Maundrell, Volney, and Brown attribute this wood to the Emir of the Druses : it is not improbable, that, among the rest of his improvements, he might have restored a part that had been decayed or destroyed ; but the wood itself is of much higher antiquity. The Croisaders in an attack upon the city applied the timber to the construction of engines. "*Silva pinea, Berythensium civitati vicina, Christianis eandem oppugnantibus urbem, ad componendum scalas, ligneas turres, arietes, et alias quaslibet rei bellicæ machinas, copiosam et idoneam præstabat materiam.*" (*Gul. Tyriensis*.) It still exists reduced to half its original size. (Brown, *ut supra*.)

Just half way between Barut and Damascus is a beautiful plain situated between two mountains, very well cultivated, four leagues in breadth and of a surprising length. Through the middle of it runs a rivulet of fresh water, which divides into several branches.

Form of the Port of Barut.

At this same place, Barut, one or two miles out at sea is a good anchorage for all large vessels, galleys and flat-bottomed fusts; but it is not a secure harbour in all winds; for the north and north-west do much damage there in the winter. This port is very shallow for half a mile as you approach the shore; and galleys ought to remain at a considerable distance from this anchorage, for it is accessible on all sides, and is in truth nothing more than an open road.

Beyond Barut towards Tripoli the sea makes a great encroachment upon the land, as if it were a lake, but in that place it is amazingly shallow.

Barut is the direct port for all merchandise imported and exported from Damascus, and is two days journey from Damascus by land.

Brief Survey of Damascus.

Damascus stands beneath a lofty barren mountain, in one of the most beautiful plains in the world, very well tilled and extremely fruitful, in the midst of gardens unrivalled for beauty and all delicious fruits.^d It is supplied and surrounded in all directions by streams of

^d See Brown (Travels, p. 455.) for a particular enumeration. The fruit-trees are so numerous, that those which die and are cut down supply the city with abundance of firewood. (Id. p. 470.) Maundrell has given a pleasing coup-d'œil of Damascus. It is reported that Mahomet stood for some time upon a precipice that overlooks the city and plain; and "considering the ravishing beauty and delightfulness of it, would not tempt his frailty by entering into it, but instantly departed, with this reflection upon it, that there was but one Paradise designed for man, and for his part he was resolved not to take his in this world." (Journey, pp. 121, 122.)

the best water in great abundance ; but has no large river. The city is very well fortified with double walls, and handsome towers, all with platforms ; and the fosses are lined throughout with stone, but contain no water. It is two leagues in circumference, and the length of it is much greater than the breadth. It is situated in a soil good for mining, and was entirely consumed by fire in the time of Tamerlane twenty-two years ago ;* but is proceeding rapidly towards restoration.

* The city of Damascus was given up to plunder on the 28th of March 1401. Every outrage that can be conceived was committed by the furious conqueror, and on the ensuing day it was reduced to ashes. The following is an account of this transaction from Petit de la Croix's translation of Cherefeddin, the historian of Timur :

Book V. Chap. 26.

Timur was on horseback by break of day, and ravaged the suburbs of Damascus. On the morrow, being the twenty-third of Jumaziulevel, after sun-rise, the whole army was ordered to march in order of battle, and having passed the gardens and suburbs to encompass the city. This order was completely carried into execution ; and Timur took up his quarters in the palace of Casrablac, situated opposite to the fortress, and built by Malek Ezzaher, sometime Sultan of Egypt. The Mirzas, Emirs, and warriors were quartered in the suburbs : so that the Tartars occupied every thing without the walls. There they found an abundance of furniture, arms, and stuffs, and merchandise of every kind.

Timur, who neglected no opportunity of devotion, visited the tombs of Oummé Selma, and Oummé Habiba, both of them wives of Mahomet, and afterwards that of Belalhabachi, and having implored their intercessions, returned to his camp. As soon as the inhabitants of Damascus saw themselves besieged in form, they were seized with such a panic, that all the Cherifs, Cadis, Imams, Doctors, and other Lawyers of the city opened the gates of their own accord, and came out submitting unconditionally ; they brought presents with them, and threw themselves at the feet of the Imperial throne. They testified their distress and sorrow at all that had occurred ; and besought the Emperor to spare the blood of Mussulmans, and only to grant quarter to themselves and their families. They made many presents to the officers, and having agreed to pay a ransom for their lives, returned. Timur divided the commission for receipt of the ransom amongst his Emirs, and sent them for this purpose to the city. They were the Emirs Cheik Noureddin, Chamelik, and Allahdad, accompanied by the Comptrollers Coja Masaoud Semnani, and Gelalisan, who entered Damascus, and, according to custom, walled up seven gates of the city, leaving none open but the gate Elferadis. They held their office outside of this gate, where they employed

It has a very fine castle, seated rather low in the city, well fortified with single walls and handsome towers. A small stream runs on one side of the

themselves in executing their commission. The receivers, having drawn the stipulated sums from the city, carried and counted them out to the Emirs. On the Friday following, the Couthbé, or prayer for the King, was read in the celebrated mosque of the Caliphs Ommiades, in the name and titles of the august Emperor Timur.

CHAP. 27.

Capture of the Castle of Damascus.

Though the condition of the city was such as we have just related, yet Yezdar Coutual, governor of the Castle, relying upon the strength of this place, which was one of the most famous fortresses in the world, determined to defend it. Its walls, which were very lofty and regularly built, consisted of large masses of rock. It was surrounded by a fosse about twenty cubits broad; and was furnished with all sorts of provisions and military stores. The garrison first began by casting stones, and Greek fire from machines, as well as arrows and vessels filled with naphta, and the same Greek fire to keep the assailants in check. All the generals of Toumans and Hezarés were, however, ordered to advance towards the castle, and lay siege to it in form. They made the necessary preparations for the purpose, and got ready rams and machines for casting stones: the soldiers even raised three platforms of such a height, that they commanded the castle. They then drained the fosse; when the sappers advanced to the foot of the wall, and began to work in the most diligent manner, undisturbed by the vast stones which the besieged were continually casting upon them. They were supported by an incessant shooting of stones from machines erected upon the platforms, which rendered the besieged more backward in exposing themselves; with the same machines they also threw upon them vessels full of Greek fire similar to their own, besides arrows which fell in the place like rain. The siege being divided among the Emirs, each in his department shook the walls with rams and other contrivances. While these things were transacting, Timur ordered the Mirzas, Miran Chah and Charoc, and the Emirs, Solyman Chah, Gehan Chah and others, to march towards Canaan to take up their winter-quarters; that these lords might furnish their soldiers with a relaxation from their toils, and that their horses might refresh themselves in the pastures. The rest of the army pressed the siege with great vigour. They rendered large portions of the rock red-hot by the application of fire; and throwing vinegar upon them they broke them with hammers, and drew them out of the walls; and when they had reduced the wall and the front of a bastion to a tottering condition, they supported them with large props, lest they should suddenly fall. In this manner they soon accomplished the sap of the bastion of Tarma

walls, and the fosses on the other sides, which are entirely faced with stone, have very little water in them. In this city of Damascus is a

which was the largest ; and the spot where Altoum Bacchi directed the works was finished first of all. Then they received orders to set it on fire, and this lofty and famous tower came down, making a considerable breach in the castle by its fall. The soldiers ran with their bucklers on their heads to enter by this breach ; but another portion of the wall suddenly fell, causing a great dust, and crushing in its descent eighty men of the troops of Corassan and Sistan. This unfortunate circumstance restrained the ardour of the march of our brave men, who ceased to advance ; and the besieged taking advantage of the opportunity, repaired the breach, and fortified themselves behind it. Still they were alarmed, and would gladly have surrendered, had they not apprehended that they should meet with no indulgence for their presumption in defending themselves after the capture of the city. Orders were given that other parts that had been undermined should be set on fire, upon which a great portion of the castle fell down. This accident depriving the besieged of every hope, Yezdar, governor of the place, caused the gate to be opened, and being compelled to come out, in the deepest distress delivered up the keys of his castle, and those of the treasures and magazines which it contained. Other portions of the walls, that had been sapped and supported by props, remained in this condition without being fired. Timur ordered Yezdar, the governor, to be executed, because he had delayed too long to surrender. In the castle they found abundance of wealth, jewels, precious stuffs, and rarities that had been hoarded there for many ages. The garrison were made slaves, and divided among the Mirzas and the Emirs : they consisted chiefly of Circassians, Mamelukes, Ethiopian slaves, and Zanghebars : all the women, children, and old men experienced the same fate. The artisans were set apart from the rest, and, together with those which had been taken from the city, were divided among the Emirs to be immediately conveyed to Samarcand

On the first of the moon of Schaban (28th March) the troops, without having received any orders, forcibly burst into the city, and committed every imaginable excess of slaughter, violence, and plunder. They took captive men and women, seized their jewels, and carried off their property, which consisted in an almost infinite quantity of gold, precious stones, valuable merchandise, magnificent stuffs and rarities of every kind. So much booty was taken, that all the horses, mules, and camels, which had been collected between Sebaste and Damascus proved insufficient to carry it away, and the soldiers were obliged to abandon a portion of it. That which they chiefly gave up was a quantity of gold and silver stuffs, and very precious girdles of Cyprus and Russia, which they had plundered in the opening of the campaign, that in their stead they might carry off whole loads of ready money, jewels, and vessels of gold and silver which fell into their hands. This is so certain a fact, that I have heard it mentioned by many credible persons who were present upon

king ammiral,^f subject to the Sultan of Babilon, who has always a great number of slaves, Turcomans, Arabs, and Saracens, well mounted, and the best soldiers in Syria.

Survey of the Port and Castle of Gallipoli, situated in Greece at the Strait of Romania.

Gallipoli is seated on the strait of Romania in Greece, and is a very large unfortified town. It has a castle of a square form standing near the sea, with eight small towers upon lofty ramparts, having square facings of stone. The surrounding fosses seem high and dry on the side of the land; those towards the sea are low and contain water. Directly below the castle upon the sea is a good small port for galleys and all little fusts.^g Quite low on the sea shore, upon the terra firma

the occasion. The method in which the houses are constructed at Damascus is such, that the lower story is of stone, and the second and third consist of wood; and the greater part of the cielings, and even the walls, are covered with varnish. This varnish exposes them so much to accident by fire, that when it once takes place, a considerable part of the city is always burnt, in spite of every effort of the judges and governors to confine the flames to one quarter. This frequently happens in time of profound peace.

On the second of Schaban (29th March) the city thus accidentally took fire, and every one endeavoured to extinguish it in vain. The whole of Damascus was consumed, sacked, and plundered of the immense wealth which it contained, in common with the rest of Syria. (History of Timur Bec, book v. c. 27, 28.)

^f De la Brocquiere, who made his appearance before this potentate, gives him also the title of King. "Roy amiral," (p. 510) Legrand D'Aussy has interpreted this expression, "governor;" but it seems to have been a peculiar distinction attached to the ammiral of Damascus. The title has occurred before. See the chapter upon Cairo and Babilon.

^g "The port of Gallipoli is small for large vessels, but it is of sufficient size to admit fusts, galliotts, brigantines and maonnes, that species of vessel to which the Latins have applied the Greek word hippagi, which serves for the passage of horses and camels from Europe to Natolia." (Belon, l. ii. c. 2.)

The consequence of Gallipoli is frequently noticed in history. During the service and wars of the Catalans in the Greek empire, that people in possession of this important post

towards the castle, stands a very handsome large square tower for the protection of this port. A wall has been built on the other side in the sea, which together with some long piles forms the closure of the said port. And in consequence of these piles there remains only a small passage by which galleys enter ; and it has no chain.

When I visited this port it contained four galleys, and an immense number of small passage-boats and little fusts. Here the Turks are accustomed to keep a larger force of galleys and fusts than in any other quarter.

Directly opposite Gallipoli on the Turkish side of the sea called the strait of Romania, is a very fine tower, where the Turks usually pass over from the one country to the other. In this place the strait is about three or four miles across. And if this port and castle were taken, the Turks could have no secure passage from one side to the other ; and the country which they possess in Greece, would be in a manner lost and ruined.^b

intercepted the trade of Constantinople and the Black Sea, while they ravaged either side of the Hellespont. (Gibbon, vol. vii. c. 62.) In 1352 it was rebuilt and colonised by the judicious care of Soliman, on the establishment of the Ottomans in Europe. (Id. c. 64.) Had the policy of securing these straits been steadily pursued by a combination of the maritime states of Europe, it might have been attended with consequences extremely favourable to the capital of the Greek empire. The Turks, on their part, were fully aware of the advantage of keeping this communication with Asia open and guarded. The passage, narrow as it is, proved in 1403 an insuperable barrier to the cavalry of Tamerlane, and probably saved Europe.

^b A coincidence of opinion as to the advantage of pressing upon the Turks in this point, and at this precise juncture, occurs in c. 65 of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire;" and a comparison of it with the sentiment of De Lannoy will exhibit how well the historian entered into the notions, while he was writing the history of the age. Speaking of the domestic dissensions among the Turks about the year 1421, he proceeds in the following manner: "In these conflicts, the wisest Turks, and indeed the body of the nation, were strongly attached to the unity of the empire ; and Romania and Anatolia, so often torn asunder by private ambition, were animated by a strong and invincible tendency

The distance from Constantinople to Gallipoli is one hundred and fifty miles. Before Gallipoli is sea-room and a sound bottom for the mooring and anchorage of large vessels, though there is no actual port for them.

of cohesion. Their efforts might have instructed the Christian powers ; and had they occupied, with a confederate fleet, the Streights of Gallipoli, the Ottomans, at least in Europe, must have been speedily annihilated."

XXVI. *On a Deed of Gift to the Abbey of Ystrad Marchell:*
Communicated by SAMUEL RUSH MEYRICK, Esq. LL. D.
and F. S. A. in a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S.
Secretary.

Read 15th December 1825.

20, Upper Cadogan Place, Dec. 7, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR,

ABOUT twenty years ago I copied a transcript, made as long previous, from an original Deed of Gift by Wenwynwyn the son of Owain Cyveiliawg, a Powysian Prince, to the Abbey of Ystrad Marchel in the year 1201, at that time in the possession of a Mr. Edward Herbert, of Montgomery. Whether it be still preserved by his family or what has been its fate, perhaps some of our Members connected with the Principality may know, but on that head I am in utter ignorance. I regret, therefore, that what I am able to send you is incomplete, wanting the final clause and attestation.

It has nevertheless occurred to me, that as it marks the ancient boundaries of the district of Cyveiliawg it may not be uninteresting to the Society of Antiquaries, and should you concur in that opinion, you will honour me by its communication whenever opportunity offers.

Dugdale, in his *Monasticon*, has confounded the abbey of Ystard Marchell with that of Llanegwestyl, in Ial, now generally known by the name of Valle Crucis Monasterium, and therefore asserts that it was founded by Madoc the son of Griffin, in the year 1170. This Griffin, or rather Gryfydd, was living till the year 1191, so that his son Madoc did not become possessed of his patrimony till that period, and the an-

tient Welsh chronicle, called *Brut y tywysogion*, under the year 1185, records the death of Ithel the abbot of Ystrad Marchell. Madoc did indeed lay the foundation (as the word *grwndwaleyt* in the same authority seems to imply) of the abbey of Llanegwestyl, in Ial, but it was in the year 1200, and when he died in 1236 was there buried; whereas his father and grandfather were both interred in the church of Meivod. Grose, in his *Antiquities of England and Wales*, has given an inscription on the building commemorative of this fact. The date therefore of 1170, though correct as to the foundation of Ystrad Marchell, has nothing to do with Valle Crucis abbey. Dugdale, it will be found, got it from the Chronicle of St. Werburg, in Chester, preserved in the Cotton Library, and it is in no way connected with the charters of Madoc ab Gruffydd, which follow. The first of these is without date, and is a grant to the monks of Ystrad Marchell of the vill of Llen-y-gwestyl, literally "the receptacle for lodging," probably an hospitium, that they might build there a monastery of their own order. He recites that he is induced so to do at the instigation of four abbots, Peter of Ty-gwyn in Caermarthenshire, Dyvnwal of Ystradflûr in Cardiganshire, Rhûn of Cwmhîr in Radnorshire, and Philip, at that very time abbot of Ystrad Marchell. We find, indeed, that he appointed this very Philip his first abbot, for in the attestation of that ecclesiastic, he styles himself abbot of Pola-i-phill (a word on which I shall by and by offer a remark) and abbot of Valle Crucis abbey.

Madoc's next charter is one of confirmation at the instance of his wife Gwladys, and it concludes with "*facta est hæc donatio nostra anno incarnationis Dominicæ 1222.*"

These two charters therefore belong to Valle Crucis abbey. That which Dugdale next presents is in reality the foundation deed of Ystrad Marchell, and to this it is that the date 1170 should be attributed, though no year is mentioned. Owain Cyveiliawg, the son of Gruffydd, states, that on account of the souls of his ancestors, but more particularly of his father and mother, he gives to the Cistercian friars of Ty-

gwyn, the land called Y strad Marghell contained within certain limits which he then sets forth, *ad ædificandam abbatiam Deo in honore semper virginis Mariæ*. So by the Pentarchia Owain Cyveiliawg we are informed

“*Virginis et nitidum Marcellæ struxit asylum.*”

The truth is, that not only are these two distinct foundations, but the respective abbeys were at a great distance from each other, Valle Crucis or Llanygwestyl abbey near Llangollen in Denbighshire, and Y strad Marghell, *i. e.* “the plain or stratum covered with a thicket of briars,” in Montgomeryshire, between Welsh Pool and Guilsfield, a village about four miles to the north of it.

From this situation of the latter it probably obtained the name of Pola or Pola-i-phill, more correctly Pwll-y-pill, *i. e.* “the pool containing a retreat or strong hold,” which might, as well as Trallwn, have been a name for Welshpool.

Ystradmargell now forms one of the hundreds of Montgomeryshire and Cyveiliawg another, with the principal part of the county intervening, but from the document, of which I send you a copy, Cyveiliawg appears to have had anciently far more extent, almost abutting on Ystradmargell, where it reached the river Verniw.

Powys and its dependencies formed one of the sovereignties of Wales, and in that state was possessed by Mareddydd the son of Bleddyn. Of the latter he gave Cydywain (the district containing Newtown) as a marriage portion to his daughter, and our ancestor Cydavael Ygnad becoming her son-in-law, acquired it as his patrimony in the time of King John. Powys he divided between his son Madoc and his grandson Owain Cyveiliawg, Gruffydd, Owain's father, having died during the lifetime of Mareddydd. Madoc's share acquired the appellation of Powys Vadoc, and Owain's, in honour of his son, was termed Powys Wenwynwyn.

The remarks which I have made in the course of this letter, will, perhaps, be better understood by the following pedigree :

Hynydd, d. of Eunydd ab Gwernwy, of Dyfryn Clwyd, 1st wife.		Mareddydd ab Bleddyn, Prince of all Powys, died in 1132.		Eva, d. of Blettrws ab Ednowain, 2d wife.	
Sian, received Cydywain as a marriage portion.	Madoc, Lord of Broomfield, had Powys Vardoc, died in 1160 at Winchester, buried at Meivod, a church he had rebuilt near Matheraval.	Susannah, d. of Gruffydd ab Cynan, Prince of Gwynedd.	Gruffydd died in 1128.	Gwervyl, d. of Gwrgenau ab Hywel, ab Jevav, ab Cadwgan, ab Elystan glodrudd.	Iorwerth gòch, Lord of Crûgion and Bergedwyn.
Gruffydd, Lord of Maclor and Broomfield, died in 1191, and was buried at Meivod.	Angharad, daughter of Owain Gwynedd.	Owain, surnamed from the district assigned him, Cyveiliawg, had on the death of his grandfather the upper moiety of Powys, and founded the abbey of Ystrad-marchell in 1170. He died a very old man in 1197.			Gwenllian, daughter of Owain Gwynedd.
MADOC, Lord of Bromfield, founded Valle Crucis Abbey in 1200, buried there in 1236.	Gwladys, dau. of Ithel ab Rhys, ab Morgan of Ewias.	WENWYNWYN, gave name to his patrimony, and died in 1240.		Margaret, d. of Rhys ab Tydur, Prince of South Wales.	

In the year 1201, four years after his father's death, Wenwynwyn was prevailed on by the monks of Ystradmarchell, who had so well succeeded in working on the superstitious fears of his relation Madoc in the preceding year, to add to his father's gift the district of Cyveiliawg, which he did by the following deed :

"Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis tam presentibus quam futuris, notam sit quod Ego Wenwynwyn, filius Owain Kyveiliawg, dedi Deo et gloriose virgini Matri et monachis de Strat M'chell pro salute anime mee in liberam et quietam elemosinam omnes pasturæ totius provincie que dicitur Kyveiliawg infra istos terminos, scil. Avon maen melyn usq' ad Llwyn y groes, et inde in directum usq' ad Blaen-nant-hannang, et inde a Nant hannang usq' ad ejus aber, inde usq' ad Aber-nant-garth-brân-ddû, et per longitudinem ipsius rivuli usq' ad suum blaen, et inde in directum usq' ad Carnedd-wen, et inde usq' ad Gobleiddie, et a Pen gobleiddie-blaen-nant-tylinge usque ad suum aber, et inde bache usq' ad Aber-dyvngwm, inde per Dyvngwm usq' ad ejus ortum, et inde usq' ad Kelly-gogey, et inde usq' ad Rydiol, et per Rydiol usq' ad Gwryd-kay, et inde Rydiol iterum usq' ad Aber-camddwr, et ab Aber-camddwr-kyveiliawg usq' ad ejus ortum, et inde in

directum usq' ad Blaen-Einiawn, et inde per Einiawn usq' ad ejus aber, et inde per Dyvi usq' ad Aber-duwlas, et inde per Dulas usq' ad ejus ortum, et inde in directum usq' ad Kevn-y-bwlch, et inde usq' ad Blaen-llywdo, et per Llwydo usq' ad ejus aber, et inde Dyvi et inde usq' ad Aber-llywenyth et sic per Llywenyth usq' ad ejus ortum, et inde in directum Rhyd-y-pebyllva super Clawedog, et inde per Clawedog usq' ad Gwernach, et per Gwernach usq' ad ejus ortum, et inde sicut ducit Mons superior usq' ad Rhyd-derwen, et sic per Derwen usq' ad y Vyrnwy, et inde Nant-yr-Eira usq' ad Lleddwern, et a Blaen-lleddwern in directum usq' ad Avon-maen-melyn. Omnes, itaq' pastur' dedi ego predictus Wenwynwyn p'nominatis monachis infra prefatos terminos."

As neither Mr. Gough nor Sir Richard Hoare, nor, indeed, any of their transcribers, seem to have formed correct ideas respecting the foundation of the abbey of Ystrad-marchell, I hope you will pardon this long Letter from

Yours, most truly,

SAMUEL RUSH MEYRICK.

To HENRY ELLIS, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

XXVII. *Plan projected in 1561, for building a House of Correction in Westminster: Communicated in a Letter addressed to the Right Honourable the EARL OF ABERDEEN, K. T. President, by HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.*

Read 22d December 1825.

British Museum, December 22, 1825.

MY LORD,

THE Society of Antiquaries has recently been presented with one or two Communications of considerable interest respecting Westminster: and in the absence of any thing more important, I beg to lay before it the Transcript of a Scheme, projected in 1561, for constructing a House of Correction for that City. The original is preserved among the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum,^a and is endorsed, as for consideration, in the hand-writing of Lord Burghley.

This Plan, as it relates to the establishment of officers and servants, the quantum of food for the prisoners, and the general expence of the place, appears to have been well adapted to the Time at which it was proposed. It is observable that the contingency was looked to, of the Prison occasionally being required to hold people of some sort of condition above the idle and the vagabond.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful servant,

HENRY ELLIS.

The Right Honourable
The EARL OF ABERDEEN,
&c. &c. &c.

^a MS. Lansd. 5, art. 30.

AN ADVISE FOR THE ERECCION OF A HOUSE OF
CORRECCION IN WESTM. 1561.

AN Advise for the ereccion of a House of Occupations, or rather an House of Correccion for repressyng of the idle and sturdy vagabond and common strompet.

First, this house must be strong and have in yt some convenyent ayer, and have devision in yt, that the men and women come not together.

The mean to erect soche a house must either be of the liberall and fre almose of the people, wherby not only the same may be erected and furnysshed w^t matter necessary for the furnytur therof, as beddes, shetes, coverlettes, and other soche necessarys, which almese also must be first obteyned by the private examynacion of the good willes of every particular inhabitant inhabityng wⁱⁿ the Libertye, Toune, or Citie wher soch a House

The examyners of this almese must be men of auctoritee and great credite.

shalbe erected. But also the same almese must extend to a surplusage over and above the provision of necessities to make a stock of the same, wherby the people from tyme to tyme as they ar brought into the sayd house may be kept occupyed and set of woork. And if the almese will not amount both to erect the house w^t full furnytur of necessarys and also to leave some soche convenyent some for a stock as hereafter I will declar, then let the almese extend so farr as yt maye, and let some landes be procured to the mayntenaunce of their labors.

The thynges that soche sorte of people are to be treyned and occupyed in, must nether be fyne nor costlye, for it is to be consydered before hand, that ye shall have to do with the most desperatest people of the earth, geven to all spoyle and robbery, and soch as will break from you and steale. Therfor shall ye not nede to devyse many thinges, for of that have we had great experyence, that no facultye wilbe continued among soch people if any kynde of skope of passage be had; and that the one will steale from the other, and it will many tymes be hard to understand the doers therof, by reason wherof we have susteyned great damage and losse. Wherfor ye shall not nede to use any

mor then only these ij. thynges ; a Myll to exercise the Vagabond, and a Whele to exercise the common strompet. And these ij. maye be erected without any great stock or charge savyng only the charges of the makyng of your myll, which will not be moche above xx^{li} the myll, and stones and all that doth therunto belong. And this myll maye ye order in maner of taske woork, that so many apoynted to the myll shall dayly grynde you so many busselles, and by this meanes shall ye understand your gayne or losse.

And for the Wheles, ye may chose whether ye will occupye them in wollen yarne or cotton wolle. But the better is cotton wolle, for that they may both most profite by and also can least steale. And in cotton wolle ye may chose whether ye will provyde a stock or no. For if ye will ye may be assured to have woork enough of other mennes, and to have so reasonable allowaunce for the woorkmanship therof that your people maye lyve.

There is also one other occupacion very necessary and profitable, if it please you to use yt, and it is the setting up of a Lyme Kele, wherby every hegger maye be occupied, and none of them can either steale or hynder you.

For the Governement and Order of this House ye must elect and apoynt from tyme to tyme vj. at the least of the most gravest, wisest, and welthyest persons of your toune, and these shall have for their labors none other fee but soche as almighty God hathe promysed to them that fear him and walke in his wayes.

The sayd persons must be called the Masters of the house of Correccion, and must have aucthorite to use their discrecions in the usyng and correctyng of soch Vagabondes and idle people as shalbe brought into the sayd house. In lyke manner the same persons must have aucthorite to apprehend all soche lewde and suspect persons, be they men or women, as haunt within their libertye; and the same to commyt to the house of Correccion; and further to use and ponyssh them as [to their discrecions shall seme mete. And these men may not at any tyme do any thing either in commyttyng, or ponysshing, or dischargyng, without the consent of ij. of them at the least.

Officers nedeful and necessary for the sayd House, which must have wages.

First, for the good order of the same House, it is requysyte that ther be one Clerck, who not only shall take an inventory of all soche thinges as shal belong to the sayd House, but also shall enter from tyme to tyme all soche persons and their causes as shall fortune to be brought into the sayd house, and also note their discharge and delyvery and by whome the same was delyvered. And the same Clerck shalbe allwayes attendant upon the sayd Masters, specially at the dayes of their assembly, which would be ij. dayes in a weke at the least.

Also ther must be one honest true and good man to be the Porter and Keper of the sayd House, who shall have and se the kepyng and bestowyng of soche lewde persons as commeth into the sayd house.

Ther must also be one Matrone, who must have the order and governement of the lewde women, and the sayd Matron must be a woman of great courage, and of honest name and conversacion, and this Matron must have one allowed to attend upon her.

Ye must also have at the least ij. Bedylls, which must be the takers up of the sayd idle people, and to attend at the commaundment of the sayd Masters.

Ye must also have one Myller to kepe your people on woork, and to put in surtyes to aunswer for all soche corne as shalbe delyvered him to grynde, and that he se the same doone truly and without any fraude.

Also ye must have a consideracion of the Dyet of the sayd people, and ye may not excede this proporcion, whiche although it be slender yet yt wilbe sufficient. To every iiij. persons, beyng women, at every meale one pound of befe, and potage, with bread and drynke. And to every ij. persones beyng men and goyng in the myll, j lb. of befe at every meale, and potag, bread, and drynke. And ye must bake your bread yourselfe and allowe for every person in the house every daye one whole lofe of bread weyeng xvj oz. and no more, and this sise ye shall alwayes kepe whether corne be good chepe or dere. And for drynke ye shall geve them syngle bere to every iiij. a pottell at dyner, and asmoche at

supper. But them that labor in the myll ye must geve more. And on soche as be fishe dayes & no fastyng dayes, ye shall geve the lyke valor of meate in butter, chese, herynges, pescodes, and soche lyke.

Ye must have in the sayd house ij. payr of stockes, one among the men, and another among the women, and ye must provyde shakles of iron for the tamyng of the wylde and lewde persons.

And if ye provyde beddes for the men, then must ye have good regard that they breake not from you, for they will cut your beddes and shetes and so eslake.

Ye must be carefull of fyre, for the people ar desperate, and car not what mischefe they do.

The charge of your necessary Fees and Wages wilbe this at the least.

First, one Clerck by the yere	-	-	-	-	-	iiij. ^{li}
A Porter by the yere	-	-	-	-	-	vj. ^{li}
A Matrone by the yere	-	-	-	-	-	liij. ^s iiij. ^d
and the sayd Matrone must be allowed toward her dyet wekly xvjd	-	-	-	-	-	} iiij. ^{li} x. ^s
Item ij Bedylles by the yere	-	-	-	-	-	
A Myller by the yere	-	-	-	-	-	x. ^{li}
						vj. ^{li}
Total, xxxij. ^{li} iiij. ^s iiij. ^d						

It may so happen that often tymes there may be commytted mennes servantes for disobedyence, and some mennes wyves for lewdenes, whiche cannot labour, and many tymes ar of purpose kept secret and close for their ponyshment; and yet ar well hable to paye for soch charges as they shall put the House unto. All soche maner of persons, whatsoever the same be, ye shall not geve nor suffer to be brought unto them any maner of thyng over and above the ordynary dyet of the House. And at their departure ye shall take of them for their charges after iiij^d the daye and no more. And ye shall suffer no manner of Fyne nor Fee to be taken for Irons, or any other thing. But only soch as be well hable to paye shall yelde unto the Porter of the house at their departure for the amendment of his lyvyng iiij^d and no more.

XXVIII. *Drawings and a Dissertation respecting some Roman Antiquities, discovered on the Line of Antonine's Vallum, since the publication of General Roy's Work: By the Rev. JOHN SKINNER, A. M. F. S. A.; in a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.*

Read 19th January 1826.

Camerton Parsonage, near Bath, Nov. 22, 1825.

SIR,

I BEG leave, through your assistance, to call the attention of the Society of Antiquaries to an interesting Roman remain which I lately* noticed whilst tracing the line of Antonine's Vallum from Bowness to Old Kilpatrick.

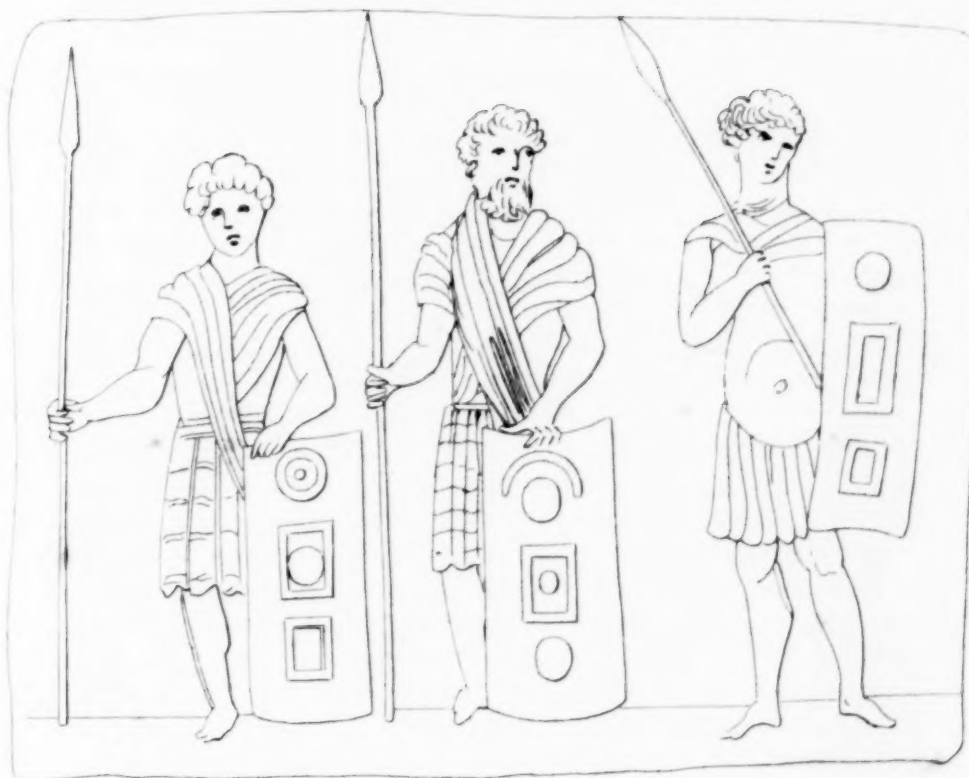
The subject alluded to is preserved in the wall of a farm-house denominated Nether Croy, situated at the foot of Croy-hill near Kilsyth, where it was found not many years since within the inclosure of the station. The stone (evidently a fragment of one of larger dimensions) measures sixteen inches in width by twelve in height, and retains three figures well executed in *bas-relief*. The center figure (an old man having a full beard and close curled hair) is represented with a spear in his right-hand, his left resting on an oblong hollow shield placed upright on the ground, and reaching as high as his waist. Two beardless youths accompany him: that standing to his right is sculptured in a similar dress and attitude to himself, with the same kind of spear and shield: the third figure, to the left of the elder personage, has his shield elevated to the height of his breast, so as to protect the body, his spear held resting over the right shoulder. The shields of the three figures are exactly of the same shape and dimensions, ornamented in compartments with

* September 10.

squares and orbs; that of the middle figure retains a crescent or semi-circle, the points downwards, so as to form an arch over the upper orb of his shield. The first two figures are clothed each in a close garment, nearly hidden by a scarf or loose cloak which passes over the shoulders and descends in folds in front, leaving the arms bare. The third has his cloak thrown aside so as to discover a cuirass, or coat of mail, fitting close to his body, and terminating below the waist in a girdle composed of small bands or lappets, such as we observe on the medals and statues of the earlier Cæsars. The other two, instead of this fringe-like ornament, wear a short garment reaching from the waist or knee, very similar to the same kind of dress at present worn by the Highlanders. Indeed, the person who first informed me of this curious remain happened to be the identical mason employed at the time of its discovery to place it on the wall of the farm house, and he described it to me as a memorial of three Highland chieftains, since he considered the dress very similar to what is worn by them. This by the way is an unbiassed testimony that the habit adopted and now worn by the Highlanders, is actually derived from that in which the Romans were clad upwards of sixteen centuries ago. The accompanying Sketch,* although a mere outline, will better describe than words the subject under our consideration. I only regret it was not taken by a more accurate artist, as, indeed, if my conjectures prove correct respecting it, I trust will hereafter be done, for the satisfaction of those who are interested in similar researches with myself.

From the farmer residing at Nether Croy, who was present at the time the stone was placed in the wall of his house, I learnt that there was an inscription below it at the time it was found, but it was broken off by the mason, in order to make it fit to its present situation. Had this document been preserved, the identity of the representation would probably have been confirmed without any further observations on my part; but since this explanation is wanting, I feel warranted in submitting to the Society my reasons for believing that this interesting memorial

* See Pl. xx.



*Sketch of a Stone found in the Station on Grey Hill, measurement 16 in. by 12.
preserved in the Wall of a Farm House in the neighbourhood.*

was designed to represent the Emperor Severus and his two sons Caracalla and Geta; and that it was erected by the soldiers^b stationed at Croy-hill to record some important event terminated under their immediate auspices whilst they commanded in Britain.

It is well known that some serious insurrections of the Britons, and more especially of the northern tribes, called from Rome the warlike Severus and his two sons, whom he had associated with him in the Empire (about the year 208), that having soon quieted the disturbances in the interior of the Island, he directed his principal efforts against the Caledonians, whom he partially subdued after several severe contests, in which he lost numbers of his men; that afterwards, in order to secure the Province from further inroads, he fortified with a wall the original boundary established by Agricola and Hadrian, about eighty miles to the southward of the Vallum of Antonine, so that if in case of any sudden irruption they should pass the first barrier, they might meet with a decided repulse at the second.

Shortly after he had completed this arduous enterprise, which obtained for him, we are told, the title of Britannicus,^c worn out with fatigue and repeated attacks of the gout, the aged Emperor breathed his last at York.^d Although no particulars have been transmitted to us of the campaigns of Severus against the Caledonians, there is every reason to suppose they terminated to his satisfaction, since a short time before his death, he is reported to have said, "When I first took charge of the state, I found it every where in disorder, I leave it every where in peace, even in Britain. Although old and gouty, I have established a firm dominion for my sons, if they prove themselves deserving of it;

^b It appears a Vexillatio of the sixth Legion, stiled Victrix, was quartered here.

^c Britanniam (quod maximum ejus imperii decus est) muro per transversam insulam ducto utrimque ad finem Oceani munivit: unde etiam Britannici nomen accepit. *Ælius Spartianus in Severo, sect. 18.*

^d Perit Eboraci in Britannia, subactis gentibus quæ Britannia videbantur infestæ, anno Imperii decimo octavo, morbo gravissimo extinctus jam senex.

if they do not, it will be a weak one."^e Since the operations of Severus were principally directed against the Caledonians, the chain of forts and stations established within the Vallum of Antonine, nearly seventy years before by Lollius Urbicus^f who was then Legate in Britain, must necessarily have been his head-quarters.

The army we know marched a considerable distance beyond this boundary, and penetrated into the heart of Caledonia, passing through woods and morasses with incredible perseverance;^g but as there were no permanent stations beyond the line, on its return it must have occupied the cantonments, and, during the peace which succeeded, the soldiers would naturally have felt an interest in recording the hazardous enterprises in which they had been engaged, and the several victories they had obtained.

If, on their first establishment on the line, they considered it of sufficient importance to transmit to posterity the exact number, even to a fraction, of the several hundred paces cut by each separate Vexillatio, or Division, stationed on the Vallum (several of which records are still preserved in the Museum at Glasgow), how much rather would they have vied with each other in recording the military exploits performed under the immediate eye of their Emperor?^h

Two mutilated stones, independent of that under our consideration, I myself noticed during my late excursion along the line. One preserved on the wall of the same farm-house at Nether Croy, represents a captive

^e *Turbidam rempublicam ubique accepi, pacatam reliqui, etiam in Britannis relinquo senex et pedibus æger, firmum imperium Antoninis meis relinquens si boni erunt, imbecillum si mali.*

^f Coins struck during the Consulate of Antoninus III. and Aurelius Cæsar, record the victories gained by the Lieutenant Lollius Urbicus, probably against the Caledonians, before he cut the vallum from the Forth to the Clyde, or at that period, viz. anno Dom. 140.

^g Herodian writes, "PONTIBUS occupare paludes, ut stare in tuto milites facileque per eas discurrere possent, atque in solido præliari."

^h Both Camden and Horsey have noticed these records of work and labour performed by the soldiers stationed on the Vallum. The originals of some preserved at Glasgow are thus inscribed :

crouching beneath a circular wreath, in the center of which there seems to have been an inscription to Victory; the two first letters *vi* being retained, the other part is broken off; to the right of the circle is represented a female figure, intended probably for the good genius of the Roman people; she is nearly without clothing, and stands between two pillars, which by the way are ornamented with a waving line running from the base to the capital, after the manner of those retained in some of our cathedrals and monastic houses built soon after the Norman Conquest, and generally, but erroneously, supposed to have been invented by the architects of that period. (See Pl. xxi. fig. 1.)

The second Inscription, which seems to refer to the victories of Severus in the vicinity, I met with in a farm-yard, occupied within the inclosure of the Roman fortress at Achendavy near Kirkintulloch;ⁱ it

IMP. CÆSAR. T. AELIO. HADRIANO. AVG. PIO VEXILLATIO. LEG VI VIC. P.F PER. MP. IIIDCLXVI.

Another, VEX. LEG VI. VIC. PF.OPVS. VALLI P × | × | × | × CXLI.

Another, VEX. LEG XX. VV. PF IIICDXI. Another, LEG II. AVG. PPIIICCIX.

Another, LEG II. AVG PER. MP. IIIDCLXVI.

Another, COHT. TVNGRORVM FECIT ×

On a fragment of another, LEG II AVG Q LOLLIO. VR—LEG AVG PRE—

These inscriptions not only prove how exact the Romans were in similar records, but that drafts from the II, VI, and XX legions were stationed on the Vallum at this period (140).

ⁱ Four altars were found at Achendavy whilst they were digging the canal, and are preserved in the Museum at Glasgow, all erected by the same person.

No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.	No. 4.
<u>I. O. M.</u>	<u>MARTI</u>	GENIO	DIANAE
VICTORIÆ	MINERVÆ	TERRAE	APOLLINI
VICTRICI. PRS	CAMPESTRI	BRITA	MCOCCEI
CLIMPNETSV	BVS. HERØ	NNICAE	FIRMVS
SVORVM	EPONAE	M COCCEI	LEG II AVG
M. COCCEI	VICTORIAE	FIRMVS	
FIRMVS	M. COCCEI	LEG II AVG	
EEG II AVG	FIRMVS		
	LEG II. AVG		

Two iron mallets, each weighing 40 lbs. were also found here.

is deeply and well cut on a fragment of stone, evidently part of a regal laureated corona, or wreath, dedicated to Mars by the Alæ of the second legion quartered there. (Pl. xxi. fig. 3.) Had the mason only preserved as small a portion of the inscription connected with the three figures on the Nether Croy stone as this, it might have shewn whether the memorial was designed to record a victory, or whether it related to some civil or religious transaction; in either case, the effigies of the Emperor Severus and his sons, then associated with him in the empire, might have been employed to mark the epoch and confer authority on the document. But since my present conjectures have reference only to what is retained of this interesting memorial, not to what is lost, I shall confine my observations to the figures themselves, and endeavour to extract such information from the general appearance, countenances, and military accoutrements of this Roman trio, as will, I trust, tend to support the opinions I have ventured to advance respecting it.

The *prima facie* evidence of an aged man accompanied by two youths, found sculptured in a situation where it is known that Severus and his sons were principally engaged, affords some presumption that they were intended for these rulers. The presumption is further strengthened by collateral evidence, that Severus and his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, were thus represented together on coins struck at this very period when they were in Britain; and should it be found that there is any resemblance between the acknowledged representations on these coins and the figures on the Nether Croy stone, the evidence, as far as such testimony can go, may be considered as complete.

With respect to this celebrated commander, who, (though well connected, rose by merit through all the inferior ranks in the army till he obtained the purple,) he always appears on his coins and statues to be of a grave and sedate countenance,^k his beard full and venerable, worn

^k His biographer *Ælius Spartianus*, above quoted, describes him thus: "*Ipse decorus, ipse ingens, promissâ barbâ, cano capite et crispo, vultu reverendus, canorus voce, sed aprum quoddam usque ad senectutem sonans.*" Severus was born at Tripolis in Africa.

A statue of Severus in the British Museum retains this description of countenance, and

after the manner of the Antonines, whom he imitated. His hair closely curled over his forehead, and his nose rather turned up. He had nearly attained the age of sixty-six when he died, having reigned eighteen years. His eldest son Barsianus Antoninus, afterwards surnamed Caracalla, who had already received the appellation of Cæsar, was elected by the military as partner in the empire at the age of thirteen. This was about the year 196 of our æra. When Severus had gained much popularity by his victories over the Parthians, Geta, a year younger than his brother, was then first named Cæsar. On his return from an equally prosperous expedition in Syria, Severus bestowed the toga on Caracalla, then aged seventeen. The following year, being Consul, he triumphed at Rome with his father, on account of their victories in the East, and married Plautilla in the year 205. Geta served the office of Consul with his elder brother, being then twenty years of age; he had before been chosen to that office, as had Caracalla. Three years subsequent to this period, that is A. D. 208, both the young men accompanied their father to Britain, and were engaged with him till the time of his death (211), in quieting the insurrections of the people in that province, more especially those who inhabited the northern extremity of the Island. On the death of Severus at York, having burnt his body with all military honours, they returned with his ashes in an urn to Rome. The year following, Caracalla stabbed his brother Geta in the very arms of their mother Julia, whither he had fled to avoid the fratricide. Caracalla was himself assassinated by one of his attendants in the year 217. All these particulars may be collected from coins struck at the different periods alluded to, from the dates of the consular years, and the concurring testimony of credible historians.

By existing Medals it is also proved that Severus was sometimes represented, as on the stone preserved at Nether Croy, accompanied by his two sons. It was his object, as much as possible, to preserve affection

all the coins which I have seen preserve it; there can be no doubt but that coins preserved actual portraits at this period.

between them, which from their very infancy had been much alienated by mutual jealousies and the evil counsel of their dependants.¹ Both the young men, on account of their successes in Britain, assumed the name of Britannicus, as well as their father. The elder, through excess of folly, styled himself Britannicus Maximus. With respect to dress, the Emperor Severus is said to have been as plain and uncostly as his sons were particular and ostentatious. He wore a coarse chlamys, or

¹ On the reverse of a Coin struck in the year 209, when Severus and his sons were in Britain, is inscribed, "Concordia Augustorum." Caracalla and Geta are here represented joining hands, and the figure of Victory behind them. On another is inscribed, L SEP. SEVERVS. PIVS. AVG. on the reverse, VICTORIAE BRITANNICAE; this is accompanied by two figures of Victory supporting a shield—two captives standing near, with their hands bound behind them. On another inscribed, SEVERVS. PIVS AVG. PM. TR. P XVIII COS II PP SC. Severus with Caracalla and Geta are shewn addressing four soldiers, three of whom bear military standards, in allusion probably to the three legions in Britain. On another, struck about the same time (that is in 209 or 210) inscribed L SEP SEVERVS PIVS. AVG. the Emperor is represented standing between Caracalla and Geta addressing the soldiers, with the same letters on the exergue as on the former. Another, with the same inscription, shews three figures sacrificing at an altar, with a victim. On the reverse of a coin of Geta, struck, 206, inscribed, P SEPTIMVS GETA. CAES. PONTIFEX COS II, Severus is represented sitting between Caracalla and Geta. On a coin of Caracalla, struck 209, inscribed, ANTONINVS. PIVS. AVG. on the reverse PONTIF. TR. P XII COS III, two Emperors are represented standing clothed in the paludamentum, holding out their right hands as though addressing the soldiers; spears in their left hands, two captives at their feet. On another, inscribed, ANTONINVS PIVS AVG BRIT. PONTIF TR P XIII COS III. SC. a figure of Victory is represented inscribing something on a shield suspended from a palm-tree. On another, ANTONINVS PIVS AVG BRIT. reverse, CONCORDIA FELIX. Caracalla and Geta sitting, offering their hands to each other, their mother Julia between them; this was struck in 211, after the death of Severus. On one of the coins of Geta is inscribed IMP. CAES. P SEP. GETA PIVS AVG; reverse, VICTORIAE BRIT. a figure of Victory, with a branch of laurel in her right hand, in her left a palm branch. On another, VICTORIAE BRITANNICAE, two figures of Victory placing laurels on two figures in the center of the coin. On another, PONTIF. TR. P III COS II SC; Caracalla and Geta joining hands; a figure of Victory places a crown of laurel on Geta, holding a palm branch in her right hand, whilst Hercules crowns Caracalla, holding his club in his right hand and the lion's skin over his shoulder. On another, IMP P SEPTIMVS GETA PIVS AVG BRIT; reverse, VICT AETERNAE AVGG. S C. a winged Victory standing between Caracalla and Geta, and joining their hands.

cloak, over his shoulders, which scarcely retained any purple to denote his dignity.^m The dress of Caracalla, as represented on the Croy stone, is the same as his father's; that is, if we suppose the shorter of the two youths, standing at his right hand, to be intended for him. He has the same kind of cloak folded over his shoulders and descending from his tunic; the same kind of short petticoat, or kilt, from his waist to his knees. The other youth is habited more after the fashion of the earlier Cæsars, with his chlamys thrown backwards, so as to shew the lorica, or cuirass, fitting close to his body, with the fimbriæ or detached bands hanging below his girdle; instead of wearing a short garment of one piece like the present kilt of the Highlanders, as did his father and brother. Indeed it appears from the figures represented on the pillars of Trajan, Severus, and Constantine, that all these Emperors wore this kind of garment instead of the fimbriated belt of their predecessors. The learned Montfaucon throws so much light on the subject, in his inestimable work on Antiquities, that I shall here quote him verbatim, as the best authority to identify the figures under our present consideration, by the costume of the time in which they were sculptured. Describing the military habits of the Roman Emperors, vol. iv. p. 20, of which he gives a plate, he remarks,ⁿ "The military dress of Trajan, as

^m Hic tam exiguis vestibus usus est ut vix tunica ejus aliquid purpuræ haberet, et cum hirta Chlamyde humeros velaret. Lampridius in Alexandro dicit, "Chlamides hirtas Severi et tunicas asemas." Ælius Spartianus, before quoted, says, speaking of Caracalla, "Ipse nomen Caracallæ accepit a vestimento quod populo dederat dimisso usque ad talos, quod non ante fuerat, unde hodieque Antoninianæ dicuntur Caracallæ hujusmodi in usu maximè Romanæ plebis frequentatæ." Others affirm this new mode of dress invented by this worthy Emperor had a hood to it like the cucullus of a monk; be this as it may, such an invention would better have become a tailor than a monarch. Geta was very splendid in his dress, so as to give displeasure to his father on that account. "Vestibus nitidissimus ita ut pater doleret," says Ælius Spartianus. The rivalry and hatred existing between the two brothers might have originated from such a foolish source as this; for no one can account for the whims of Princes, especially when acted upon by the interested and designing.

ⁿ Tabula sequens observatu dignissima est: hic conspiciuntur a Trajano ad usque Con

it is represented on his Pillar, very much resembles that of the preceding Emperors, with this distinction, that instead of having those bandlettes attached to the lorica as they have, he wears a piece of stuff ornamented with a kind of galoon or fringe passing across the middle of the garment. The Prætors, Tribunes, and other officers standing around him, have exactly the same dress, without any distinction whatever. Besides this usual military habit, Trajan is sometimes represented on the Column with a different kind of vestment, which appears to have been intended for the winter. The Emperor is here shewn more closely covered than was his custom, and this additional clothing is also used by his officers and soldiers, that they might be better defended from the cold. Marcus Aurelius is also sculptured on this Column, such as we have represented him, a group of officers attending, who are clad in the same manner as the Emperor, but he holds a short spear, probably a pilum, in his hand. Septimus Severus, who succeeded him (in Montfaucon's plate), has nearly the same kind of military habit as the Emperor Trajan, but the Tribunes, who accompany him, differ somewhat in costume from their superior."

On examining plate iv. of volume V. of Montfaucon's estimable Work, all these little distinctions will be shortly ascertained, and it can *be proved even to demonstration*, that the short garment adopted by Trajan and the officers under him, employed also by Severus and his legionaries, and continued to be used till after the reign of Constantine, was no other than the identical kilt at present worn by the Highlanders.

In plate iii of the same volume, a likeness is given of Marcus

stantinum vestes militares Imperatorum Tribunorumque. Trajani vestis militaris sæpe in Columnâ Trajani visitur, sat similis iis qui præceperunt, hoc uno discrimine quod loco fasciarum in loricarum præcedentium imâ parte pannus sit, qui in medio limbo quodam, aut fimbriæ undique exornatur, qui illi adstant, seu Prætores seu Tribuni, eâdem vestis formâ nullo discrimine ornantur. Præter hanc militarem vestem alium in Columnâ non semel conspicimus, ubi Trajanus vestimentum habet longe dissimile, quæ vestis duplicata hiberno tempore destinata videtur, eo vestis genere, non Trajani modo sed Tribuni atque militis induuntur, ut ab hieme acrisque injuriâ sese meantur.

Aurelius,^o who carries his paludamentum in the same manner as a Highlander of the present day would his plaid in the heat of summer, it being partly thrown over his right shoulder, then falling to the lower part of his back, and then gathered up gracefully over his left arm. It is impossible to convey in words a just idea of this dress, and the original statue or exact drawings must be consulted for the purpose, as Montfaucon himself remarks, when speaking on the subject.

With regard to the Shields of the figures represented on the Croy stone, they are evidently of the form called *Scuta*, appropriated to the *Principes* and *Hastati*, the most approved soldiers in the army. They were of a concave shape, not only for the purpose of covering more completely the body, but sometimes for carrying baggage on a march. On the column of Trajan, soldiers are represented passing a river; one of them with his clothes placed in the hollow of his shield, which he sustains poised on his head.^p These shields were ornamented; each legion having its buckler painted of a particular colour, and charged with distinctive symbols, as the thunderbolt, anchor, serpent, &c. To

^o In tabula sequenti Marcus Aurelius ex Musæo nostro eductus observatu dignus est, ex modo quo paludamentum complicatur, quo facilius oculis percipiatur quàm descriptione qualibet, ideoque anticam et posticam (*i. e.* a front and back view) imaginis obtulimus explorandum.

^p Vide Montfaucon, vol. v. book ii, p. 48. "Scutum militare Romanorum concavum erat, laterilis canalis sive imbricis forma (hollow tile), ad militum staturam comparatum duos cum dimidio circiter pedes habuisse. Latitudo ejus, cum totâ curviturâ sumta, unius et dimidii pedis fuisse putatur. Hæc scuta lignea olim erant, inquit Plutarchus in vitâ Furii Camillii, at hic Romanorum Dux laminis illa ferreis contegi curavit, ut ferro resistere possent. Scutum autem non in prælio tantum usum deputabatur ut militem tegeret, sed ad alia etiam usurpabatur opera, ad testudinem videlicet, in obsidionibus adornandum, cùm oppidi aut arcis mœnia oppugnabantur; itemque ad modicam suppellectilem militis gestandum, quando ipse nudus flumen trajiciebat; hic militis figuram damus, qui, dum flumen nudus pedesque trajecit, vestes ceterasque res in scuto concavo sublimes gestat; nec scuta semper exercere aliquâ figurâ ornabantur; aliqua ex iis quæ infra conspiciuntur fulmen habent depictum, quod erat ut putatur signum legionis fulminatricis. Militum maxima pars Trajani tempore hujusmodi scutum gestabant, ut in columnâ Trajanâ, inque aliis ejusdem ævi monumentis, observatur.

the symbols were added the peculiar signs of each Cohort, and the names of the persons to whom each buckler belonged (Veget. ii. 17). These marks were necessary, for they were deposited in tents and magazines until wanted, to preserve the paintings, &c. They were kept in leathern cases (Dion. Cass. l. xlii. c. 15, Xiphilin in Domitiano). In times posterior to the Antonines nothing is more common than to see Emperors holding a buckler in the left hand, adorned with divers figures; and after Constanstine with the monogram *ic*, which implied the protection princes owed to their subjects. All the ornaments on the shields of the three figures on the Croy stone are nearly the same; that is, a square in the center, with an orb or bow, above and below it; that of the aged figure, as before observed, retains a semi-circle, or crescent, with the points reversed, which, apparently, was a mark of distinction; the squares and orbs might be intended as symbols to express stability and order amongst the military throughout the Empire. The crescent we know was an honourable token amongst the Romans as well as the rulers of the East.⁴ Should it be said, a crescent is never represented with its points downwards, I can adduce no authority to prove it was, and only throw out this conjecture at random; but if it be entirely discarded, might not the semi-circle have been intended for a nimbus, or glory, such as Trajan and some of the following Emperors, especially Caracalla, are represented with round their heads? These luminous distinctions were in after-times liberally bestowed on the Saints of the Catholic Calendar; indeed we well know where to look for the origin of the consecration of Popes⁵ and Cardinals, Hermits and Monks, and

⁴ The Patricians wore half moons or crescents cut out of ivory above the instep to distinguish them from the common people; these were called "*calcei lunati*," that is, the shoes retaining that ornament. Plutarch, in his Roman Questions, gives abundance of reasons why they used the half moon rather than any other figure, but none of his fancies have met the approbation of the learned. Patrician youths, before they sat in the Senate, had the privilege of using the half moon on their shoes. Thus Statius, *Sylvæ*, v. 27.

"*Sic te, clare puer, genitum sibi Curia sensit,
Primaque Patriciæ claruit vestigia Curæ.*"

⁵ Vide Herodian's description of the consecration of Severus.

several other superstitions engrafted on the good stock ; which spurious branches the Protestant Reformers wisely pruned away ; yet they are beginning again to sprout, and there are not wanting men ready to maintain with their lives the grossest absurdities of Paganism against all wholesome doctrine and sober sense. But I must not, like those I allude to, encumber a plain matter with unnecessary additions. The subject I have endeavoured to explain has already carried me to a greater length than I intended ; but if what I have collected from various sources, to identify this interesting remain of Imperial Rome, prove satisfactory, the end is fully answered, and I have only to express a hope, that the Stone which has occupied our attention thus far, may be carefully preserved, as it is undoubtedly the only memorial in Britain which can be supposed to retain the effigies of three Roman Emperors, all of whom were so actively engaged in transactions connected with the earlier periods of our history. And the principal personage represented in the group, after having visited almost every part of his extensive dominions, and fought and conquered in every quarter of the known world, at length breathed his last in Britain, making this once hostile territory in fact his last home, the resting-place from further toil.

I cannot conclude this article respecting the Croy-hill antiquities, without noticing another interesting remain, which I believe hitherto has escaped observation. It is an altar dedicated to the nymphs, dug up in the same station, and now preserved in the garden of Nether Croy farm ;^a the inscription VEXILLATIO LEG. VI. VIC. indicates it was done by part of the sixth legion, styled Victrix, but under whose direction I will not pretend to say, since the last two lines, which would convey this information, are imperfect. Were the ground properly excavated within the inclosure of the Roman fortress on Croy-hill, much valuable information might be obtained. Indeed, it seems probable, that our brother Antiquaries in Scotland will ere long turn their attention this way, and by publishing their discoveries, enable us also to profit by them. I almost forgot to mention a circumstance which General Roy, whose correct observations on the line of the Vallum of Antonine I

^a See pl. XXI. fig. 2.

found of the greatest service to me, has not included in his remarks. As the trench ascends the higher ground and approaches to Croy-hill from the east, the line is preserved very perfect to the width of ten feet and upwards, and to the depth of eight or ten, but for some reasons I cannot possibly comprehend, a large mass of the natural rock, which lay in the line, has been suffered to remain untouched by the Roman engineers, so as to interrupt the excavation of the Vallum for several feet. But on the western side of the fort, between it and Bar-hill, the Vallum has been cut through the solid rock for a great distance, which clearly indicates it could not have been left by the Romans under the idea of saving their labour. Perhaps some members of our Society, who have connexions in that part of the country, may hereafter procure more satisfactory information on this head.

It is my intention at some future opportunity to transmit to you my observations on the Vallum of Antonine, and the line of Stations established by Hadrian and Severus, which I have visited with attention. From the similarity of the trench and agger employed in both these boundaries, to connect and defend the military posts previously occupied by Agricola, I may venture to affirm that the Wodens Dyke, or Wansdike, in Somersetshire, which united and secured the strong-holds to the west of the river Avon, was also a Roman work of still remoter antiquity, since it was in all probability cut by the soldiers under the command of the Pro-Prætor Ostorius, as a defence against the incursions of the Silures on the opposite side of the Severn.[†]

With many apologies for the trouble I give you in perusing this long Communication, which I should have presented in person had I been in town,

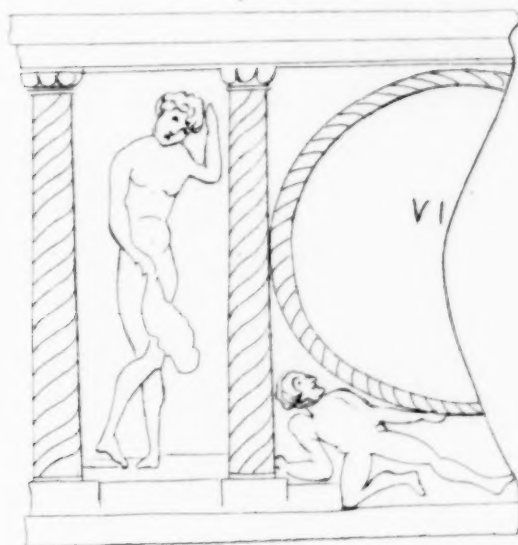
I remain, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN SKINNER.

[†] Vide Tacitus, Ann. lib. xii. c. 31. "Ille gnarus primis eventibus metum aut fiduciam gigni citas cohortes rapit, et cæsis qui resisterant disiectos consecratus, ne conglobarentur, infensaque et infida pax non duci non militi requiem permitteret detrahare armis, suspectis cinctosque castris Avonam et Sabrinam fluxivos cohibere parat."

Fig. 1.



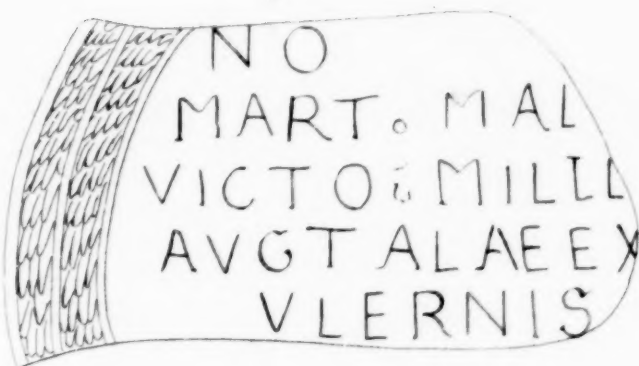
Stone preserved in the Wall of a Farm House at Nether Gray
found at the Station on the Hill above it.

Fig. 2.



Altar found in the Station at Gray Hill
now in the Garden of the Farm House at Nether Gray.

Fig. 3.



Fragment found at Achendavy near Kierken Tulloch.

XXVIII. *The Bill of the Expences attending the Journey of Peter Martyr and Bernardinus Ochin, from Basil to England, in 1547 : Communicated by NICHOLAS HARRIS NICOLAS, Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 9th February 1826.

10, Somerset Street, Portman Square, Jan. 24, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR,

IT is known to every person acquainted with the history of the reign of Edward the Sixth, that in the year 1547 the famous Peter Martyr and Bernardinus Ochin, in consequence of their zeal for the reformed Faith, were invited to this Country ; that the former was in the following year appointed Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford ; and that Ochin was nominated a Prebendary of the Cathedral of Canterbury by Archbishop Cranmer, on the 9th May 1548.

Whilst making some researches in the Ashmolean Library a short time since, I accidentally met with the original Bill of the expences paid by John Abell, the person who, it appears, was sent to bring them over, for their journey, as well as for clothes, horses, and other necessities, to enable them to undertake it ; and also of the amount paid for their lodgings, &c. on their arrival in London.

This document is not only interesting from its relation to these celebrated individuals, but likewise from its shewing the prices of various articles at the same period in England and at Basil ; and still more, from its affording information on the costume and manners of the times.

The biographers of Martyr inform us, that his wife, whom he had persuaded to quit the convent where she was professed, accompanied

him to this country, but from Abell's memorandum that he had desired his factor at Argentine to give to Martyr's servant as much money as he thought necessary for the charges of "their wyffe" coming down, it would appear that such was not the case; though on the other hand, from the item for the repair of saddles and pillions, it may be inferred that some females were of the party. That Martyr's wife came to England is certain, but had she been with him on that occasion, Abell would scarcely have omitted to speak of her.

It is the general impression that both Martyr and Ochin came to this country by the personal invitation of Cranmer, and which is in some degree corroborated by the frequent mention of that Prelate's name in the bill; but as it is certain that Abell looked for the payment of his expences to the Privy Council, to which it seems his account was submitted, we may conclude that not only was the visit of these eminent divines approved by the Government, but that the charges of their journey were defrayed by the Crown.

The whole sum disbursed by Abell amounted to 126*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*, a large proportion of which was for wearing apparel and books.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

very faithfully yours,

NICHOLAS HARRIS NICOLAS.

To HENRY ELLIS, Esq.
Sec. S. A.

Laus Deo. 1547.

Mony layd out by me John Abell for Bernerdinus Ochino and Petrus Martyr, from the 4th of November at Basell untill the 20th of December that they came to London.

	Guldens, batz. oz.		
Payd for cloth for a cloke and for a cote, for boot, hose, and for a hooide for Bernerdinus at Basell - -	8	4	0
Payd to a taylore for fustyan and lynyng for a doblet for Bernerdinus, and for makyng of hys cloke, cote, &c. -	3	0	2
P ^d to the skyner for furr for hys cote and furring it -	3	3	0
P ^d for a petycote and for a payr knytt hose for hym -	1	9	0
P ^d for a payer of botes for hym - - -	2	0	2
P ^d for a payer bogetts and looks for them - -	2	1	1
P ^d for a sadle for hys horse - - -	1	11	0
P ^d for a hatt and glovys for hym - - -	0	9	3
P ^d for a sworde gyrdell, and mending hys sworde -	0	8	1
P ^d for our expencys from Basell to Argentine, for our horsemeat, &c. at Argentine - - -	4	6	2
P ^d for mending of sadells & pylions at Argentine -	0	7	1
P ^d for books for Bernerdinus at Basell as apperyth particularlye by a byll thereof delyv'd to my lord of Canterburie	40	7	0
P ^d for the works of S. Augustine, Cyprian and Epithanius for Petrus Marter at Basell - - -	13	8	1
P ^d for botes & spores, &c. for Petrus Marter - -	2	11	0
P ^d for two daggers &c. for Bernerdinus & P ^r Marter -	1	12	0
P ^d for a payer furred glovys for P ^r Marter - -	0	13	0
P ^d for a peticote, glovys, & nyght cap for Julius -	1	11	3
P ^d for 2 horse for Bernerdinus & Petrus Marter -	36	12	0
P ^d for 2 horse for ther servants - - -	40	7	0
P ^d by that I gave to two pencyoners of Argentine for conducting us two dayes journey & for other expencys in the waye - - -	12	4	0
P ^d for a vessell for ther books and for packyng them -	1	4	2
Sñia	180	1	2

Laus Deo.

Sñia 180 guldens 1 batz 2 oz. aft: 15 batz for the gulden,
 facit 127 crones of the sun & 15 batz 2 oz. reckonyng
 aft: 23 batz for the crone - - - - 117 15 2
 Pd more for our expensys & for our guydes frö Argentine to
 London 83 crones of the sun - - - - 83 0 0
 Sñia 200 crones of the sun & 15 batz 2 oz at 6^s the *li. s. d.*
 pece, facit - - - - 60 4 0st.

Mony layd out by me John Abell for Bernerdinus & Petrus Marter sens
 ther comyng to London the 20th of December 1547.

	<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Payd for two payer of hose for Bernerdinus & Petrus Marter	0	11	4
Pd for a payer nether stocks for ther servant -	0	2	0
Pd for 3 payer of shooe for them & ther servant -	0	2	4
Pd for 2 nyght cappes of vellvet for them -	0	8	0
Pd for 2 round cappes for them -	0	6	0
Pd for 2 payer of tunbrydg. knyves for them -	0	2	8
Pd for 2 payer garters of sylke ryband -	0	2	6
for ryband for a gyrdell for Petrus Marter -	0	1	2
for 2 payer of glovys for them -	0	1	0
Pd for ther sop' & brekefast y ^t nyght & mornyng that they came to London -	0	10	5
Pd for Potycary ware for them and sending ther gere to Lambeth -	0	1	10
for the frayght of Petrus Marters dryfate of books from Argentine to Andwerp 12 dollers -	2	12	0
for the frayght of the same dryfate from Andwerp to London	0	4	4
for the frayght of Bernerdinus dryfate of books frö Basell to Andwerp 17½ dollers -	3	15	2

for the frayght of the said dryfate from Andwerp to London 0 7 9

P^d for ther horsmeat untill two of them were sold & two

delyv'd to ther švants - - - - - 2 8 6

li. s. d.

Sñia - - - 11 17 0

Sñia of the other syde 60 04 6

Sñia tot' - 72 01 6^d

Wherof I have R. for two of the sayd horses sold

in Smythfeld - - - - - 4 13 6

So ther remanynyth herof due to me - - - lxvij^{li}. vii^s. vi^d.

Dely'd also by my lord of Canterburye cōmandment to li. s. d.

Julius & Peter Marter's s'vant at hys going o' french 30

crones at 6^s the pece, fecit - - - - - 9 00 0

Delyv'd also to Julius by my lord of Canterburye cōmand-

ment a byll to receyve at hys comyng to Argentine - 30 00 0

More for to be allowyd for my costes in rydyng to Argen-

tine at Basell c^s for thes two men - - - - - 20 00 0

Sñia - 59^{li}. 0^s. 0^d.

Sñia totall of all the charges layd out by me John Abell

amountyth as apperyth by this byll - - - 126^{li}. 7^s. 6^d.

Memorandū that I have also wrytten to my factor at Argentine to delyv' to the sayd Julius if he shall nede as mych moneye more as he shall thinke necessary to pay the charges of the comyng downe of ther wyffe.

It may please my lords of the Counsell to consyder my hynderance & losse of tyme about myne owne busyness sith I went about this. ^a

Indorsed, "John Abell 126^{li}

Petro

D. Bernard."

^a Ashmole's MSS. No. 826.

XXIX. *Two Letters, the one from Henrietta Maria, Queen of England, in 1642, and the other from Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, in 1655, to John Lord Finch of Fordwich: Communicated by NICHOLAS HARRIS NICOLAS, Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 9th February 1826.

10, Somerset Street, Portman Square, Feb. 9, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,

HEREWITH I have the honour to send you Copies of two Letters of considerable interest; and as they have never, I believe, been before noticed, I presume that they will form an acceptable communication to the Society of Antiquaries.

The one is from Henrietta Maria of France, Queen of Charles the First, to John Lord Finch of Fordwich, the Lord Keeper, and was apparently written soon after that nobleman's arrival in the Netherlands, whither he escaped from the fury of the Parliament in January 1642. Her Majesty's letter is chiefly remarkable from its being, as she describes it, the first letter she ever wrote in English. The original, of which the following is a literal copy, is preserved in the Ashmolean Library: the orthography has in many places been corrected, and it was probably revised by one of her attendants. It was sealed with a small seal of the Royal Arms of England, impaling those of France, and surmounted by the crown.

The other letter was from Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia, daughter of James the First, and the immediate ancestor of our present Sovereign. It was also addressed to Lord Finch of Fordwich, and though the only

date to it is "Hague, March 4th," yet from her stating that she was then in mourning for her brother-in-law, her husband's brother Lewis Philip, Duke of Simmerns, who died on the 8th of June 1654, we may consider the 4th March 1655 as the day upon which it was written.

It is almost impossible to peruse this warm-hearted letter without sentiments of attachment being excited towards the amiable writer, for it is throughout highly characteristic of her, who was emphatically called, "the Queen of Hearts." Who the Countess was, of whom she speaks, cannot perhaps be exactly determined; but it was probably Cecily, the widow of Thomas 1st Earl of Winchelsea, and mother of the then existing Earl, to whom her Majesty desires to be remembered.

Lord Finch was twice married; first to his cousin german Eleanor, daughter of George Wyat, of Boxley in Kent, Esquire, and it was the sons of her brother Sir Francis Wyat, whom the Queen describes as his lordship's nephews. This lady having died in 1623, it must of course have been his second wife, Mabella, daughter of Charles Fotherby, Dean of Canterbury, who accompanied him to Holland, to whom the Queen alludes in the postscript. Her Majesty's niece, whom she says she frequently went to Eeling to see, was Mary Princess of Orange, the mother of King William the Third, who was at that time a widow. The Lord and Lady Stanhope spoken of as going to Bourbon, were Charles, second Lord Stanhope, and Dorothy his wife, daughter of Charles Barrett, of Aveley Belhous in Essex, Esquire, and sister of Edward Lord Newburgh.

The original of this letter is also in the Ashmolean Museum. It was sealed with a small black seal, containing an impalement of the arms of the Palatine, with those of England, surmounted by a crown.

I remain, my dear Sir,

very sincerely yours,

NICHOLAS HARRIS NICOLAS.

TO HENRY ELLIS, Esq.
Sec. S. A.

For mi lord finche.

My lord finche. I have received your letter and I am glad to heer you are araived in a place where you have received so muche honor ; I doe nat doubt but that in any place where you shall goe your merite will make you receive the same : and for my particular, you may be asured to find me ever the same you have left me, that is, to oblige you in all occations : this is the first letter that I have ever rwyttten in englishe : therefore I will not ventur to say ani more, but that I am

Your affectionnat frend,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

For the Lord Finch.

My Lord. I asure you your letter was verie welcome to me, being glade to finde you are still heart whole, and that you are in better health and your cough is gone ; as too your apetit, I confess your outlandish meses are not so good as beef and mutton ; I pray remember how ill pickled Herring did use you heere and brought you manie & your 150 feavers. As for the countess I can tell you heavie news of her, for she is turned quaker and preaches everie day in a tubb ; your nephue George can tell you of her quaking, but her tubb preaching is come since he went I beleeve, she I beleeve at last she will prov an Adamite : I wish your nephues both had some of her pepins presserved in their noses, it woulde doe them muche good. I did not heare you were deade, wherefore I hope your promise not to die till you let me know it, but you must also stay till I give you leave to dye, which will not be till we meet a shooting somewhere, but where that is, God

knows best. I can tell little other news heere, my cheef exercise being to iaunte betwixt this and Eeiling where my neece hath been all this winter. I ame now in mourning for my brother in law the Duke of Simmerens death: my La Stanhope and her husband are going six weeks hence into France to the waters of Bourbon, which is all I will say now, onelie that I am ever

Your most affectionat frend

ELIZABETH.

Hage March 4th.

I pray remember me
to your ladie and to
my Lo of Winchelsey.

XXX. *A Narrative of the Progress of King Edward the First in his Invasion of Scotland in the year 1296: Communicated, with some Observations thereon, by* NICHOLAS HARRIS NICOLAS, *Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter to* HENRY ELLIS, *Esq. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 23d February 1826.

10, Somerset Street, Portman Square, Feb. 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,

FROM the imperfect and often contradictory accounts given by Chroniclers of events which occurred in early periods of English History, our knowledge of even the most important of them is confined and unsatisfactory. Nor do the invaluable records preserved in the *Fædera* always reconcile discrepancies, or present a connected narrative of transactions, however much they corroborate or establish particular facts.

For these reasons a copy of a relation, which I believe has never been printed, of the progress of King Edward the First in the year 1296, from the day on which he crossed the Tweed in his invasion of Scotland until his return to Berwick after that kingdom and its unfortunate monarch had submitted to his power, cannot, I presume, fail to be considered a proper communication to the Society of Antiquaries.

Before submitting this curious document it is necessary that a few words should be said upon its authenticity. A copy of it first fell under my observation in the Ashmolean Library, in a volume marked No. 865, which is stated to have been transcribed "from a faire vellom manuscript belonging to Sir Jo. Maynard, Sergeant at Law, in 1660." In the British Museum I

have, however, since met with three copies of it, in the following manuscripts, *Harl. MSS.* 1309; *Additional MSS.* 5758, and *Cotton. MSS.* *Domitianus* xviiij. The transcript in the *Additional MS.* is not deserving of particular notice, as it does not afford any evidence illustrative of the character of the original; but the variations between it and the inclosed have been carefully inserted in the notes. The *Harl. MS.* 1309, from which the accompanying has been literally copied, and which agrees exactly, excepting in the orthography, with the Ashmolean MS., is described in the catalogue as "a book in large 4to. which my lord caused some years ago to be written upon old parchment, being (except only as to the hand) an exact copie of an ancient book, relating to the coronation of King Richard II. and the claims made at the same; the offices of the High Constable and Earl Marshal; the Parliament of England, &c." The article which is the subject of this letter occurs in the 39th folio, and is mentioned as "The Voyage of Kinge Edwarde I. into Scotlande with all his lodgyngs; in the 24th yer of his Raigne." I presume, therefore, that it likewise occurred in the "Ancient Book" from which the account of the coronation of Richard II. &c. was taken, and as the preceding pieces referred solely to the reign of that monarch, it may be supposed that the one in question was copied into the said "Ancient Book" early in the fifteenth century; and there are strong reasons for supposing that the copy made by Lord Oxford's orders, and that transcribed by Ashmole in 1660, were both taken from the same manuscript. The copy in the Cottonian MS. is peculiarly valuable, not only from its being evidently written at a much earlier period than either of those which are now extant, but because it is in Norman French; and as I am inclined to believe that that was the language of the original, it may perhaps be more fully relied upon than either of the others. It is preceded by the same articles, though either in French or Latin, as are prefixed to the copies in the MSS. in the Harleian and Ashmolean Museums, and differs very slightly from the translation. Indeed the literal manner in which it has been rendered is extraordinary; but where the least differences exist between them, or where it admits of any other possible

construction than what is given to it, the whole passage has been copied into the notes. Having described the transcripts of this document which I have been able to find, I shall proceed to explain the internal evidence which it possesses of being authentic. By the word "authentic" I wish to be understood to mean, that it was originally written by a person who accompanied the King, and that the statements which it contains may be received as facts.

In examining to what extent the internal evidence of this article justified its being depended upon, I endeavoured in the first place to ascertain how far the dates which it contained were consistent with each other.

First, as to whether the days of the week fell upon the days of the month, the Saint's days, and moveable Feasts mentioned in it.

Secondly, whether the King's progress agreed with the time in which it is stated to have been completed.

And thirdly, whether the names of places at which the documents that occur in the *Fædera* between the 28th of March and the 22nd of July were tested, agreed with the places at which his Majesty is said in the MS. to have been on particular days within that period.

It was my next object to inquire whether the journeys which Edward is related to have performed on certain days were consistent with the distances of the places from each other.

And lastly, how far the events which are recorded in the MS. were in accordance with, or contradictory to, the narratives of Chroniclers and Historians.

As the value of this document wholly depends upon its authenticity; and as in the event of its genuineness being established, it must be deemed an interesting if not an important addition to the meagre information we possess of Edward's invasion, I shall, though with the certainty of being considered tedious, state the result of the examinations to which I have alluded: but as in doing so I must necessarily compare the statements of Historians with those in the MS., and as reference will

thereby be made to an obscure part of our annals, the dryness of chronological investigation, will, I hope, in some degree, be relieved.

The dates proved, with one slight exception, and which beyond all dispute, arose from the carelessness of the transcribers, to be strictly consistent with each other and with the truth. It commences with stating, that in the 24th Edward I., Easter-day fell upon the day of the Annunciation, namely, on the 25th of March, and that on the Wednesday after, the 28th, the King crossed the Tweed. From this period no date again occurs, excepting of the days of the week, and the mention of St. George's-day, until the 24th of June, the feast of St. John the Baptist, and which is correctly stated to have fallen in 1296 upon a Sunday. The next instance of a similar date is the 1st of August, the feast of St. Peter, and which is properly said to have occurred on a Wednesday; and the last example of a date of this kind is the festival of St. Lawrence, Friday 10th of August. Thus, during the twenty-one weeks occupied by the narrative, only three positive dates, if I may be allowed the expression, are to be found, though the days of the week are minutely mentioned, but which frequently cease to be consecutively recorded, from the King having rested at different towns or castles from five to fourteen days together; yet in every instance the narrative is congruous both with itself and with facts. To many, particularly to those who are not in the habit of making the dates which occur in historical narratives a criterion by which to judge of their veracity, these remarks will not perhaps have much weight; but I confess that I rely very strongly upon tests of this nature, for the surest criterion of truth is consistency; and a forgery must indeed be ably executed if it will bear such an investigation.

The second object of inquiry, namely, whether the King's progress agreed with the time in which it is said to have been terminated, was embraced in the result of the first: hence it is only requisite to observe, that the narrative is in this particular also entirely consistent. With respect to the third point to which my attention was directed, as to whether the documents in the *Fœdera* were tested at the same places as

those at which the MS. informs us Edward was on the days there mentioned, I have merely to remark that the following are the dates of the instruments in the *Fædera* between the 28th March and the 22nd of August 1296 :

Two at Berwick on Tweed, 24th April.

Four at Roxburgh, 12th May.

One at the same place, 14th May.

One at the same place, 15th May.

One at the same place, 16th May.

One at Cluny, 26th June.

One at Aberdeen, 15th July.

The next in the series was tested at Berwick on the 2nd of September, eleven days after the King had returned from Scotland. Each of the dates above cited agrees exactly with the account in the MS., for it appears from it that Edward arrived at Berwick on Friday the 30th March, and remained there until Friday the 27th of April ; that he was at Roxburgh from Monday the 7th to Wednesday the 23rd of May ; that he arrived at Cluny Castle on Tuesday the 26th of June ; that he was at Aberdeen from Saturday the 14th to Friday the 20th of July, and that he returned to Berwick on the 22nd of August.

The fourth object of investigation was, whether the journeys which the King is stated to have performed on certain days agreed with the distances of the places from each other. Upon this point I regret to say, that the result of my inquiry was not so completely satisfactory as I could wish, because, from the difference between the old and modern names of places, it was not always that I could find the situation of the manors and castles noticed in the MS. It is, however, to be observed, that in the great majority of instances in which the places were found in the maps, the MS. appeared to be extremely correct, for they rarely exceeded twelve miles from each other upon his line of march ; and in those cases where I have not succeeded in ascertaining the precise situation of the manors or castles, the distance between the last place where I had satisfied myself the King rested, and the next, that I clearly proved to have

been alluded to, was uniformly such as agreed with the intermediate space having been traversed in the time which is there said to have been occupied in passing it. Thus then, although this part of my inquiry into the authenticity of the MS. was not, from the causes which I have mentioned, so entirely satisfactory as the former, still it may be received as strong evidence in its favour, for so far from any contradiction or discrepancy having been discovered, we find that in every instance where the places have been ascertained, the statements are consistent; and in those in which I have been disappointed, the situations of the towns immediately preceding and following them which are known, render it almost certain that it would take the number of days which are assigned in the MS. to go from one to the other.

The fourth point which has occupied my attention, is more important than any of the others, and therefore requires a longer detail; but as it will contain statements of greater interest, I trust the trespass upon the time of the Society will not be impatiently felt. This object, was to ascertain how far the events which are recorded in the MS. were in accordance with or contradictory to the narratives of contemporary and other writers.

Edward having determined upon the invasion of Scotland, in consequence of the refusal of Baliol to comply with his demands, issued writs tested on the 16th of December, in the 24th year of his reign, anno 1295, commanding those to whom they were addressed, to attend him with horse and arms at Newcastle-upon-Tyne on the first day of the ensuing March.^a On the 28th of that month he passed the Tweed with an army, according to historians, of 30,000 foot and 4,000 horse; but according to this MS. of "5,000 horses coverid and 30,000 fote-men." It was the King's first object to besiege Berwick, which with Roxburgh and Jedburgh he had required Baliol to place in the hands of the Bishop of Carlisle.^b Lord Hailes, in the *Annals of Scotland*,^c on

^a *Appendix, No. I. to the Peerage Reports*, p. 72. These writs were addressed to two hundred and three persons whose names are there given.

^b John de Halghton.

^c Vol. i. p. 258.

the authority of Hemingford, informs us that that fortress was defended by a strong garrison; that Edward prepared to attack it by sea and land; that his ships precipitately began the attack, but were burnt and disabled; that he led on the army to the assault, when the town was taken and sacked, the garrison put to the sword, and the inhabitants butchered without distinction of age or sex; and that this event happened on the 30th of March: and his lordship adds, that the Scottish historians relate, that Edward sent forward a detachment under Scottish banners, that the garrison being thus imposed upon received them as deliverers, and that it was by this stratagem the town was gained. The carnage at Berwick has been variously stated from four thousand even to sixty thousand men, but no notice of such loss is to be found in the MS., where the capture of Berwick is thus laconically mentioned: "On Fridaie [i. e. on the 30th of March] the King toke the towne of Barwyk upon Twede by force of armes withowte tarrieing," and, it is added, "the Castell was given up the same daie by the Lorde William Dowglass while he was in it and the Kynge in the said Castell all that nyght, and his hoste in the towne everie man in the house that he hath gotten, and the Kynge taried ther almoste a monthe." At this period the castle of Dunbar was in the possession of Patrick Earl of March, who had espoused Edward's cause, and the Chroniclers relate that his wife betrayed that fortress to the Scots. The MS. unquestionably affords the most minute account of this transaction which is extant, and judging from other circumstances it may perhaps be deemed the most correct one. It appears that on Monday the 23rd of March, Edward received intelligence that the Scottish army had laid siege to the castle of Dunbar; that he immediately dispatched part of his forces to oblige them to raise it; that they reached Dunbar on the Wednesday following, namely, on the 25th, but that before they arrived the castle was given up to the enemy; that the English instantly besieged it with three hosts; that on the Thursday and Friday the Scottish army approached with the view of obliging them to raise the siege, and that about noon on the Friday [the 27th of April] the English at-

tacked and routed them with great slaughter; that they pursued them several miles, when they were obliged to desist, as the day was beginning to close; that Sir Patrick Graham and ten thousand and fifty-five men were slain; that on the day upon which the battle was fought Edward left Berwick for Dunbar; that he arrived there on Saturday the 29th when the castle surrendered, and that there were in it the Earls of Atholl, Ross, and Menteth, Sir John Comyn of Badenoch the son of Sir Richard Suard, Sir William Saintclere,^d and eighty men of arms, and forty footmen. This account of the battle and siege of Dunbar, though more circumstantial, differs but little in the main points from that of Historians, excepting with respect to the number of men killed in the battle, which has generally been estimated at twenty thousand, but the MS. states the number "by righte accompte" to have been only ten thousand and fifty-five.

It has been said that when Earl Warren, who appears to have commanded the forces sent against Dunbar, pressed the siege, the garrison agreed to capitulate if not relieved within three days. The MS. informs us, "that the Englisshemen did assiege it with three hostes on the Wednesdaie that they came there; and the Tuesday they that were within sent owt privylie," from which it would seem that the garrison "sent owt privylie;" or perhaps, in other words, offered terms of surrender, on the day before the English army arrived. The facts probably are, that the whole of the detachment sent by Edward to relieve Dunbar did not arrive there until the Wednesday, but that the horse appeared before it on the Tuesday afternoon, and which from the distance between Dunbar and Berwick would probably be the time occupied by the journey, but that the infantry and main body did not reach it until the next day.

From this period of Edward's invasion until his return to Berwick, not only Lord Hailes', but also Fordun's and Hemingford's accounts of his progress are brief and imperfect. This may be attributed to the

^d Hemingford informs us that the persons of consequence taken in the castle of Dunbar, were the Earls of Atholl, Ross, and Menteth, Richard Siward, John the son of Geoffrey de Mowbray, and John Comyn of Badenoch the younger.

circumstance of no event of great importance having occurred, excepting the submission of Baliol; but as every thing connected with the subject is of much interest, the details of the MS., and especially the notice taken in it of that important event, upon which Chroniclers are materially at variance, are peculiarly deserving of attention. It relates that Edward left Dunbar for Haddington on the 2nd of May, from whence he went to Lauder, and on Monday the 7th of that month he arrived at Roxburgh, the castle of which James Stewart is said by Hemingford to have yielded on the 13th of May, and to have sworn fealty to the English monarch on the same day, but it would seem from the MS. that Edward lodged at the Grey Friars of Roxburgh the night he arrived, and that on the following day, Tuesday 8th May, he took up his residence at the castle; hence, if this statement be correct, it is certain that that fortress was surrendered on or before that day. His Majesty, according to the English copies, for with respect to the King's progress between the 7th of May and the 1st of June the French MS. seems to be imperfect, remained at Roxburgh a fortnight, and that on Wednesday the 23d of May he went to Cardeford or Gardeford, and thence to Weel,* but I have not succeeded in ascertaining the exact situation of either of these places. As, however, he was at Castleton on the following day, it is manifest that they were between Roxburgh and Castleton. On Sunday the 27th of May Edward left Castleton for Roxburgh where he arrived on the 1st of June, having again rested at Cardeford and Weel on his journey to it; and upon Monday the 4th of June his Majesty finally quitted Roxburgh and went to Lauder, which he reached the same day: on the 5th he rested at the Abbey of New Battle, and arrived at the Abbey of Edinburgh on Wednesday the 6th of June. He had no sooner reached that city than he vigorously besieged the castle, "having" to use the expression of the MS., "causid ther to be set up iij engynes castyng into the castle day and nyght." This incessant attack continued until the fifth day, Sunday the 10th of June, when, we are told, "thei spake of pees," or in more

* Query, Peel? about eight miles north-east of Castleton.

intelligible words, proposed terms of capitulation. This proposition was not, it would appear, acceded to, for the narrative proceeds to state that on the eighth day of the siege, Wednesday the 13th June, "the Kyng went to his bedde to Luñstra,"^f leaving "the engyns castyng stille before the castell;" or as it is expressed in the French copy, "le Roy ala gesir a Lunstu', et lessa les engins gettans en bonne garde devant le chastel." On Thursday the 14th, the King appeared before Stirling castle with the intention of besieging it, but on his approach, those who were appointed to defend it "ran away and left non but the porter, whiche did render the keyes,"

At Stirling the Earl of Strathearn took the oath of allegiance to the invader of his country, or as it is quaintly expressed, "cam to the pees." After remaining five days at that place Edward pursued his route to the northward, and on Wednesday the 20th of June he "passed the Scottish se and laie at Entrearde his castell;" the next day he arrived at St. John's of Perth, and stayed there until the Monday following, the 25th, when he went to Kyngcolowen Castle. Perth is described as being at that time "a metely goode towne." The day after the King reached Kingclowen, he arrived at Cluny Castle, where he remained until the 2nd of July, on which day he went to Entrecoit Castle, "a goode towne," and at which he continued several days, but the name of this place does not appear in the maps. On Friday the 6th he reached Fernovell, and the next day, namely Saturday July 7th, his Majesty arrived at Montrose, and which place is merely spoken of as "a good towne."

According to the MS. it was at Montrose that John Baliol submitted himself to Edward, and which statement is corroborated by Fordun; but Hemingford asserts that it occurred at Brechin. The instrument by which he surrendered his kingdom, as printed in the *Fædera*, is dated at Kincardine on the 2nd of July 1296, but Lord Hailes observes, that every Historian he had consulted, "places this remarkable event on the 10th not on the 2nd of July." This confusion with respect to the

^f Query, Lauriston.

date of the document, and as to the place where the transaction occurred, seems to have induced that celebrated writer to cite the remark of Bissett, the Scottish Envoy at Rome, "that Baliol made no such resignation, but that Edward forged the instrument, and appended the Great Seal of Scotland to it." The discrepancies in question may, however, I think, be satisfactorily explained, and I shall take leave to offer a few observations with the hope of being able to do so. In this attempt I shall set aside the conjecture of Bissett, because it is wholly unsupported by proof, and my remarks will be grounded upon the supposition that the account in this narrative is correct. It informs us that Edward arrived at Montrose on Saturday the 7th of July, and remained there on the Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday following, the 8th, 9th, and 10th of that month; and that "there came to him King John of Scotland to his mercy, and did render quietly the realme of Scotland as" the English copies add, "he that had done amiss," or as it is expressed in the French, "come celui qui l'avoit forfait." It must consequently have been either on the 7th, 8th, 9th, or 10th of July, that this event took place, and as Edward quitted Montrose on the 11th, it is most probable that it occurred on the preceding day, namely, on Tuesday the 10th of July. From the words of the MSS. it may be conjectured that some sort of ceremony, indicative of an acknowledgment of his supposed crime was performed by the unfortunate monarch on the occasion, and which corroborates in some degree the following notice of the transaction by Fordun: "*Ubi advenienti regi Angliæ in prædicto castro de Montroisse idem Johannes rex, regiis exutus ornamentis, et virgam albam in manu tenens, omne jus, quod habuit, vel habere potuit in regno Scociæ cum fusto et baculo sursum reddidit, et in manu regis Angliæ resignavit.*"* This passage is of some importance to the consideration of the point in question, because it shews that Baliol's surrender at Montrose was evinced by personal homage, and which demonstration of vassalage to his superior Lord was perhaps necessary to complete the surrender of his kingdom, whilst the document, dated at Kincardine on

* Ed. 1722, vol. iv. p. 976.

the 2nd of July, may be deemed to be the first solemn indication of his intention to do so; but that the measure could not be perfected until he had done homage in person. The facts, therefore, appear to be, that though the instrument printed in the *Fœdera*, dated on the 2nd of July 1296, was written at Kincardine, yet that the surrender was inchoate until Baliol had performed homage, and that this was done on the 10th of that month at Montrose; on which day, from the resignation being solemnly completed agreeably to the customs of the age, Chroniclers were justly induced to state that the event occurred. If this hypothesis be admitted, the difficulty of reconciling the date of the instrument in the *Fœdera* with the testimony of early writers will be fully removed, and hence what has hitherto appeared contradictory becomes strictly probable and consistent. At Montrose the MS. states that the Earls of Marr and Buchan, Sir John Comyn of Badenoch, and many others likewise "came to mercy." From that place Edward proceeded to Kincardine in Kincardineshire, situated about a day's journey from Montrose, and on the following Thursday, the 12th of July, he reached the mountains of Glenbervie, and on the Saturday after, July the 14th, his Majesty arrived at Aberdeen, which is described as being "a faire castell and a good toun upon the Se." He remained at Aberdeen until Friday the 20th, when he removed to Kintore. From this time until the 2nd of August, when he is said to have been again at Kincardine, I regret to observe, that notwithstanding his daily progress is minutely stated in the MS. I have not been able precisely to ascertain one of the places mentioned. Historians are unanimous in saying that Edward went as far to the north as Elgin, where, they inform us, he terminated his expedition. The English copies state, that on Saturday the 21st of July he was at Fymin Castle, the next day at Banet Castle, the following at Incolan Manor, and on the Tuesday the 24th "in tentis in Lannoy upon the ryver to Répenath maner in the counte of Morenne," and that on Thursday the 26th of July, he arrived at Deigm, or as it is written in the French manuscript D'Eigm, "a good castell and a good toun," where he remained two days. No such

places as Fymin Castle, Banet Castle, Incolan Manor, Repenath Manor, or Deigm, appear in any map or work on Scotland to which I have referred, and it is almost certain that the whole of these names, or at all events the greater part of them have been erroneously transcribed. Some light is, however, thrown upon the subject by the French copy, as it states, that on Tuesday the 24th the King was "*en tentes en lanvoi sur le riviere de Spe.*" From the uniform statements of historians, that Edward went as far to the north as Elgin, from the assertion in the MS. that on the 24th the King crossed a river to enter the county of Murray, which was apparently meant by the "*Counte of Morenue*;" and from the distances between the different places, which I conjecture to have been intended by the names just mentioned, we may, perhaps safely conclude that the following is a correct narrative of Edward's progress between the 20th and the 26th of July. On the former of these days we are aware he was at Kintore, and I consider that on the 21st he reached Fyvie Castle; that on the 22nd he went to Banff Castle, and on the 23rd to Cullen; that on Tuesday the 24th he crossed the river Spey and entered the county of Murray, and that on the 26th he arrived at Drainie. Neither of these places exceed eighteen miles from each other, and as Drainie, which appears to be the most northern place mentioned in the MS., is but a few miles north-north-west of Elgin, the account that Edward was at that city is rendered, even according to the MS., highly probable. Still, it is singular that no notice of so celebrated a city should occur in it, and which at first induced me to believe that Deigm must have been erroneously written for Elgin; nor indeed is this hypothesis at all disproved, though the much greater resemblance which the word Deigm bears to Drain or Drainie, together with the situation of that place, tend to render it more likely that Draien was the town alluded to.

The same difficulty which presented itself to tracing the King's progress from Kintore to Drainie or Elgin occurs with respect to the first three or four day's journey on his return to Berwick. The MS. informs us that he quitted Deigm on Saturday the 29th of July, and arrived at

Rosers, or as it is spelt in the French MS. Roseise Manor, from which "he sente the same daie Syr John Cantelow, Syr Hugh Spencer, and Syr John Hastynges, to serche the countrey of Badenasshe, and sente the Bishopp of Dureysm^b with his people over the mountaynes by another way then he wente hymselfe;" that the next day he reached Interkeratche, which is described as a place where there were no more than three houses in a row between two mountains; that on Tuesday the 31st he arrived at Kyndroken Castle, belonging to the Earl of Marr, where he remained the next day, Wednesday the 1st of August, it being the festival of St. Peter; that on the following day he reached Kincardine in the Marnos, and that on Saturday the 5th of August he arrived at the city of Brechin. No map or topographical work relating to Scotland, to which I have had access, presents such places as Roser's Manor, Interkeratche, or Kyndroken Castle, but as on the 31st of July his Majesty was at Kincardine, they must have been situated between that town and Elgin. I am therefore disposed to believe that by Roser's Manor, the town of Rothes is meant, and by Kyndroken Castle, the castle of Kildrummie, for Rothes lies about south by east 14 miles of Drainie, whilst Kildrummie is not above 30 miles from it in nearly the same direction, and, moreover, it is said to have been a seat of the Earls of Marr;ⁱ but I have not been able to ascertain the exact situation of Interkeratche. If, however, the supposition that Edward was at Rothes on the 29th of July, and at Kildrummie on the 31st of that month be correct, Interkeratche was probably about fifteen miles from each of those places. The only circumstance which militates against the conjecture that Kildrummie was intended by Kyndroken is, that that place is twenty-eight miles from "Kincardine in the Marnos," by which I believe Kincardine in Kincardineshire, where the King rested on the 11th of July is meant, a distance which it is extremely unlikely should have been passed in one day, for we have seen that Edward's diurnal progress rarely exceeded fifteen miles. But should "Kincardine in the Marnos" be intended

^b Anthony de Bek.

ⁱ Douglas' *Peerage of Scotland*.

for the place now known as "Kincardine O'Neill," the difficulty is at once removed, for the latter is only fifteen miles from Kildrummie. Where Edward rested on Friday the 3rd of August does not appear, but on the next day, Saturday the 4th, we find that he arrived at Breechin. Breechin is twenty-three miles from Kincardine O'Neill, and ten miles from Kincardine in Kincardineshire, and unless his Majesty remained at the latter, if that was the place in question, we are at a loss to account for the manner in which the Friday was occupied, for it would not require two days to make a journey of ten miles; but if Kincardine O'Neill was meant, we may suppose that he was two days in going from it to Breechin, and which would explain the way in which the Friday was employed. Neither of the MSS. afford much information on the point, as they merely say "The tuesdaie to Kyndroken Castle belonging to the Erle of Marre, and ther taried Wednesdaie the firste daie of Auguste; on Thursday to the hospitall of Kyncarden in the Marnes; the Saturdaie to the citie of Breghen."

King Edward's progress from Breechin to Berwick is so minutely detailed in the MS. that it is not necessary to repeat it. His journeys were generally about twelve miles each day, and he arrived at Berwick-upon-Tweed on Wednesday the 22nd of August; having, to use the language of that narrative, "conquerid and serchid the Kyngdom of Scotland as ys aforsaid in xxj wekys without any more."

In speaking of the abbey of Aberbrodoche, at which Edward arrived on the 5th of August, there is a remark which is not a little curious, for we are informed that the Abbot had persuaded the people in the vicinity of that place that "there was but women and no men in England;" a proof of the barbarous ignorance of the lower orders of society in Scotland at the commencement of the fourteenth century, and of the advantage taken of it for political purposes.

The observations which this MS. has induced me to submit to the Society have occupied a much greater portion of its time than I wished or intended; but when it is recollected that one, and perhaps the most important purpose for which it was incorporated, is the illustration of

English History; and that it is only by a laborious examination of internal evidence that the authenticity and value of any document which tends to that effect can be ascertained, I trust that the motive will justify the intrusion, even if it be considered that I have failed in the object which induced me to commit it.

Believe me to be, my dear Sir,

very faithfully yours,

NICHOLAS HARRIS NICOLAS.

TO HENRY ELLIS, Esq.
Sec. S. A.

HERE FOLLOWETH THE VOYAGE OF KYNGE EDWARDE INTO SCOTLANDE,
WITH ALL HIS LODGYNGS BRYEFLY EXPRESSED.

In the xxiiij yer of the raigne of King Edward^j, Ester daie was on the daie of the Annunciation of owre Lady,^k and on the Wednesdaie in the Ester weke beyng the xxviiij day of Marche passed Kyng Edward the forenone the Ryver of Twede with v thousand horses coverid^l and xxx^{ti} thousand fotemen, and laie that nyght in Scotland at the Priori of Calderstreme; & the Thursdaie at Hatton; and the Fridaie toke the towne of Barwyk upon Twede by force of armes without tarieng. The Castell was geven up the same daie by the Lorde William Dowglas, whiche was in it and the Kyng in the said Castell^m all that nyght and his hoste in the towne, everi man in the house that he hath gotten and the Kyng taried ther almoste a monthe. And on Saint Georges daie the

^j le p'mr Cotton. MSS. Domit. A xviii. f. 53.

^k Sunday 25th March 1296.

^l avec vm ch'aulx couv't. *Ibid.*

^m et just le Roy la nuyt au chastel. *Ibid.*

xxij^a daie of Aprill cam newes to the Kynge that they of Scotland had beseged the Castell of Dunbarre that longed to the Erle Patrik the whiche holded strongly with the Kynge of England. And on the Mundaie,^o the Kynge sente his men to areyse the siege but before thei cam the Castell was geven up the same daie, and the Scottis wer in it when the Englishmen cam to it and did assige it with iij hostes on the Wednesdaie^p that they cam ther; and the Tuesdaie^q they that wer within sende owte privily;^r and the thursdaie^s and fridaie^t cam the hoste of the Scottis ner them aboute none to have raysid the siege of the Englysshmen, and when the Englysshmen se them come towarde them, then the Englysshmen ran to the Scottis and discomfitedid them and did overcome them, and the chase dured well x myles^u of waie^v untill it was evenyng; and ther died the Lorde Patrik of Grea^hm a great Lorde and x thousand and lv by right accompte. And the same fridaie^w cam the King from Barwyk to goo to Dunbarre and laie that night at Coldyng^hm;^x the Saturdaie^y at Dunbarre; and the same daie they of the castell gave over at the Kynges pleasure, and ther was in it therle of Acelelles,^z the erle of Roos,^a therle of Monetet,^b Syr John Comyn of Bedvaasok, the son of Syr Richard Suard,^c Syr William Saintler and iiij skore men of armes^d and vij skore fotemen. Ther taried the Kynge iij daies; the Wednesdaie Ascencion even^e the Kynge went to Hadyngton; the Sundaie after^f to

ⁿ The xxiiijth in all the MSS., but evidently a mistake, excepting in the *Additional MS.* 5758, in which it has been corrected.

^o 23rd April.

^p 25th April.

^q 24th April.

^r "Si assisterent le chastel de trois hosts le mardy qu'ilz vindrent p' devant, le m'quedy cils dedeinz envoyerent hors p'vement." *Domit.* A xviii. f. 33 b.

^s 26th April.

^t 27th April.

^u "v miles," *Additional MSS.* 5758.

^v "Et dura la chache plus de cinq lieues de voye. *Domit.* A xviii.

^w 27th April.

^x "Godingham," *Additional MSS.* 5758.

^y 28th April.

^z The Earl of Athol.

^a The Earl of Ross

^b The Earl of Menteth.

^c "Monsr. Joh' Comyn de Badenasok le filz, Monsr. Ric' Suart," &c. *Domit.* A xviii.

^d "Et tantq' ^{as} homes d'armes." *Ibid.*

^e 2nd May.

^f 6th May.

Lowedere; the Mundaie^s to Rokesbrough at the Graie Freres, the Kynge lodgeid ther tuesdaie^h at the Castell, and the Kynge taried there xiiij daies. And the xvth daie^l went to Gardeford; the Thursdaie^k to Wiel; the fridaie^l to Castelton; the Sundaie^m bak ageyn to Wiell; the Mundaieⁿ to Guydeford; the fridaie^o to Rokesbrough; the Mundaie after^p to Lowdere; the Tuesdaie^q to the Abbey of Neubattaill; the Wednesdaie^r to Edenbrough the abbey, and causid ther to be set up iij engyns castyng into the Castell day and nyght; and the vth daie^s thei spake of pees; the viijth daie^t the Kynge wente to his bedde to Luñsta, the engyns castyng stille before the castell.^u The Thursdaie^v wente to Estrevelyn, and they that wer in the castell ran away, and left non but the Porter, whiche did render the keyes:^v and theder cam therle of Stradern to the pees; and the Kynge taried ther v daies. The wednesdaie^x before Saint Johns daie the Kynge passed the Scottish se and laid at Entrearde^a his castell, the Thursdaie^b to Saynt Johns, a metely goode towne, and ther abode fridaie, Satordaie, and Sundaie,^c whiche was Saint John Baptist daie; the Mundaie^d wente to Kynge Colowen^e Castell; the Tuesdaie^f to Clony castell, and ther abidde v daies; the Munday after^g to Entrecoit Castell, a good toune; the fridaie after^h to fernovell;ⁱ the Saturdaie,^j to Monorous castell and a good toune, &

g 7th May.

h 8th May.

i Query, 23rd May.

k 24th May.

l 25th May.

m 27th May.

n 28th May.

o 1st June.

p 4th June.

q 5th June.

r 6th June.

s 10th June.

t 13th June.

u "Le lundy a Rokesburgh as frere Minors, le mardy au chastel et i demoura le Roy xiiij jours, le xve jour le m'qurdy ala a Gydword, le vendredy ap's a Rokesburgh, le lundy ap's a Lowdere, le mardy a l'abbay, de Neubattail, le m'quedy a Edinburgh a l'abby, et fist addresser trois engins gettans au Chast' jour et nuyt: au quint jour ilz p'leront de paix, au viije jour le Roy ala gesir a Lunstu' et lessa les engins gettans en bonne garde devant le chastel." *Domit.* A xviii.

x 14th June.

y "Et ne rement q' le Portier qu rendy le chastell." *Ibid.*

z 20th June.

a Outreart, *Domit.* A xviii. Cutreard, *Additional MSS.* 5758.

b 21st June.

c 22nd, 23rd, and 24th June.

d 25th June.

e Kynclouyn. *Domit.* A xviii.

f 26th June.

g 2nd July.

h 6th July.

i "Le lundy apres a Entrekoit chastel, le mardy a Forfar chastell et bonne ville, le vendredy apres a Fornevell." *Domit.* a xviii.

j 7th July.

ther abidde Sundaie, Mondaie, and Tuesdaie;^k and ther cam to hym Kyng John of Scotlande to his mercy, and did render quietly the Realme of Scotlande, as he that had done amys.^l Also ther cam to merci^m therle of Marre, therle of Bochan, Syr John Comyn of Badenasshe, and many oder. The wednesdaie wente to Kyng Carden a faieur manour;ⁿ the Thursdaie^o to the mountaigne of Glowberwy; the Wedminesdaie^p to a manour in the Dounes amonge the mountaignes; the Saturdaye^q to the cyte of Dabberden, a faire castell and a good towne upon the see, and taried ther v daies; and theder was brought the Kynges enemy Syr Thomas Worlū, Sir Hugh Saint John did take and xij with hym.^r The Fridaie after^s wente to Kyntorn^t maner; the saturdaye^u to Fymin^v Castell; the sundaie^x to Banet Castell; the Mundaie^y to incolan maner; the tuesdaie^z in tentis in Lannoy upon the ryver to repenathe^a maner in the counte of Morenue; the Thursdaie^b to the cite of Deigm,^c a good Castell and a good towne, and taried ther ij daies; the sundaie^d to Rosers maner.^e The Kyng sente the same daie Syr John Cantelow, Syr Hugh Spencer and Syr John Hastynges to serche the countrey of Badenasshe and sente the Bishopp of Dureysm with his people over the mountaynes by another way then he wente hymselfe; the

^k 8th, 9th, and 10th July.

^l "Come celui qui l'avoit forfait." *Domit.* A xviii.

^m "Ensem't vindrent la a m'cy." *Ibid.* "Fernovell castle," in *Additional MSS.* 5758.

ⁿ "Le merquedy ala a Kyncardyn en mernes meyno." *Domit.* A xviii. ^o 12th July.

^p *Sic*, or "Wednesday," in the three English copies; but it is evidently a mistake for *Friday* the 13th of July. In the copy in *Domit.* A xviii. the error does not occur, "Le vendredy a Du'nes maynor entre les monts."

^q 14th July.

^r "Et illoc luy feut amene son enemy Monr. Thom's de Morham q' Monr. Hugh de Saint John, pris., luy xijme a arries ke avec luy." *Domit.* A xviii. ^s 20th July.

^t Kyncorn, *Additional MSS.* 5758. ^u 21st July. ^v Symm'. *Addit. MSS.* 5758.

^x 22nd July. ^y 23rd July. ^z 24th July. ^a Repenage, *Additional MSS.* 5758.

^b 26th July. ^c City of Bigm. *Additional MSS.* 5758. ^d 29th July.

^e "Le samedi a Fyvin chastell, dymence a Banet chastel, le lundy a Incolan manoir, le mardy en tentes en lanvoi sur la Riviere de Spe, le m'quedy passa et int de autr' p't de mesme la Riviere a Rapenache manoir en la pays de Moreue, le jeudy ala cite D'eign bon chastel et bonne ville et y demoura ij jours, le dymence a Roseise manoir." *Domit.* A xviii.

mundaie^f he wente into Interkeratche, wher ther was no more then iij houses in a rewe^s betwen too mountaignes. The tuesdaie^h to Kyn-droken castell belongyng to the erle of Marre and ther tariedⁱ Wednes-daie, Saint Peters daie,^k the firste daie of Auguste; on Thursdaie^l to the hospitall of Kyncarden in the Marnes; ^m the saturaieⁿ to the citie of Breghem; the Sundaie^o to the Abbey of Burbrodoche, and it was said that the Abbot of that place made the people [of Scotlande^p] be-leave that there was but women and no men in Englande; the Mundaie^q to Dundee; the Tuesdaie^r to Balygernatthe, the redde Castell; the Wednesdaie^s to Saint John of Perte; the Thursdaie^t to the Abbey of Loundos,^u and taried ther the frydaie, Seynt Laurence daie.^v Saterdaie^w to the Cite of Saint Andrew, a castell and a good towne; the sundaie^y to Merkynch, wher as is but the churche and iij houses. Mondaie^z to the abbey of Donffremelyn, ther as all the moste of the Kynges of Scottes lieth. The tuesdaie^a to Strevelyn, and taried ther Wednesdaie owre Lady daie; ^b the thursdaie^c to Lausen; ^d the fridaie^e to Edenbrough, and ther taried Saturaie; ^f Sundaie^g to Hadyngton; Mundaie^h to Pikelton, by Dunbarre; Tuesdaieⁱ at Coldyngham; ^k Wednesdaie^l at

^f 30th July.

^g rowe, *Additional MSS.* 5758.

^h 31st July.

ⁱ "Et l'evesq' de Duresme avec sa gent renvoya outre les montz p' ung aut' chemin q' il mesmes ne ala, le lundy a Ynt'kerache ou il ot iij maisons sans plus en une valee ent' deux montaingnes, le mardy a Kyndroken chastell le conte de Mar et i demoura," &c. *Domit.*

A xviii.

^k 1st August.

^l 2nd August.

^m Maques, *Additional MSS.* 5758.

ⁿ 4th August.

^o 5th August.

^p Omitted in the copy, in *Harl. MSS.* 1309.

^q 6th August.

^r 7th August.

^s 8th August.

^t 9th August.

^u Lundes, *Additional MSS.* 5758.

^v 10th August.

^x 11th August.

^y 12th August.

^z 13th August.

^a 14th August.

^b 15th August.

^c 16th August.

^d "Le dymenche a l'abaye de Berbrodoch, et on dist q'cel abbe fist entendre aux Escocois qu'il n'avoit ment q' femes en Eng'. Le lundy a Donde, le mardy a Baligarnach le roge chastel, le m'quedy a seint Andrew chastel et bone ville, le dymence a Markynth ou il n'a q' le monstr' et iij maisons; le lundy a l'abbaye de Domfermelyn ou t. . ns les plus des roys d'Escoce gisent, le mardy a Striveleyn et y demoura le m'quedy le jour de l'assumpcion n're dame, le jeudy A Launstu." *Domitianus* a xviii.

^e 17th August.

^f 18th August.

^g 19th August.

^h 20th August.

ⁱ 21st August.

^k "Le mardy Goldyngham." *Ibid.*

^l 22nd August.

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3 s

Barwik ; and conquerid and serchid the Kyngdom of Scotland as ys aforesaid in xxj wekys without any more.^m

^m The following addition occurs to the copy in the Cottonian MS. *Domitianus*, A xviii. but no notice is to be found of it in either of the other copies : "A Barewyk tint son p'lement, et y furent tous les Evesques, Contes, Barons, Abbey et Pours, et les souv'rains de toute la commune gent, et la receut les homages et s'rvieces qui lui s'oient bons et loyaulz aux gens de ordre rendy tantost touz lors bu'n et de lors tenaunty les q'les barons et evesques lessa il ior de lors t'es mais eux vindrent a la tous sains au p'lement. A saint Emund puis ordonna la conte de Garane Regent de la t're, Sr Hugh de Cressyngham Tresorer, Sr Walt' de Modeshem Chancell'r, issai ordoniot ses besoinges et demora a Barwyk iij sepmaines et iij jours. Et son dep'ti en alant vers Engleterre le dymence ap's la sainte Croz."



Monumental Effigy discovered in Stevenage Church, Herts.

Robt. Dendard del. & sculp.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 25 April, 1832.

XXXII. Account of a Monumental Effigy discovered in Stevenage Church in Hertfordshire : By Mr. ROBERT T. STOTHARD, addressed to the Right Honourable the EARL OF ABERDEEN, K. T. President.

Read 16th March 1826.

75, Great Titchfield Street, March 8, 1826.

MY LORD,

THE accompanying Drawing (Pl. XXII.), which I beg leave to exhibit to your Lordship and the Society, was made in the autumn of 1824, from an Effigy then lately discovered in the church of Stevenage in the county of Hertford.

The costume is evidently of Edward the First's time, and with the exception of the feet, the figure is as perfect as could be expected, after having been with its face downwards (for centuries perhaps) doomed to supply the place of a step in the south-side aisle of that Church.

The bandelet, which passes over the fore part of the head-dress, is beautifully carved, representing jewels of precious stones, emblazoned with gold, red, and blue, with a small border of black ; as in fig. 1.

The Tissue, which confines all the hair except the front locks, is of a gold ground, with squares of green, ornamented with white and red, as in fig. 2.

Fig. 3, represents the pattern of the Girdle or Band round the waist.

Fig. 4, the Strings of the Mantilla, which are attached to the girdle, and prevents that garb from dropping off the shoulders.

Fig. 5, represents part of the Head-dress in its colours, and the ornamented Pillow.

Fig. 6, the Effigy as it appears to the eye.

The care and attention with which the sculptor carved the attendants upon this Effigy, induces me to believe them to be the figures of her children; for they are much larger than those upon other monuments of its own time, before or since. Those of other monumental effigies are represented supporting the crest, as in Aymer de Valence's; burning incense, as in John's; and generally, as in these, they are represented with wings, as angels; but those in the Effigy at Stevenage bear evident marks of uncommon attention being paid to distinguish them from others. And I am induced to believe also, that the one on the left with the cowl, represents John de Stevenage, a cellarer of St. Alban's Monastery, from the 27th to the 31st of Edward the First, 1298 to 1302, a descendant of the original founder of the Abbey of Stevenage. The Village of Stevenage derived its name from a monastery which formerly stood near or on the site of the present church, about half a mile from the road. Chauncy says, the Abbot of Stevenage held it of the gift of Edward the Confessor, and claimed very large liberties by the grants of the said King, and the grants of William the Conqueror, Henry the First, and Richard the First, which upon a *quo warranto* therein allowed,* and the Abbot thereof did continually enjoy it until the dissolution of the great Monasteries.

I made this Drawing, as I thought the object of it too interesting to remain any longer unnoticed.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

obedient servant,

ROBERT T. STOTHARD.

To the EARL OF ABERDEEN,
&c. &c. &c.

* Vide Chauncy.

XXXIII. *Concerning the Place where Julius Cæsar landed in Britain: By MAJOR RENNELL, F. R. S.*

Read 4th May 1826.

IT is well known that JULIUS CÆSAR made two military expeditions to BRITAIN, in the autumns of two consecutive years, [B. C. 55 and 54]. His place of embarkation in GAUL, was *Portus Itius* for his infantry (lib. v. 2, 5.), and another port (not named) eight miles distant from it, probably Boulogne for his cavalry (lib. iv. 22). M. D'Anville has decided that *Portus Itius* was *Witsand* Bay, situated between the Capes of *Grisnez* and *Blancnez*; and directly facing Dover. Cæsar says that it was at the point nearest to Britain.^a Boulogne might perhaps have been a more convenient place for embarking cavalry.

Cæsar says that he landed both times at the same place (lib. v. 8): but he gives no intimation, whether it was on the eastern, or western, coast of Kent. Opinions on the case, differ widely; even so far as from *Romney Marsh*, to the *Downs*: and amongst the former opinions, is that of M. D'Anville.

Cæsar set out both times with favourable winds: on the second expedition, it was said to be southerly; but this wind being fair for either side of Kent, proves nothing.

In the first expedition, he appears to have made a direct course

^a By the Chart of General Roy, in vol. lxxx. of the Philosophical Transactions, plate 13, it appears that the shortest distance across, between the lands of England and France, is just about 20 statute miles: and that the approximating parts on the side of England, are the points of Dover Bay; and on the side of France, the Capes of *Grisnez* and *Blancnez*.

across, from the place of embarkation to the British coast ; as, besides a favourable wind, he had the benefit of moonlight, during the small portion of night (perhaps no more than three hours) employed in the traverse ; the Moon being then within a few days of full. (lib. iv. 29.) He arrived with his light squadron some hours before his heavy transports, which carried the main body of the army : and for which he waited at anchor. (iv. 23.) The islanders in arms had posted themselves on the Cliffs ; a position, which of course, gave them too decided an advantage. Cæsar therefore, when the transports arrived, moved onwards to seek a more convenient landing place, which was found at eight Roman miles farther on ; where the shore began to be *flat* and *open*. (iv, 23.)

Here it may be proper to observe, that previous to his embarking, he had sent *Volusenus* in a long-ship or galley, to examine this part of the coast of Britain (iv. 21). He employed five days on this service : so that, as the whole extent of coast, between the Isle of Thanet on the north, and Romney Marsh on the west, is no more than 10 or 12 leagues, it may be presumed that he had time enough, besides the necessary space required for going and returning, to make himself master of the details, respecting the nature of the coasts on both sides of the Promontory, opposite to *Portus Itius*.. And hence, it may be conceived that Cæsar, before he set out, was well informed concerning the facilities afforded for landing, in certain places ; as well as the hopelessness of success, in others, from the impracticable nature of the ground.

Whilst waiting for the arrival of the Transports, he summoned his principal Officers, and communicated to them the intelligence which he had received from Volusenus ; which seems to shew, that he had only very recently received it. (lib. iv. 23.)

Nothing is said in the account of the **FIRST** expedition that can lead to any *certainty* concerning which side of Kent, Cæsar landed on ; that is, whether in the *Downs*, or in *Romney Marsh* : but if he came to the British shore, by the shortest course across, from Witsand Bay (which it is natural to expect he did, since it appears there was nothing to pre-

vent it), that course would have brought him to the neighbourhood of Dover; ^b in which case, the distance of eight Roman miles above stated, between the place of his arrival on the coast and the commencement of the flat open coast, would agree so well with the distance between Dover and Walmer Castle,* where the flat open coast begins, on that side, as to render it probable that *this* was the place intended by Cæsar.

For on the west side of Dover, such an open coast as an army would be landed on, *in the face of an enemy*, is *at present* twelve or thirteen Roman miles distant; and the vast accumulation of land in Romney Marsh, since the date of Cæsar's expeditions, must have brought the edge of that level tract some miles nearer to Dover.

But in the Account of the *SECOND* expedition, a fact occurs, which alone, if fairly considered, proves, in my idea, that Cæsar landed to the eastward of Dover.

It is stated, that in this second expedition, they left Gaul at sunset (perhaps after seven, as being late in the summer.) (lib. v. 8.) That at midnight, the wind, which had been a gentle breeze, at South, fell; and the vessels were consequently left to the resource of their oars. In the morning, it was found that they had been carried by the *tide*, far beyond their *intended point*; which circumstances prove to have been, the landing place of the preceding year; and which they accomplished in the forenoon of that day, by availing themselves of the *returning* tide; and by great exertions on the part of the troops, in rowing the heavy transports. (v. 8.)

The fact just alluded to, is this: It is said, that at daylight (on the morning after their leaving Gaul) *they saw the land of Britain on their LEFT hand*. (v. 8.) Now, this *left*, I must conceive, is spoken in reference to the general direction of their course from Gaul, towards their former landing place, in Britain: and in which case, the land in question should be no other than the *eastern* side of Britain (that is of Kent)

^b See the preceding note ^a.

^c That is, reckoned along the coast, as Cæsar does.

504 *Concerning the Place where Julius Cæsar landed in Britain.*

that was seen on the left of the voyagers, at daybreak : and consequently Cæsar must have been at that time, on the EASTERN side of Britain.

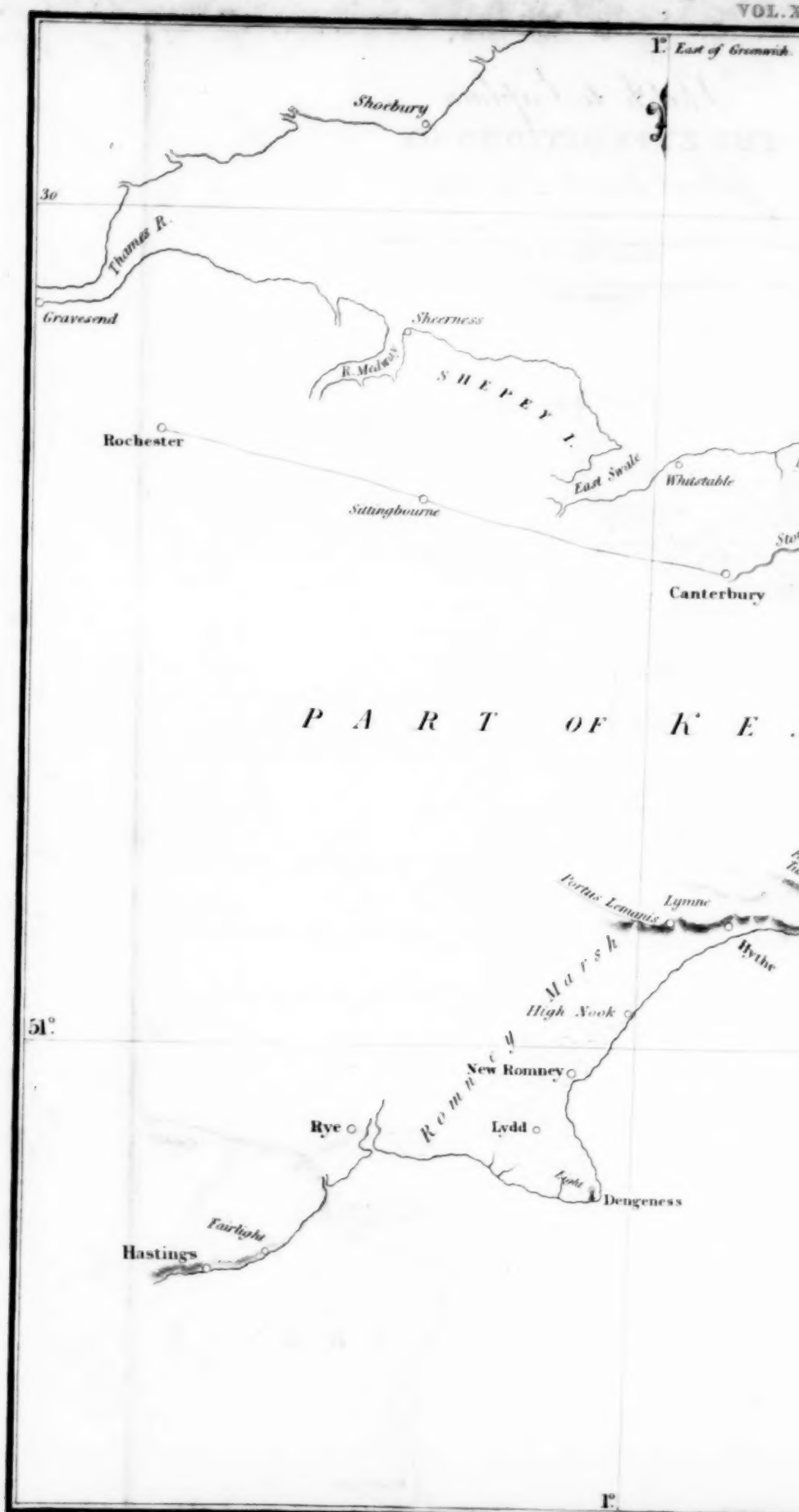
And here it may be remarked, that although the account of the first expedition, *taken alone*, affords no positive evidence concerning the particular side, on which Cæsar landed ; yet taken collectively with the details of the second expedition, and with the fact, that *both* landings were made *at the same place* ; they do certainly add strongly to the probability, not only that Cæsar landed on the eastern side of Britain ; but also seem to fix the place, to the shore of the Downs.

The flat open shore of the grand anchorage called the Downs, and which I believe to be that on which Cæsar landed, has undergone very great alterations, since the date of Ancient History ; more particularly in the northern part, adjacent to the Isle of Thanet ; now called *Hope Bay*.

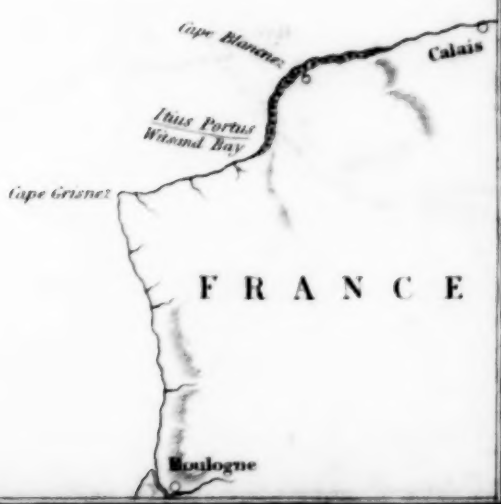
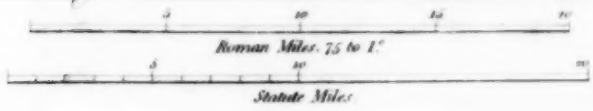
This Bay was anciently the opening of a wide navigable channel, of eight or nine miles in length, which separated the Island of Thanet from the main land of Kent ; and through which, ships anciently passed into the Estuary of the Thames, from the southward.

This Channel, now called the *Wantsum*, is dry, save in the lower part, where the *Stour*, or Sandwich River winds through it, into Hope Bay ; and is distinctly marked by its form, as well as by the remains of two Roman castles, *Rutupia* and *Regulbium* (now called Richborough and Reculver) at its extremities. There is moreover, a village named *Stourmouth*, near which the River Stour now empties itself into the almost deserted bed of the Wantsum, as of old, into the channel itself ; affording an evident proof of the change.

One effect of the partial filling up of this channel, appears to have been the addition of a wide border of alluvion, along the whole flat



Sketch to Explain THE EXPEDITIONS OF *Julius Caesar to Britain*



coast of the Downs, between the mouth of the Wantsum and Walmer. Of course, the margin of the ancient beach, on which Cæsar landed, must now be very far within land, as well as very considerably raised; and it appears to be still on the increase: for the fosse of Sandown Castle at Deal, is nearly filled up with pebbles, washed into it by the surge. And this, I believe, was built no longer ago than the reign of Henry the Eighth.^d

^d It may be remarked, that Cæsar, on the day after he landed, on his second Expedition, marched in quest of the British army, which he found posted in a strong position, on the bank of a river: and where they disputed the passage, and were completely defeated. The distance of this post from Cæsar's camp, was 12 Roman miles (lib. v. 9.); and would appear to have lain in the direction of the retreat of the Britons towards the Thames.

This renders it probable, that the river in question was the *Stour*; and that the fortified Post was in the quarter, where the western road intersects the course of that river, in the neighbourhood of Canterbury: and, of course, is in favour of the foregoing opinion.

XXXIV. *Copy of a Plan proposed to Queen Elizabeth by Sir Humphry Gilbert, for instituting a London Academy: in a Letter addressed to the Right Honourable the EARL OF ABERDEEN, K. T. President, by HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.*

Read 4th May 1826.

British Museum, May 4, 1826.

MY LORD,

IN the paucity of Communications I take the liberty of placing before your Lordship and the Society of Antiquaries, a Copy of a Plan proposed to Queen Elizabeth by Sir Humphry Gilbert, for instituting what is called a LONDON ACADEMY, that is an UNIVERSITY *in the METROPOLIS*, upon a scale of considerable magnitude, with no mean pay to the Professors of Learning. My Transcript is made from the manuscript Proposal which was actually presented. It has Lord Burghley's indorsement upon it; but is without date.

Of Sir Humphry Gilbert, the projector of it, we have a short account in Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth.

Under the year 1583, he says, "This year also died Henry Wriothesley Earl of Southampton." He then adds, "Near the same time was swallowed by the Ocean Sir Humphry Gilbert, Knt. a quick and lively-spirited man, famous for his knowledge in matters relating both to war and peace, in his return from the North part of America, which we call New-found-land; whither he had set sail a little before with five ships, having sold his patrimony, in hope to plant a colony there. But after he had by an herald or crier proclaimed that Country to belong to the English jurisdiction, (for Sebastian Cabot was the first that discovered

it in the year 1497, being employed therein by Henry the Seventh,) and had assigned lands to every particular man of his company, he suffered so much by shipwrecks and want of necessary provision, that he was constrained to give over his enterprise, learning too late himself, and teaching others, that it is a difficulter thing to carry over Colonies into remote countries upon private men's purses, than he and others in an erroneous credulity had persuaded themselves, to their own cost and detriment."

This is certainly no auspicious account of Sir Humphry Gilbert; but his Plan for an University to be placed at London, for the education of the young Nobility and Gentry, and more especially for the Queen's Wards, will, I am very certain, be considered as a project not ill imagined for the wants and condition of the time in which it was penned. It was probably laid before the Queen about the year 1570. The Original is preserved among the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum.*

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful servant,

HENRY ELLIS.

To the Right Honourable
the EARL OF ABERDEEN.

* MS. Lansd. No. xcviil. fol. 1.

" The ERECTION of an ACADEMY in LONDON for EDUCATION of HER MAJESTIES WARDES, and others the Youth of Nobility and Gentlemen.

" Forasmuch as (most excellent Soveraigne) the moste parte of Noblemen and Gentlemen that happen to be your Majesties Wardes, the custody of their bodies beinge of bounty graunted to some in rewarde of service or otherwise, not without your honorable confidence of their good education, yet nevertheless most commonly by such to whom they are committed, or by those to whom such Committees have sould them, being eyther of evill religion or insufficient qualities, are thorough the defaltes of their guardians for the most parte brought up, to no small grief of their friendes, in idleness and lascivious pastimes, estranged from all serviceable vertues to their Prince and Country, obscurely drowned in education for sparing charges of purpose to abuse their mindes, least, being better qualified, they should disdaine to stoupe to the mariage of such purchasers daughters : as also for that the greatest number of Younge Gentlemen within this Realme are most conversant about London, where Your Majesties Cowrte hath most ordinarie residence, yt were good (as I thinke), under your Highnes most gracious correction, that for their better educations there should be an ACADEMY erected in sorte as followeth :

" First, there shall be one Scholemaster who shall teache Grammar both Greke and Latine, and shall be yearly allowed for the same 40*li*.

" Also there shall be allowed to him fower Ushers, every of them being yearly allowed for the same 20*li*, which maketh in the whole by the year 80*li*.

" Also there shall be one who shall reade and teache the Hebrue tounge, and shall be yearely allowed for the same 50*li*.

" Also there shall be one who shall reade and teache both Logick and Rethorick and shall weekly on certen dayes, therefore apointed, see his schollers dispute and exercize the same, and shall be yearely allowed therefore 40*li*.

" Note.

" When the Orator shall practize his schollers in the exercize thereof, he shall chiefly do it in Orations made in English, both politique and military, taking occasions owt of Discourses of Histories approving or reprovng the matter, not only by reason but also with the examples and stratagemmes both anticke and moderne. For of what commodity such use of art will be in our tounge may partely be seen by the scholasticall rawness of some newly comen from the Universities; besides, in what language soever learning is attained, the appliaunce to use is principally in the vulgar speech, as in preaching, in Parliament, in Cownsell, in Commyssion, and other offices of Commonweale. I omitt to shew what ornament will thereby grow to our Tounge, and how able it will appeare for strengthe and plenty, when by such exercizes Learning shall have brought unto it the choyse of wordes, the building of sentences, the garnishment of figures, and other beauties of Oratory. Whereupon I have heard that the famous Knight Sr John Cheeke devised to have Declamacions and other such Exercizes sometimes in the Universities performed in English.

" My Reason.

" This kinde of education is fittest for them, because they are Wardes to the Prince by reason of Knights service; and also by this exercize art shalbe practized, reason sharpened, and all the noble employtes that ever were or are to be done, togeather with the occasions of their victories or overthrowe, shall continually be kepte in fresh memory, whereby wise cownsell in dowbtfull matters of warre and state shall not be to seeke among this trained Company when need shall require. For not without cause is Epaminondas commended, who riding or journeying in time of peace used oftentimes sodenly to appose his Company upon the oportunity of any place, saying, ' What yf our Enemies were here, or there, what were best to do? '

" Also there shall be one Reader of Morall Philosophie, who shall onlie reade the politique parte thereof, and shall be yearely allowed for the same 100*li*.

" Note.

" This Philosopher shall distinctly devide his Readings by the day into two sortes. The one concerning Civill the other concerning Martiall Pollicy.

" Of Peace.

" In the Discowrses towching Peace, he shall alleage particularly the estates of all Monarchies, and best knowne Common Weales or Principates, that both have bene and are; together with the distinct manner of their governements towching Civill Pollicie: and the principall cawse concerning Justice or their Revenues, wherby they any way encreased or diminished. And the same to be done as neare as conveniently may be with speciall apliance of our owne histories to the present estate and government of this Realme: by which meanes Childeren shall learne more at home of the Civill Pollicies of all forraine Countries and our own, then most old men doe which have travailed farthest abroad.

" Of Warres.

" And towching Warres he shall also particularly declare what manner of forces they had and have, and what were and are the distinct disciplines and kindes of arminge, training, and maintaining of their Soldiars in every particuler kind of service.

" My Reason.

" By directing the Lectures to th' endes afforesaid, men shall be taught more witt and pollicy then Schole Learnings can deliver: and therefore meetest for the best sorte, to whom yt chiefly apertaineth to have the managing of matters of estate and pollicy: ffor the

greatest Schole Clarkes are not alwayes the wisest men. Where-upon Licurgus, among other lawes, ordained that Scholes should be for Childeren and not for Philosophie; ffor suche as governe Common Weales ought rather to bend themselves to the practizes thereof, then to be tyed to the bookish circumstances of the same.

“Also there shall be one Reader of Naturall Philosophie who shall be yearely allowed for the same 40*li*.

“Also there shall be placed two Mathematicians; and the one of them shall one daye reade Arithmetick and the other day Geometry, which shall be onely employed to imbattelinges, fortificacons, and matters of warre, with the practiz of Artillery and use of all manner of Instruments belonging to the same; and shall once every moneth practize Canonrie (shewing the manner of undermininges, and trayne his Auditorie to draw in paper, make in modell, and stake owt all kindes of fortificacons, as well to prevent the mine and sappe as the Canon) with all sortes of encampinges and imbattelinges and shall be yearely allowed for the same 100*li*.

“Also this Engineer shall be yearely allowed for the powder and shotte which shall be employed for the practize of Canonry and the use of mines 100*li*.

“Also there shall be vnder him one Usher, who shall teach his scollers the principles of Arithmetick and shall be yearely allowed for the same 40*li*.

“Also there shall be one other Usher, who shall teach his schollers the principles of Geometrie and shall be yearely allowed for the same 40*li*.

“Also there shall be entertained into the said Achademy one good Horsman to teache noblemen and gentlemen to ride, make and handle a ready horse, exercizing them to runne at Ringe, Tilte, Towney, and cowrse of the fiede yf they shall be armed: and also to skirmish on horsebacke with pistolles, not taking for the learning of any one of them above 10*s*. by the moneth; he finding them horses for that purpose, and

shall be bound to keepe theare 10 greate ready horses for the said exercise beinge yearely allowed therefore 383*li.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

" This Rider shall have allowed unto him at the first erecting of the Stable to buy his horses 266*li.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

" This Rider at his first coming into the office, shall enter into bondes with sufficient suerties to leave unto the Achademie at his death or departure the said horses in as good estate as he receaved them, or others as good, or the full somme which he was allowed for the buying of them.

" Also there shalbe entertained one perfect trained Souldiour, who shall teach them to handle the Harquebuz, and to practize in the said Achademie all kindes of skirmishings, imbattelings, and sondery kindes of marchings, apoinctinge amonge them some one tyme and some another, to suply the roames of Capitaines and other officers which they may very well exercise without armes and with light staves in- steade of Pikes and Holbeardes, beinge yearely allowed for the same 66*li.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

" The other Mathematician shall reade one day Cosmographie and Astronomy, and the other day tend the practizes thereof onely to the arte of Navigacion, with the knowledge of necessary starres, the making use of Instrumentes apertaining to the same, and also shall have in his schole a shippe and gallye made in modell, thoroughly rigged and furnished, to teache unto his Awditory aswell the knowledge and use by name of every part thereof, as also the perfect arte of a Shipwright, and diversity of all sortes of moldes apertaining to the same, and shalbe yearely allowed 66*li.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

" Also there shall be one who shall teache to draw Mappes, Sea Chartes, &c. and to take by view of eye the platte of any thinge, and shall reade the growndes & rules of proportion and necessarie perspective and mensuration belonging to the same, and shalbe yearely allowed 40*li.*

" Also there shall be entertained one Doctor of Phisick, who shall one day reade Phisick and another daie Chirurgerie in the Englishe tounge, towching all kindes of ulcers, sores, phistiloes, wowndes, &c. togea-

ther with all kindes of medicines for the same as well Chymicé as otherwise and shall be yearely allowed 100*li*.

" Note.

"This Reader shall never alleage any medicine be yt of simples, salves, saltes, balmes, oyles, spirites, tinctures, or otherwise, but that he shall declare the reason philosophicall of every particuler ingrediente for such operacion: and shew his hearers the mechanicall making and working thereof, with all manner of veselles, furnaces, and other instrumentes and utensiles apertaining to the same.

" Note.

"This Phisition shall continually practize, togeather with the naturall Philosopher, by the fire and otherwise, to search and try owt the secrets of Nature as many waies as they possiblie may: and shall be sworne once every yeare to deliver in to the Treasurer his office, faire and plaine written in parchment without equivocacions or enigmaticall phrases, under their handes, all those their proofes and trialles made within the fore-passed Yeare; together with the true evente of thinges, and all other necessary accidentes growing therby, to th'end that their successors may knowe both the way of their working and the event thereof, the better to follow the good and avoyd the evill which in time must of force bring great thinges to light, yf in Awcomistrie there be any such thinges hidden, for whose saffetyes I would wish the Statute of the 5th of Henry the 4th, towching multiplicacion, to be dispensed at large.

" My Reason.

"The Phisition shall practize to reade Chirurgerie, because thorough wante of learning therein we have verie few good Chirurgions, yf any at all; by reason that Chirurgerie is not now to be learned in any other place then in a Barbers shoppe; and in that shoppe most dawngerous, especially in tyme of plague, when the ordinarie

trimming of men for clenlynes must be done by those which have to do with infected personnes.

" Note.

" This Philosopher and Phisition shall have a garden apointed them, which they shall furnish and maintain with all kindes of simples and shall be yearely allowed, besides their Lectures, for their afforesaid extra ordinarie charge and practizes, 100*li*.

" Also there shall be one Reader of the Civill Law, who shall be yerely allowed for the same 100*li*.

" Also there shall be one Reader of Divinitie, who shall be yerely allowed for the same 100*li*.

" Also there shall be one Lawyer, who shall reade the growndes of the Common Lawes, and shall draw the same as neare as may be into Maximes, as is done in the Booke of the Civill Lawes entituled *de regulis Juris* for the more facile teachinge of his Awditorie: and also shall sett downe and teache exquisitely the Office of a Justice of Peace and Sheriffe, not meddling with ples or cunning poinctes of the law, and shall be yearely allowed for the same 100*li*.

" My Reason.

" It is necessary that Noble men and Gentlemen should learne to be able to put their owne Case in law, and to have some Judgment in the office of a Justice of Peace and Sheriffe, for thorough the want thereof the best are oftentimes subiecte to the direction of farre their inferiors.

" Note.

" I would have the Lawier to traine the younger sorte of his hearers to some exercize therein, wherby they may the better grow to be able to put their owne Cases, and to understand perfectly the office afforesaid, which is as much as I would wish them to learne of the Law theare: for yf they desire more knowledg the Innes of Courte may suffice them.

“ Also there shall be one Teacher of the French tounge, who shall be yearely allowed for the same 26*li*.

“ Also he shall be allowed one Usher at the yearely wages of 10*li*.

“ Also there shall be one Teacher of the Italian tounge, who shall be yearely allowed for the same 26*li*.

“ Also he shall be allowed one Usher at the yearely wages of 10*li*.

“ Also there shall be one Teacher of the Spanish tounge, who shall be yearely allowed for the same 26*li*.

“ Also there shall be one Teacher of the Highe Duche tounge, who shall be yearely allowed for the same 26*li*.

“ Also there shall be one Mr. of defence, who shall be principally experte in the Rapier and Dagger, the Sworde and Tergat, the gripe of the dagger, the Battaile axe, and the Pike, and shall theare publiquely teach; who shall also have a dispensation against the Statute of Roages, and shall be yearely allowed for the same 26*li*.

“ Also there shall be one who shall keepe a Dawncing and Vawting Schole, and shall be yearely allowed for the same 26*li*.

“ Also there shall be one Teacher of Musick, and to play on the Lute, the Bandora, and Cyttarne, &c. who shall be yearely allowed for the same 26*li*.

“ Also he shall be allowed one Usher at the yearely wages of 10*li*.

“ Also there shall be yearely allowed for a Steward, Cookes, Butlers, and other necessary Officers 100*li*.

“ Also there shall be yearely allowed for a Minister and Clark 66*li*. 13*s*. 4*d*.

“ Also there shall be one perfect Harowlde of Armes who shall teach Noblemen & Gentlemen to blaze armes, and also the arte of Harrowldrie, togeather with the keeping of a Register in the said Academy of their Discentes & Pedigrues, & shall be yearely allowed for the same 26*li*.

“ Also there shall be one Keeper of the Liberarie of the Academy, whose charge shall be to see the bookes there saffely kepte, to cawse them to be bownd in good sorte, made fast, and orderly set; and shall keepe a Register of all the Bookes in the said Librarie, that he may geve ac-

compte of them when the Master of the Wardes or the Rector of the Academy shall apoincte, & shall be yearely allowed 26*li*.

" This Keeper after every marte^a shall cawse the Bringers of Bookes into England to exhibit to him their Registers before they utter any to any other person, that he may peruse the same, and take choyse of such as the Academie shall wante, and shall make the Master of the Wardes or the Rector of the Academy privy to his choyse, upon whose war- rante the bookes so provided shall be payed for. And there shall be yearely allowed for the buying of bookes for the said Library, and other necessary instrumentes, 40*li*.

" Note.

" All Printers in England shall for ever be charged to deliver into the Library of the Academy, at their owne charges, one Copy well bownde of every Booke Proclamacion or Pamflette that they shall printe.

" Also there shall be one Treasurer of the Academy, who shall be yearely allowed for the same 100*li*.

" Also there shall be one Rector of the said Academy, who shall make tryall of the nature and inclinacion of the Wardes to th' end that they may by his direction be employed principally in suche profession whereto their nature doth most conforme, the Master of the Wardes being made privy thereunto, & shall be yearely allowed 100*li*.

" Also the Master of the Cowrte of Wardes, from tyme to tyme, shall be the chiefest Governor of this Academy, because the oversight of Wardes doth chiefly belonge unto him, & shall be yearly allowed for the same 200*li*.

" Also there shall be geven in stocke, for the furnishing of a Librarie and Instrumentes apertaining to the same, togeather with the buying of horses as afforesaid, and all other necessary thinges for the first furnishing of this Academy 2000*li*.

^a He alludes to the Foreign Book-Fairs.

	li.	s.	d.
" The afforesaid whole yearely wages and charges of this Academy amownteth unto -	2507	6	8
" The whole yearely charges for the Commons of the said Readers, Officers, and Servantes in this Academy amownteth unto -	459	6	8
<hr/>			
" Which maketh yearely, in all -	2966	13	4

" Here wanteth levyes for the building or buying of Howses for this Academy.

" Certaine Orders to be observed.

" All the fforesaid publique Readers of Arte and the Common Lawes shall once, within every six yeares, set forth some new Bookes in printe according to their severall professions.

" Also, every one of those which shall publiquely teache any of the Languages as afforesaid, shall once every three Yeares publish in printe some Translation into the English tounge of some good worke, as neare as may be for the advawncing of those thinges which shalbe practized in the said Academy.

" All which bookes shall for ever be entituled, as, set forth by the Gentlemen of Queene Elizabethes Academy, whereby all the Nations of the Worlde shall once every six yeares, at the furthest, receive greate benefitt to your Highnes immortall fame.

" Also, for ever, the 7th day of September and the 17th day of November there shall be a Sermon in the Academy, wherby the Awditory shall be put in minde who was the fownder thereof. By which meanes the tounge of man shall write, for ever, in the eares of the living to the honor of the deade.

" There are divers necessary thinges to be further considered of all which I omitte untill Your Majesty be resolved what to do herein.

" The Commodities which will ensue the erecting this Academy.

" At this present, the estate of Gentlemen cannot well traine up their children within this Realme, but eyther in Oxford or Cambridge, whereof this ensueth :

" First, being theare, they utterly lose their tymes yf they doe not follow learning onely. For there is no other gentlemanlike qualitie to be attained.

" Also by the evill example of suche, those which would apply their studies are drawn to licentiousnes and idlenes, and therefore yt were every way better that they were in any other place then theare.

" And wheareas, in the Universities men study onely Schole-learninges, in this Academy they shall study matters of action meet for present practize both of peace and warre : and yf they will not dispose themselves to letters, yet they may learne languages or martiall activities for the service of their Cowntry ; yf neyther the one nor the other, then may they exercize themselves in qualities meet for a Gentleman. And also the other Universities shall then better suffice to releive poore scholars, where now, the youth of Nobility and Gentlemen taking up their schollarshippes and fellowshippes, do disapointe the poore of their livinges and avauncementes.

" Also all those gentlemen of the Innes of Courte which shall not apply themselves to the study of the lawes, may then exercize themselves in this Academy in other qualities meet for a gentleman. The Cowrtiers and other Gentlemen abowte London, having good oportunity, may likewise do the same. All which do now for the moste parte lose their times.

" Further, whereas by wardship the moste parte of Noble men and Gentlemen within this Realme have been brought up ignorantly and voide of good educacions, Your Majesty may, by order, apointe them to be brought up during their minorities in this Academy from xii to his full aege, if a gentleman by the father of five dissentes, and to have the Prynses allowance towards the same, whosoever have the wardshippe of his bodye, yf yt shalbe fownde by office that he may yearely dispend 13*li.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Both Plato and Licurgus withe other great Philosophers

having bene of opinion that the education of children should not altogether be under the puissaunce of their fathers, but under the publique power and aucthority, because the publique have therein more Interesse then their parentes, wherby the best sorte are most like to excell in vertue which in tymes paste knew nothing but to hallow a hownde, or lure a hawke, which thing will much assuage the present grief that good and godly parentes endure by that tenure of wardship. For (as yt is) yt not onely hurteth the body, but also as yt were killeth the sowle & darkeneth the eyes of reason with ignorawnce: and when the best shall ordinarily be men of such rare vertue, then the Prince and Realme shall not so much from tyme to tyme be charged as they have bene in rewarding the well deservers; for Honnour is a sufficient paymente for him that hath inoughe; wheareas, in tymes past, the poorest sorte were best able to deserve, at the Princes handes, which without great charges to the Prince could not be maintained. So that when theis thinges shall be performed, ordinarie vertue can beare no price: and then younger brothers may eate grasse, yf they cannot atchieve to excell, which will bring a blessed emulation to England. It being also no smalle commodity that the Nobility of England shall be therby, in their youthes, brought up in amity and acquintaunce. And above all other this chiefly is to be accompted of, that by these meanes all the best sorte shall be trained up in the knowledge of Gods word (which is the onely fowndacion of true obedience to the Prince) who otherwise, thorough evill teachers, might be corrupted with papistrie.

“O noble Prince, that God shall blesse so farre as to be the onely meane of bringing this seely frozen Island into such everlasting honnour that all the nations of the world shall knowe and say, when the face of an English gentleman appeareth that he is eyther a Sowldiour, a Philosopher or a gallant Cowrtier wherby in glory your majesty shall make your self second to no Prince living. For as Seneca sayeth, Cato by banishing vice in Rome did deserve more honnour then Scipio did by conquering the Carthagians.

“And wheareas the fame of the noblest Conquerors that ever were is

onely renewed by History, which is known but to a few Historiographers, Your Majesty shall not only have your share thereof, but also for evermore, once every three or six yeares at the most, fill the eyes of the World with new, and chaunge of matter, wherby all sortes of Studentes shall be alwaies put in minde of Queene Elizabethes Academy. And in the meane tyme the perusing of the old and expectacion for the new shall occupy continually every mannes tounge with Queene Elizabethes fame. So that Your Majesty being deade, shall make your sepulchre for ever in the mowthes of the livinge; wherby also Your Highnes may saye of your predecessors, as Zenobia that famous Queene did to Aurelius Emperor of Rome, which was to this effecte, 'Thy Cowrte,' sayth she, 'is replenished with ignoraunce and many vices, wheareas my Cowrte is full fraughted with vertue.' Yea, and what further, By your Highnes the Cowrte of England shall become for ever an Academy of Philosophie and Chivalrie. Among the Lacedemonians learning bare such price, that the Father which gave no learning to his childe in his yowth, did lose the succor and service which was due to him in his old age. The Kinges of this Realme (supplying over their Wardes the roomes of their deceased parentes) have the use of their livinges during their minorityes, principally for to traine them up in vertue, which, for conscience sake oughte not by them to be forgotten.

"To conclude, by erecting this Academie, there shall be heerafter, in effecte, no Gentleman within this Realme, but good for somewhat; wheareas now the moste parte of them are good for nothinge. And yet therby the Cowrte shall not onely be greatly encreased with gallant gentlemen, but also with men of vertue, wherby Your Majesty and your successors Cowrtes shall be for ever, in steade of a Nurserie of Idlenes become a most noble Academy of Chevallrie, Pollicy, and Philosophie, to your greate fame. And better yt is to have Renowne among the good sorte, then to be Lorde over the whole world; for so shall Your Majesty make yourself to live among men for ever, wheareas all flesh hath but small continuaunce, and therwithall bringe youre selfe into Goddes favour so farre as the benefittes of good workes may prevaile."

XXXV. *Observations on the Origin of the Pointed Arch in Architecture: in a Letter from SYDNEY SMIRKE, Esq. addressed to HENRY ELLIS, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary.*

Read 1st June 1826.

DEAR SIR,

I BEG to be permitted to address a few observations to you on the subject of the Origin of the Pointed Arch in Architecture.

It may perhaps appear presumptuous in me to mingle in a controversy which has already attracted the enquiries and exercised the acuteness of many, whose information and ability have better qualified them for pursuing their researches with success: but as it seems to be thought by many that the question has not yet received a satisfactory solution, I trust I shall not be deemed an inexcusable trespasser upon your indulgence, if, in the hope of throwing some additional light upon that difficult subject, I solicit your attention to a quarter to which no one, I believe, has hitherto resorted for information;^a I allude, Sir to the interesting remains of Saracen Architecture, which are to be found at this day in Sicily.

It is agreed, I believe, at all hands, that the general use throughout Europe of the Pointed Arch was nearly coeval with the Crusades. The coincidence appeared so strongly corroborative of Sir Christopher Wren's well-known opinion that we are indebted to the East for this form, that the only additional evidence which seemed desirable was the fact that such a form really existed in the East previous to the Crusades. The difficulty of proving this has given rise to many assertions and de-

^a I was not aware, till after the above was written, that Mr. Swinburne, whilst discussing this question, in the account of his travels in Spain, has very slightly alluded to these remains: it is remarkable, however, that so acute and observing a traveller should have so far erred as to profess his belief that no pointed arch occurs in them.

nials, which being founded often more on opinion or prejudice than on fact, have tended more to embarrass than convince. It is true that the whole region of the East abounds in examples of the Pointed Arch and in many other peculiarities of the Pointed Style, but to shew conclusively that these existed before the twelfth century is attended with many difficulties. Indeed I am aware of but very few instances to which we are at liberty to attach a precise date. On a frieze within the Nilometer is a Cuphic inscription stating the work to be that of the Caliph Almamoun, A. D. 833, and below this frieze are some openings with Pointed Arches. Sir J. Malcolm^b has published a view of the tombs of Mordecai and Esther at the ancient Ecbatana, the entrance to which exhibits a pointed arch: an inscription within this building throws back the period of its erection to the eighth century.

I am sensible, however, that these are unimportant examples, and that their authority is liable to be impaired by simply supposing that the arches may have been substitutions of a later period, a supposition which will not appear altogether unwarrantable when it is observed that in the former case at least, the whole of the building above the inscription is obviously of a much later date.

I forbear to dwell on the improbability of any hypothesis which should attempt to account for the occurrence of the Pointed Arch among the Saracens by ascribing to them a propensity to imitate their European neighbours and invaders. It is not easy to imagine that a people who, at the period in question, had certainly made considerable advances in the luxuries of polished life, would have been induced either by taste or inclination to copy the heavy and uninviting architecture of a people whom they only knew as destroyers, and whose buildings they could have had but few opportunities of observing. Yet, as I am well aware how desirable it is that opinions should not rest on mere conjecture or idle speculation, and that facts alone are the effective weapons of an Antiquary, I shall proceed to the purpose of this communication, and point out to your notice some important instances of this form, which

^b History of Persia, vol. i. p. 260.

are still extant in edifices built by Saracens at a period long prior to the first Crusade, and consequently long before the general introduction of the Pointed Style throughout Europe.

Those who in the course of their Continental travels have visited Palermo, are no doubt well acquainted with the palaces Cooba and Ziza or Azziza, the former, after many vicissitudes, is now a barrack for Austrian cavalry; the latter is at this time the dwelling of a noble Palermitan family. These are universally considered the ancient residences of the Saracen Emirs. That they are Saracen buildings will, I conceive, be sufficiently apparent from the following authorities and considerations.

According to Biscari^c and Fazello^d, they are mentioned by many Arabic authors contemporary with the Saracen dynasty in Sicily. The former writer has given a description of the Ziza by an Arabian, Beniamino, which perfectly agrees with the present appearance of the building.

Perhaps the strongest proof that these buildings are genuine examples of Arabian architecture is to be found in the Arabic inscriptions which form a kind of frieze over the cornice along the whole front of both palaces, and which at the Ziza are also carved so as to form an enriched fascia to the stringcourse or impost of the entrance archway. It is to be regretted that these inscriptions have not been decyphered; at least, I believe, no translation of them has ever been published. Gregorio, a Canon of the Palermitan Cathedral, who published a large collection of Cuphic inscriptions^e discovered in Sicily, attempted to interpret these legends, but found that their great age and decayed state rendered all his endeavours unavailing.

This practice, unknown in Classic Architecture, of forming inscriptions into a kind of running ornament, appears to have been a very favourite one in the East; an instance of it is observable in the Nilo-

^c Viaggio di Sicilia, p. 222.

^d Historia di Sicilia, Dec. i. lib. 8. p. 154.

^e "Rerum Arabicarum, &c. ampla collectio," fol. Panorm. 1790.

meter, and Pocock describes such an ornament running round the inside of the Mosque of Cabbe-al-Azab. Innumerable instances also occur throughout the Saracen architecture of Spain.^f

The very remarkable corbelled and pendant ornaments which decorate the interior of both the Cooba and the Ziza, and of which I herewith send you a Drawing (Plate XXV. fig. 1.), occur in profusion throughout the Arabian palace of the Alhambra, and are the characteristics exclusively of this Style. This correspondence must surely be conclusive evidence that at least the enrichments are the work of Saracens; and if this be true of the plaster work in the interior, it would be impossible to deny to the walls which receive it at least an equal antiquity.

The Hall of the Fountain at the Ziza, in the forms, decorations, indeed in most respects, resembles the Golden Saloon of the Alhambra; nor is it much inferior in size, the former being thirty-seven feet by thirty-one feet three inches, the latter thirty-six feet square.

I herewith send you a Sketch of the Cooba (Plate XXIV.), which I made on the spot last year, and on comparing it with the Mahomedan buildings, whether in India or the Levant, as represented by Messrs. Daniel, Meyer, and other artists, you will observe how much it resembles them in the lancette form of the Arch, and in other less important circumstances.

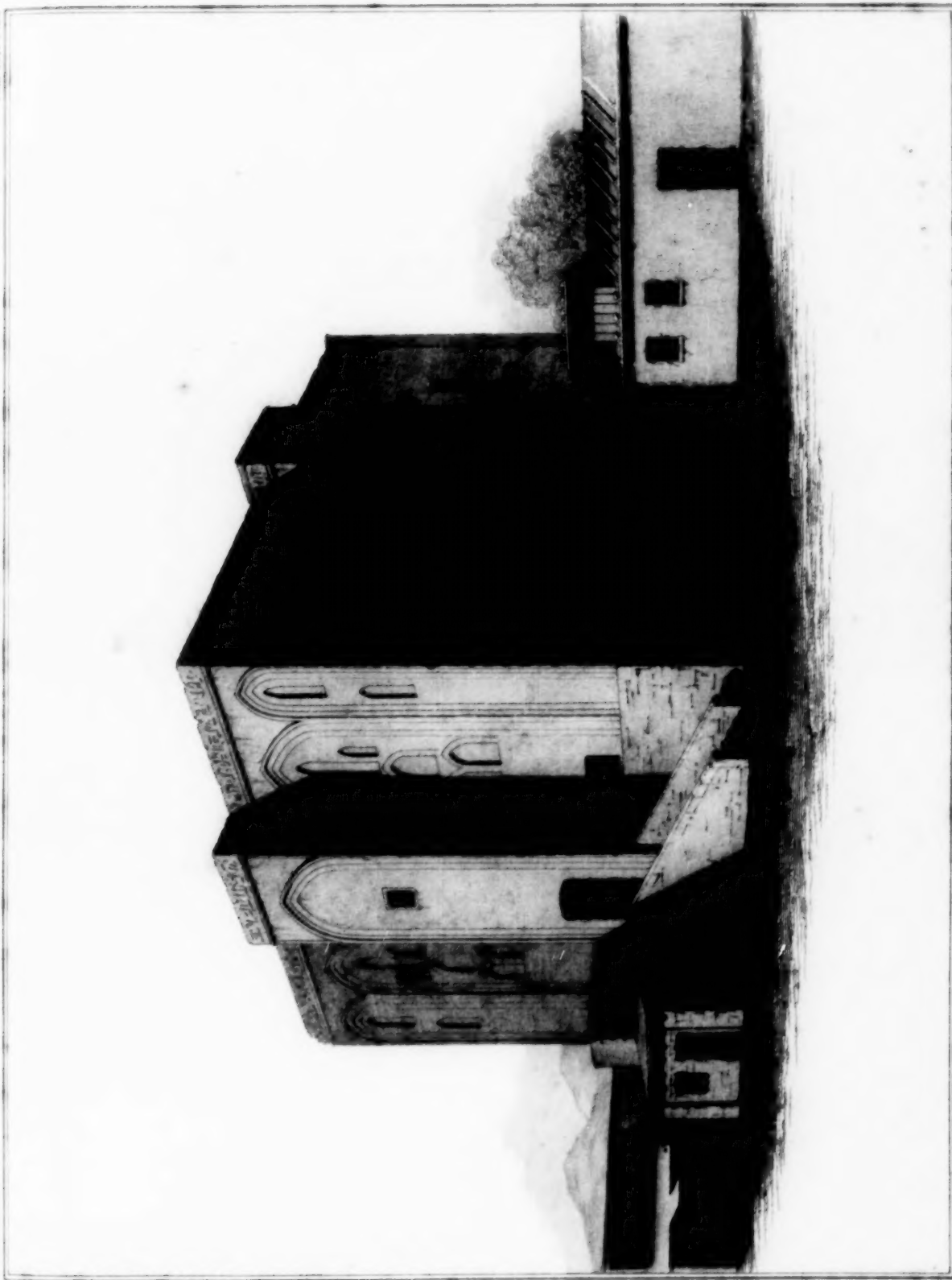
The resemblance borne by these Sicilian palaces to the architecture of the East, is strongly testified by Gregorio,^g who says, when alluding to the Ziza, "*Quæ si conferatur cum palatiis Fessanis et Maroccanis, modo à Leone Africano descriptis, patebit illud eâdem structurâ, iisdem formis, eodemque splendidissimo sumptu ædificatum fuisse.*"

The same fact is also attested by a recent traveller, Sir R. C. Hoare,^h who relates, that an ambassador from Morocco was struck with the re-

^f A Frieze of this kind serving the double purpose of an inscription and an ornament, has recently been brought from the interior of India, and deposited in the British Museum.

^g In a treatise "*De viris litteratis,*" &c. connected with his work above cited.

^h Classical Tour, p. 547.

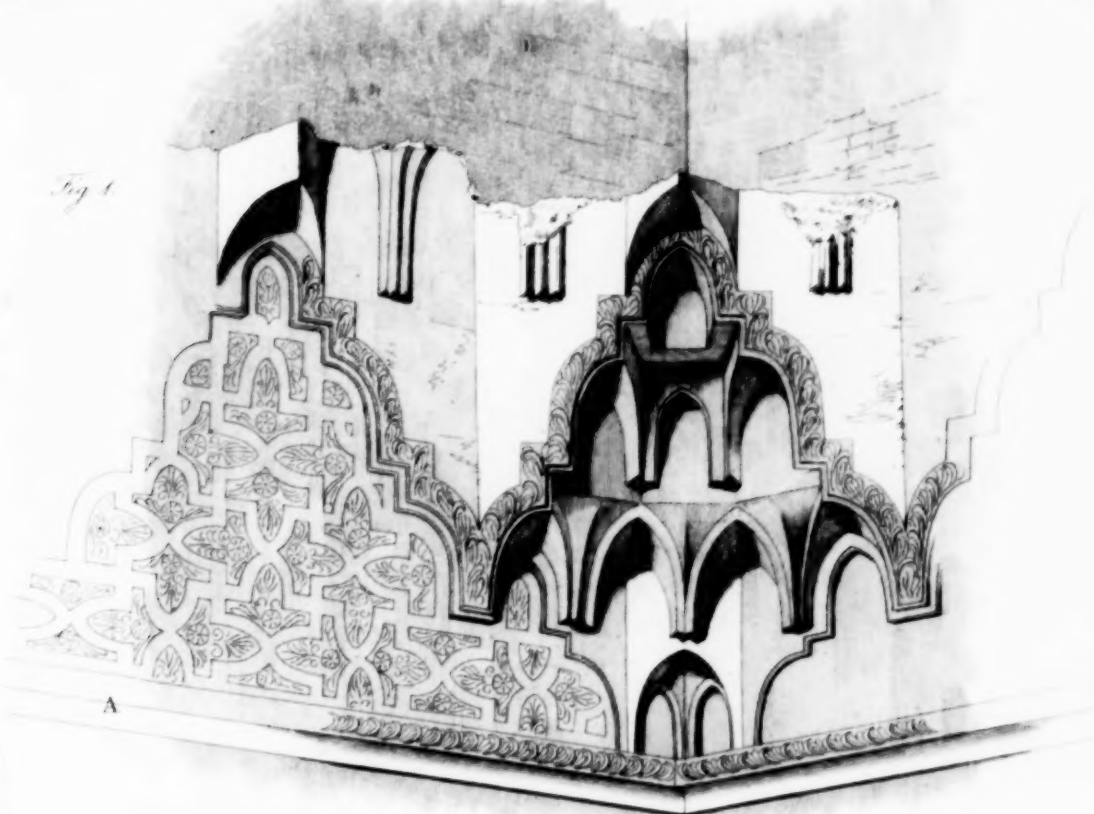
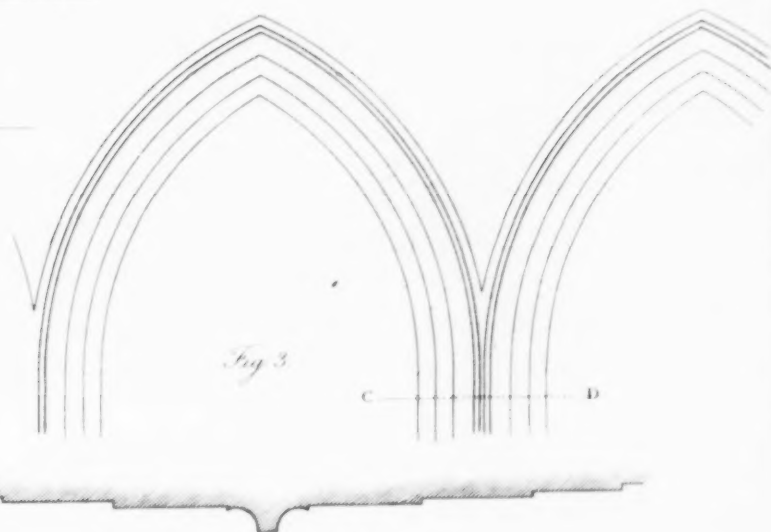


Engraving by J. B. B. 1841

PLATE LXXI

The Xcooba, near Palermo.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 23rd 1841.

Specimen of the enriched corbelling at the Kooba, Palermo.*Fig. 2.**Cornice marked A.**Section at large on C D*

semblance which the Ziza bore to such edifices in his own country, and readily pronounced a large apartment on the third story to have been the council chamber.

That the Saracens, on making Palermo their capital, indulged in their well-known fondness for architectural magnificence, is admitted by all writers: conclusive passages to this effect may be found in J. M. Amato "*De principe templo Panormitano*;"ⁱ in Fazello's "*Historia di Sicilia*;" in Dott. Francesco Bar. Manfredi's "*Palermo glorioso*."^j Each of these particularly notices the palaces now under discussion, and without hesitation attributes them to the Saracens; nor would it be difficult to enumerate many other writers to the same effect.

If we reject these evidences of their Saracen origin, no alternative remains but to suppose them to have been the work of the Normans; and it therefore becomes necessary for the purpose of comparison to inquire what was the style of Norman architecture in Sicily. Fortunately undeniable specimens exist in the same city. The Chapel in the royal palace was built by King Ruggiero, or Roger, the descendant of Tancred: the royal charter exists, and is dated A. D. 1132.^k The Church della Martorana is exactly similar to the above;^l it was built A. D. 1113, by Antiocheno, Ruggiero's admiral, as is expressed in a Greek legend worked in Mosaic on the soffite; the effigies of both the king and the admiral are also there represented in a similar manner. Both of these buildings are strongly marked by the heavy, gloomy character which distinguishes the early Norman buildings elsewhere; the

ⁱ "*Ars admirabilis floruit Panormi, dominantibus Agarenis; testantur palatia Cubæ, Zizæ.*" cap. 9. fol. 56.

^j This author, after declaring the site of Palermo to be a Paradise without one forbidden tree, says that the Saracens delighted in that capital; improved the roads; built beautiful palaces within and without the city, particularly Alcassar, Cooba and Ziza, which prove to this day that the Saracens long made it their royal residence. See p. 88.

^k Fazello, *Hist. di Sicilia*.

^l The nave of this church presents, probably, one of the earliest examples of the Pointed Arch occurring in any Norman work.

walls are extravagantly thick, the openings are narrow, and the general design is entirely without any of the light elegance of Asiatic architecture; the arches are in some cases highly pointed, but generally round. The Cathedral of Palermo is in a style a little more advanced towards those lighter proportions which marked the progress of Norman architecture; it was built A. D. 1185; but little, however, of the original style is preserved. It is no unusual error to point out this building as Saracenic: an examination, however, of the most ancient parts of the structure, will make its Norman origin indisputable. At the same time it should be remarked, that some few details, quite foreign to the Norman buildings elsewhere, betray a resemblance to the corresponding parts of the two palaces in question, and therefore would lead to the highly probable conjecture that Eastern workmen were not wholly unemployed in the erection of this cathedral. The Porch is in a florid and much later style, and the interior is modern.

The Cathedral of Morreale, four miles from Palermo, is of the same period with the Metropolitan Cathedral, and fewer alterations have been made there to obliterate the original style. Mr. Knight certainly erred^m in referring this building to the eighth century, and his error appears to have misled Mr. Hallam.ⁿ It was founded^o by William the Second (the Good) A. D. 1174, who is said to have been excited to that act of piety by a vision of the Blessed Virgin: the oldest parts of this church resemble the original work of the cathedral at Palermo; the nave is formed of high, pointed arches resting (not on extravagantly slender and high shafts, as intimated by Mr. Knight, but) on plain granite columns of ordinary proportions which probably belonged to some much more ancient temple. The spandrels and walls are encrusted with Mosaic work, representing many Saints, and many subjects from the Scripture History. This art, introduced into Christianity early in the fourth century, was much practised by the Greeks, who became very distinguished in it, and were sent from Constantinople to perform works in many parts

^m Analytical Enquiry, &c.

ⁿ State of Europe, &c. vol. iii. p. 432.

^o "Descrizione del Real Tempio," &c. by D. Michele Giudice.

of Europe.^p Giudice,^q in an elaborate treatise on the Mosaic work in question, shews the costume of the figures to be entirely Greek. It is particularly worthy of notice, that in the buildings which are frequently represented in these historical Mosaics,^r the circular arch alone occurs: a fact which seems to indicate that pointed arches were not familiar to the Christian artists, and that therefore the pointed arches, whose spandrels they were decorating, were novelties in Christian architecture.

Whoever has had an opportunity of examining critically the Norman works here enumerated, must have remarked the general resemblance they bear to the buildings raised by that people at the same periods in other countries, and the absence of those peculiarities which are observable in the interior of the palaces in question, and which have been already shewn to correspond exactly with acknowledged examples of Saracenic architecture. I trust, therefore, that the opinion, uniformly expressed by all modern travellers,^s and corroborated by local tradition, that the Cooba and Ziza are specimens of Saracen art, will be allowed to be well founded.

I shall now proceed to call your attention to the accompanying Sketch (Plate XXIV.): you will perceive that *throughout this building the Pointed Arch occurs*: the Ziza^t is so similar in its general character that I have not thought it worth while to send you any memorandum of it. These pointed arches are not only observable at the blanked windows and niches, but form so integral a part of the main walls that their identity with the original work is obvious and indisputable. The same peculiarities characterize a small domed building in the gardens adjoining the Ziza, as well as the trifling remnant of the original structure of the Alcassar, the Emir's palace in Palermo,

^p Fleury, Eccl. Hist. c. 13. p. 207.

^q "Descrizione del Reale Tempio," &c.

^r I beg to refer you to the work of M. Giudice above cited, who gives, in a series of plates, all these Mosaics. The work is in the Library of the British Museum.

^s Swinburne, Count Forbin, Biscari, Smyth, Sir R. C. Hoare, &c.

^t A most minute account of this building, its gardens, &c. as they existed at the latter end of the sixteenth century, is given by Alberti, "Descrittione di tutta Italia," Venegia, 1588.

now embodied and nearly lost in the modern royal palace, examples which I have not dwelt upon, as they are of less comparative importance.

As the Saracen power in Sicily was destroyed early in the eleventh century, it follows that these arches must have existed at least a hundred years prior to the epoch of the Crusades, and they therefore attest the prevalence of the Pointed Arch in the architecture of the East long before that form was generally adopted in the buildings of Christendom.

With regard to the precise period of the foundation of these Saracen palaces, I have been unable to gather distinct information. Fazello gives it as the conjecture of some, that they were named after two daughters of a Saracen king, whose own name, however, he has omitted to give: "Alcuni Saracini curiosi delle cose antiche dicono che Cuba e Zisa erano i nomi di due figliuole d'un Re Saracino e che da loro fu dato il nome à questi due giardini, ma diasi loro tanta fede quanta l'huomo vuole."^v

But the historian, Abulfeda, and most of the Saracen Chronicles published by Gregorio and Carus, relate a fact which suggests no improbable etymology of the name, Ziza. In the year of the Hejra 373 (A. D. 983) Giafer, or Gafer, was sent by the Cailiph of Egypt and Sicily, Al-Aziz, to reign over the latter province, as Emir; he is said to have been the relative and distinguished favourite of the monarch. At this period, when the throne of the Cailiphs was firmly established in Sicily, and when the simple hardiness of their subjects had yielded to the luxurious habits which so strongly marked their character, is it not probable that the structure in question, its halls of marble and Mosaic, its fountains and delicious gardens, were the work of Giafer, who, consistently with the feelings and practice of the time, and from motives of gratitude, of flattery, or of personal attachment, named this luxurious abode after his royal master, Al-Aziz? a name which, it might be expected, would readily become, under an Italian pronunciation, Azziza, and Ziza.

With regard to the Cooba, a friend,^u of whose acquaintance with

^v *Hist. de Sicilia*, Dec. i. lib. 8. p. 154.

^u Rev. George Skinner, Jesus College, Cambridge.

Oriental literature I gladly avail myself, has suggested a most satisfactory etymology, which offers strong subsidiary proof of the Oriental origin of the building. I subjoin his own words: "Cubba is a cupola, covering, tent, and (κατ' ἐξοχήν), it is applied to the Oratory built near Medina, by Muhammed. There are Cubas all over the Moslem world." It is hardly necessary to remind you that this word, Cooba, softened into Cova, has found admission (probably through the medium of Spain) into our language in the word Al-cove.

Some of the Mosaic work which encrusts the walls of the hall of the Fountain in this palace, very much resembles that which is seen in the Norman ecclesiastical buildings above referred to, and therefore leads to the conclusion, which in itself is highly probable, that this palace continued to be a royal residence during the Norman rule: the Cooba was certainly a royal pleasure-house so late as the reign of Frederic. Boccacio,* in his sixth day, relates a story of that monarch imprisoning a damsel "in bellissime case d'un suo giardino, il quale chiamasi la Cuba,"

It may, perhaps, be said that though the Pointed Arch occurs abundantly in these buildings, they exhibit no other corresponding peculiarities, and therefore are no proof of the existence of the Pointed Style. It should be noticed, however, that besides the shape of the arches, (Plate XXV. fig. 3,) the mouldings, in their contour, are just such as we usually call the Gothic hollow; (See two examples, Plate XXV. fig. 2 and 3.) and the curious corbelled ornaments above alluded to have much of the character of the Pointed Style. It is remarkable, too, that the practice so prevalent among our ancestors, of spreading in flat relief a rich pattern over the surface of their walls, corresponds with the mode of enrichment at the Cooba (indicated Plate XXV. fig. 1.) and in the principal halls of the Alhambra.

The rude but peculiar mode of imitating Greek foliage, observable at the Cooba, (Plate XXV. fig. 2.) is perpetually seen in the Pointed architecture of Italy, and occasionally elsewhere.

* Vol. ii. page 341, London 1802.

Nor should I omit to point out to your notice the frequent introduction, in buildings of the thirteenth and succeeding centuries, of those ornamental inscriptions which have been already alluded to as strongly characteristic of Oriental architecture.^x

Certainly no one can imagine that buildings with all the distinguishing features of Pointed architecture existed any where at the early period assignable to these palaces: the warmest advocate of an Asiatic origin can reasonably go no farther than to assert his belief that the style, such as we see it in its purity in England, Germany, or France, was the result of some of the peculiarities of the architecture of the East engrafted on the previously existing manner; and that this admixture, by a rapid though progressive improvement, became at length a consistent, distinct, and beautiful style. It would not, I think, be difficult to shew how this admixture may have taken place.

I need not remind you, Sir, that for several centuries the Arabians were reputed to be almost the sole depositories of learning and science: and although the light of later ages has taught us to regard their philosophy as spurious, and much of their learning as frivolous, yet we are fully warranted by history in ascribing to them at one period a far greater share of cultivation and refinement than belonged to any European nation. Hence we find that the schools of the Arabian doctors, and of the Spanish and Italian Saracens, were universally frequented by those Europeans who were ambitious of distinction in the pursuit of knowledge.^y

When we consider the obvious tendency of this intercourse to diffuse among the more civilized nations of Christian Europe, sentiments of

^x Trefoil heads, canopies, pinnacles, and an ornament nearly resembling the crocketed ornament, appear in the cathedral of St. Mark, Venice, built between 976 and 1071. This building is known to have been executed by artists from Constantinople. The style of its architecture clearly illustrates the difference between the Byzantine and Lombardic corruptions of the Classic Style. The progress of the latter produced the Norman Style; the former, tinged by the novelties of an exotic style, became such as we see it at Venice.

^y Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. part 2, pp. 398, 461.

respect for the various arts and attainments of their Saracen teachers ; and when we advert to the number and variety of Oriental fashions transplanted into Europe after the Crusades had opened a free communication between the East and West ; is it surprising that the inhabitants of the latter should be disposed to admire and to imitate the favourite forms of a style of architecture so advantageously contrasted with the prevailing character of their own ?

Nor let us too hastily yield to the opinions of those who would attribute an extraordinary degree of refinement to the Norman Conquerors of Europe. It is true their builders were more expert than the wretched artisans of our own Island, harassed as it had long been by civil discord and foreign aggression, yet the Normans were in general an unlettered, warlike race, and not unconscious of their inferiority to the East in the arts of refinement, as may be well inferred from a letter of instruction sent by the celebrated Count Roger, the Norman Conqueror of Sicily, to his Bishop Girlandus. The following is a passage alluding to the ruined state of the Island: "*Quis enim visâ castellarum et civitatum eorum (the Saracens) amplâ et diffusâ ruinâ et palatiorum suorum studio mirabili compositorum ingenti destructione percognitâ, Saracenorum quorum usibus superfluis deserviebant incommoditates non attendat esse multiplices, miserias magnas, et detrimenta innumerabilia ?*"*

Authorities are not wanting to justify a belief that the Saracen masons, either from an opinion of their superior skill, from the difficulty, known to have been much felt, of obtaining an adequate supply of builders, or from other causes, began at this period to be personally employed by the Christians of Europe, especially in the construction and reparation of religious edifices.* These, associating with Greek and other Christians, are said to have formed themselves into a sort of

* See Pirro, "*Sicilia sacra*," &c. vol. i. p. 695.

* See *Encycl. Brit.* article *Masonry*, vol. xii. p. 657, fourth edition. See also the passage which has so often been cited from M. Paris, sub. an. 1184, relating to the employment of Moorish prisoners "*in Ecclesiis reparandis*."

confraternity, and undertaken buildings by contract.^b It is therefore highly probable that the Freemasons, whose importance as a corporate body seems to have been established by a Papal Bull in the early part of the thirteenth century,^c counted many Eastern workmen among their number. Thus associated, and exclusively devoted to the practice of masonry, it is easy to infer that a rapid improvement, both in the style and execution of their work, would result. Forming a connected and corresponding society, and roving over the different countries of Europe, wherever the munificent piety of those ages promised employment to their skill, it is a probable and even a necessary consequence that improvements and novelties, by whomsoever introduced or invented, would quickly become common to all; and to this cause we may refer the simultaneous progress of one style throughout Europe, which forms so singular a phenomenon in the history of Architecture.

You will not fail to observe, then, that the occasional intercourse with the East in the pursuit of learning, before the twelfth century, may account for the few insulated examples of Pointed Arches that occur in France and elsewhere, of that early date; that the influx of Eastern builders and Eastern knowledge into Europe during the twelfth century may account for the growing prevalence of the more elegant character and proportions of the East in our architecture; and that the incorporation of masons in the thirteenth century may have finally brought the Pointed Style to that consistency and perfection which it had not till then attained.

The style of the Saracens, as far as it can be ascertained from existing monuments, was by no means a pure and consistent style: many rude imitations of the Classic are intermingled with peculiarities wholly foreign to them: among the latter the Pointed Arch should, I submit, be classed; but whether they invented that form, or borrowed it from any source now unknown to us, is likely, I fear, to remain a lasting subject for Antiquarian contention. With regard to the casual produc-

^b H. Swinburne's *Travels in Sicily*.

^c *Govt. Pownal, Archæologia*, vol. ix. p. 120.

tion of this arch, Dr. Warburton, Dr. Milner,^d more recently Dr. Macculloch, and indeed all who have indulged their fancies in tracing back results to their accidental causes, may remain in undisturbed possession of their respective theories, which, it is obvious, may be equally applicable to the invention, whether it originated in the east or in the west.

It has been the object of this letter to call your attention to a fresh authority upon this much litigated question; the remarks with which I have augmented its length are, of course, much less worthy of your attention, and I ought to beg your pardon for having troubled you with them.

Should you think that the information which my letter contains would be deserving of the notice of the Society of Antiquaries, I need hardly assure you, that I shall feel proud of its communication.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

SYDNEY SMIRKE.

TO HENRY ELLIS, Esq.
F. R. S. Sec.

^d Dr. Milner, the most determined opposer of the Oriental origin of the Style in question, seems to have engaged his feelings too deeply in the establishment of his own hypothesis to give to the observations of others a proper attention. He imputes to my brother an intent to set up a theory, deriving this architecture originally from Italy; an inference not fairly to be drawn from his "Observations" (*Archæologia*, vol. xv.), of which the sole and evident object was to undeceive those who have erroneously assigned to it an *English* origin: a claim, which, however flattering to our national feelings, few, I apprehend, at the present day will venture to assert.

THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF BOSTON

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME
BY SAMUEL JOHNSON
IN TWO VOLUMES
THE FIRST VOLUME
CONTAINING THE HISTORY FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE YEAR 1780
THE SECOND VOLUME
CONTAINING THE HISTORY FROM THE YEAR 1780 TO THE PRESENT TIME

BOSTON: PUBLISHED BY S. JOHNSON, AT THE SIGN OF THE SHIELD, IN THE CORNER OF NASSAU AND NATHANIEL STREETS.
1789.

A P P E N D I X.

AT
A COUNCIL
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

DECEMBER 15, 1776,

RESOLVED,

That such curious Communications as the Council shall not think proper to publish *entire*, be extracted from the Minutes of the Society, and formed into an Historical Memoir, to be annexed to each future Volume of the Archæologia.

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APPENDIX.

January 13, 1822. Taylor Combe, Esq. F.R.S. Director, laid before the Society, drawings of four silver Pennies; two of King Henry the First, and two of King Stephen, as specimens of the types of a large quantity which had been recently found;



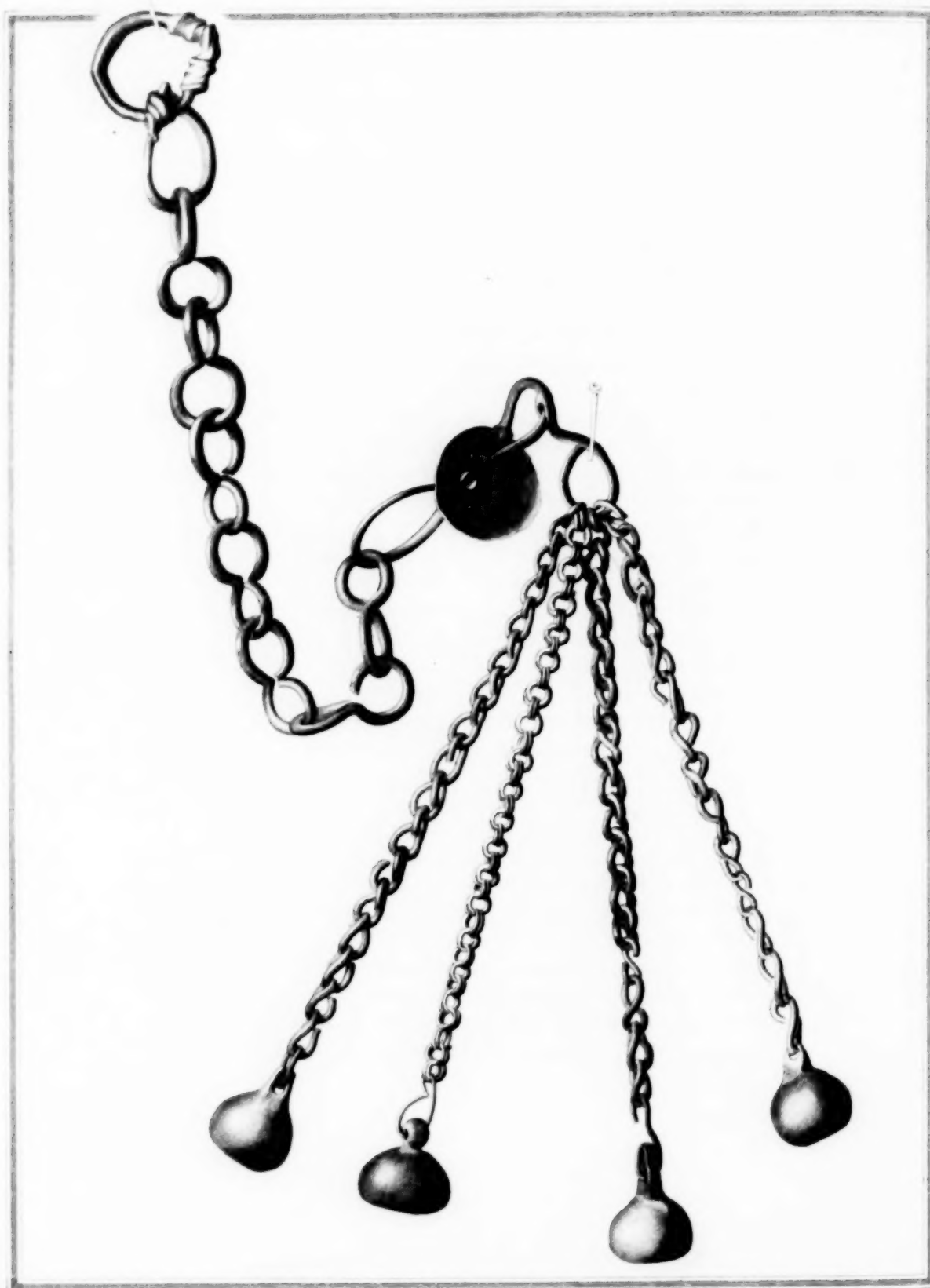
together with the following account of the Discovery :

“ In the month of April, 1818, some labourers employed in hoeing a field of beans, in the occupation of Mr. John Wilshin, farmer, of Oxhey Lodge, in the parish of Watford in Hertfordshire, found a quantity of Silver Coins, in number above a hundred, lying scattered upon the surface of the ground, together with the fragment of an earthen Vessel, in which they had probably been deposited. As I do not know that any account has yet been given of this discovery, and as it

is matter of some interest to the English Antiquary, I beg leave to communicate to the Society the few particulars which have come to my knowledge, and for which I am indebted to my friend Robert Clutterbuck, Esq. the intelligent Historian of the County of Hertford.

" It was not till several weeks after the Coins had been found, that the circumstance became known to this gentleman, who, with a view to render the discovery available to the interests of science, immediately instituted an inquiry in the neighbourhood, and collected as many of the coins together as he was able; but they had been by this time so dispersed that he could only procure nine of them, through the kindness of some friends into whose hands these few had accidentally fallen. Six of these proved to be Pennies of Henry the First, and three of Stephen. Mr. Clutterbuck, thinking it probable that more coins might be found, if diligent search were made for them, obtained permission of Mr. Wilshin to dig and carefully examine the soil for some distance round the spot where the coins had been discovered, and he was successful in obtaining, by these means, thirty more pieces. The whole of these proved also to be Pennies of Henry I. and Stephen; and indeed there is good reason to infer, that all the coins found at Oxhey, or at least the far greater part of them, belonged to these two Kings. After the interesting discovery of so great a number of Pennies of Henry II. at Tealby, in Lincolnshire,^a in the year 1807, (which satisfactorily decided the question about the coins which were to be assigned to that monarch,) there could be no discovery

^a Described by Mr. Taylor Combe, in *Archaeologia*, vol. XVIII. pp. 1—8.



J. G. G. G. G. G.

J. G. G. G. G.

Instrument of Torture employed against the Primitive Christians.

in the numismatic History of the Country, more desirable, than a horde of the Pennies of Henry I. and Stephen, as our knowledge of the mintage of those reigns is still very deficient. The coins of Henry I. and Stephen, it is well known, are generally struck in a very negligent manner; and the legends are often singularly imperfect.

"The house in which Mr. Wilshin resides, adjoins the field in which the Coins were found, and is situated near the site of the ancient manor-house of Oxhey Place. In a deed of the 43^d year of Queen Elizabeth, in the possession of the present owner the Honourable and Rev. Harbottle Bucknall, the farm-house of Oxhey Lodge is called the "Warren House," from which we may infer that the land surrounding, forming probably part of the demesne land of the manor, was used in the reign of Queen Elizabeth as a rabbit warren, and that it has been brought into cultivation since that period."

April 10, 1823. The Rev. Dr. Milner exhibited, by the hands of Henry Ellis, Esq. Secretary, an Instrument of Torture employed by the Pagan persecutors against the primitive Christians.^b It was so considered by Mr. Dodwell, author of *Views and Monuments in Greece*, who gave it him out of his Collection of antiquities at Rome, and told him it had been found in one of the Catacombs there in which the martyrs were generally interred.

This Instrument appears to have been one of the class of *Plumbatæ*, or scourges armed with plummets; though it is short and light compared with those described and engraved by Antonius Gallonius in his curious work "*De Sanctorum Martyrum cruciatibus*."

^b See Plate XXVI.

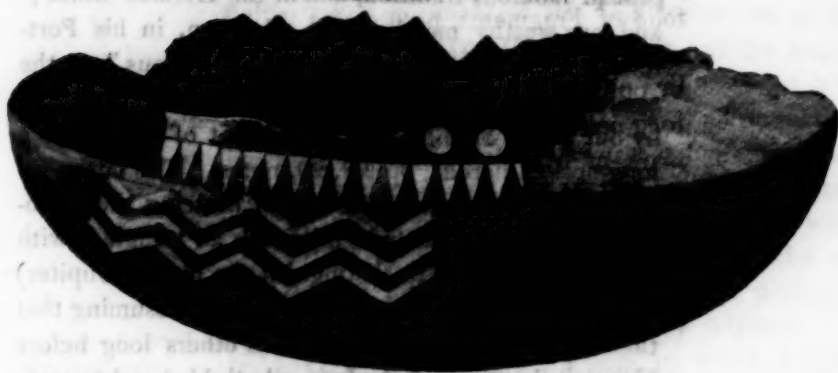
April 10, 1823. Dr. Somerville exhibited to the Society, by the hands of Henry Ellis, Esq. Secretary, a very fine Matrix of an old Monastic Seal of brass, gilt, bearing an inscription in blundered Latin, purporting it to be the Seal of JORDAN abbat of the Cistercian Monastery of Dore in Herefordshire.



This Abbat does not occur in Browne Willis's list of the Principals of this House. It is evident from the style of the Seal that he must have lived towards the close of the fourteenth century, at which period the List of the Abbats appears to be most imperfect.

June 5, 1823. Samuel Rush Meyrick, D.C.L. exhibited to the Society, the fragments of an ancient British Cup, recently discovered in a Turbary near Caergwle castle, in Flintshire, richly inlaid, on the exterior, with thin gold in various devices; the gold leaf beautifully tooled and extremely pure; the border being formed of concentric circles, and the rest of parallel lines, where it was made to double over the edge. The ornament of the under part consists of a central band very sharply indented both ways; and at a little distance on each

side, another, composed of three lines of zig-zag, which is again bounded by another indented border.



Nov. 27, 1823. William Hamper, Esq. communicated to the Society the following observations on the Arms and Seal of the Town of Liverpool, in a Letter addressed to Henry Ellis, Esq. F.R.S. Secretary :

" MY DEAR SIR,

Birmingham, Nov. 24, 1823.

" The armorial Ensigns of the town of Liverpool, or as it was formerly written, Leverpool, are thus blazoned in Edmondson's Complete Body of Heraldry, vol. i.—

" *Argent, a Cormorant sable, beaked and legged gules, holding in the beak a branch of sea weed, called Laver, inverted, vert :*" another part of the same work informing us that the Cormorant itself was sometimes denominated a *Lever*, vol. ii. Glossary. From this, it is evident, that the Arms were supposed to contain an allusion to the name of the place, either in the bird, the branch, or both these objects; like the stump of a tree, or the ox passing a ford, in the *canting* coats, as heralds call them, of Woodstock and Oxford. Enfield, how-

ever, in his *History of Liverpool*, A.D. 1774, p. 3, denies the existence of such a bird as the Lever, "except in fabulous tradition, and in the Heralds' Office;" and our worthy member, Mr. Gregson, in his *Portfolio of Fragments*, pronounces it "dubious," at the same time observing that it "has been cut and carved by our artists in all shapes, from that of a goose to a long-necked heron," pp. 28, 29, notes. The latter remark of Mr. Gregson's occurs in noticing the prototype of this *rara avis* (which he calls an "eagle," with the word "Jovis," to distinguish the bird of Jupiter) on the SEAL OF THE CORPORATION; but presuming that the Seal has misled him, as well as others long before him, and that, in fact, the Lever, both bird and branch, originated in a misconception of its device, I herewith enclose an impression from it, for the satisfaction of the Society, if you should deem my Letter worthy the honour of being laid before them.



"Our antiquarian ornithology, though arbitrary enough in its representations of the feathered race, is nevertheless seldom far from truth in delineating THE DOVE OF NOAH, though the olive "leaf" which she "plucked off" is usually amplified into an entire sprig; I and will venture to say that the said gentle harbinger,

emblematic alike of confidence at sea, and of peace at home, is sole possessor of the field before us, to the exclusion of the Lever, the Cormorant, and the Eagle! But admitting this to be so; you will ask what is to become of the word "*Jovis*." In reply, I affirm that no such word appears in the legend, and moreover, that the present Seal is merely a blundered copy of some older one (which, it is not unlikely, was coeval with King John's charter to the Town) executed by an artist ignorant of the Latin language, and probably worked from an injured impression of the original.

The circumscription stands thus, in which I shall mark the erroneous letters by Italics :

SICILIS CONMVNCDORGESIVDLEVEB, and, for want of room, **IODIS**, are added on a subsidiary scroll.

The original inscription doubtless was as follows :

SIGILLV . COMMVNE . BVRGESIVM . LEVERPOLIS: i. e. *Sigillum Commune Burgensium Liverpoolis*, or the common Seal of the Burgesses of Liverpool; a reading perfectly consistent with the style of other Corporation Seals, as witness, *Sigillum Commune Burgensium Novi Castell*, and *Sigillum Commune Burgensium Bristollie*.

In this attempt to deprive the good men of Liverpool of their favourite municipal Bird, or rather to exchange it for one of a more amiable character, I have not entered into a review of the contending opinions respecting the etymology of their Town's name; but I would point out to those who may hereafter discuss that subject, a few words which I find in Mr. Holland's Paper on the Antiquity of Motts, &c. in England, A.D. 1600, printed in Hearne's Cu-

APPENDIX.

rious Discoveries, vol. i. p. 265, edit. 1771.—“ *Levermore*, of Devonshire, bare for his Armes, argent, a bunch of FLAGGES or LEVERS vert, according unto his name.”

I remain, my dear Sir,

Your's ever sincerely,

WILLIAM HAMPER.

December 18, 1823. John Gage, Esq. F. S. A. exhibited a Roll discovered among the muniments of Chirk castle, containing the descent of King Edward III. from Alfred the Great, together with a brief Memorial of the King's progenitors. At the foot, in a different hand-writing, and on a parchment of another quality, was a short Chronicle of England from Brute to the 47th Edw. III.

January 22, 1824. Thomas Lister Parker, Esq. exhibited a brass Seal, found in a cottage-garden at Friston, near Aldborough, in the County of Suffolk. The inscription SIGIL . CORRECTORIS . EPISC . NORWICI . The matrix is at present in the possession of Shafto Adair, Esq.



February 12, 1824. Ambrose Glover, Esq. communicated to the Society, by the hands of Wm. Bray, Esq., Drawings of

some Roman Pottery, lately discovered near Findon in Sussex, at a small distance from the Roman camp on Cissbury-hill, a considerable eminence in that neighbourhood. These Drawings were accompanied with a Description by Mr. William Constable, who discovered and preserved the vessels.

February 26, 1824. Hudson Gurney, Esq. V. P. exhibited to the Society an ancient Gold Thumb-ring, of singular shape and rude workmanship, inscribed *CONSTANI FIDES*;



C O N S T A N I F I D E S

the property of Alderman Bolingbroke of Norwich, weighing 6 dwts. 3 grs. It was ploughed up in a field belonging to a Mr. Smith, about the year 1820, close to the windmill on Poringland heath near Norwich, distant about two miles from Castor, (*Venta Icenorum*,) and very near the Roman road called the Stone-street.

April 1, 1824. Benjamin Charles Stephenson, Esq. exhibited copies of the Inscriptions found in 1823, upon the stone basements of the octangular chesnut columns which supported the apartment of the old Court of Exchequer, on the west side of Westminster Hall, called Queen Elizabeth's Bedchamber. They were

1. A. D. 1570. ✠ REGNI . ELIZABETHE . ANGLIE .
FRANCIE . ET . HIBERNIE . REGINE . XII.

APPENDIX.

2. ✠ NICHOLAVS . BACON . MILES . DNS . CVSTOS .
MAGNE . SIGILLE . ANGLIE . A. D. 1570.

3. ✠ ROBERTVS . DVDLEY . COMES . LEICESTRIE .
MAGISTER . EQVITVM . A. D. 1570.

4. ✠ GVLIELMVS . CECILIVS . PRINCIPALIS . SECRE-
TARIVS . REGINE . A. D. 1570.

5. ✠ GVLIELMVS . PAVLET . MARCHIO . WINTON .
THESAVRARIVS . ANGLIE . A. D. 1570.

6. ✠ GVALTERVS . MYLDMAY . MILES . CANCELLA-
RIVS . AC. THESAVRAR . SCCII . A. D. 1570.

7. JACOBUS . DYER . MILES . CAPITALIS . IYSTICIA-
RIVS . DE . BANCO . A. D. 1570.

April 1, 1824.

Wm. Brayley, Esq. communicated to the Society, an
Impression of the Seal of Beraldus, Prior of Colle-
caton.



April 1, 1824.

Wm. Hamper, Esq. communicated to the Society, by
the hands of Dr. S. R. Meyrick, an Account of a Grave
cut north and south in the sand-rock, discovered on the
12th of February preceding, by some labourers who
were employed in removing sand from the side of a
hill, for the purpose of enlarging the rick yard of
Greensborough farm, in the township of Lower Stonnall
in the parish of Shenstone in Staffordshire. Fragments
of human bones, and a piece of decayed wood about
the size of two hands, were all that the excavation con-
tained ; but within a few inches, on the west side, were

found, lying in the loose sand, two swords, some spear-heads, celts, and several other reliques, all of bronze.

Greensborough-hill is a pleasant knoll, commanding an extensive prospect. The farm-buildings stand on its southern slope. The course of the Ikenild-street runs within a mile to the south-east, and the Roman station Etocetum, or Wall, where the Ikeneld crosses the Watling-street, is little more than two miles and a half distant S. S. W. It is also mid-way in a direct line, between Wall and the well-known Barr-beacon, as laid down in the last map of Staffordshire.

March 6, 1824. Samuel Rush Meyrick, D.C.L. exhibited to the Society a Fac-simile of the Coffin-plate which was taken in 1793 from the leaden coffin of the Queen of James the Second, when the French Revolutionists disturbed the cemeteries to obtain lead for bullets.

•
C'EST LE CORPS DE · TRES · HAUTE
TRES · PUISSANTE · TRES · EXCELLENTE
PRINCESSE MARIE · ELEONOR · DEST ·
VEUVE · DE TRES · HAUT · TRES · PUISS
ANT · ET TRES EXCELLENT · PRINCE
IACQUES · II · ROY · DE · LA · GRANDE
BRETAGNE · DECEDEE · A · S^r ·
GERMAIN EN LAYE LE 7^e
MAY · 1718 ·
•

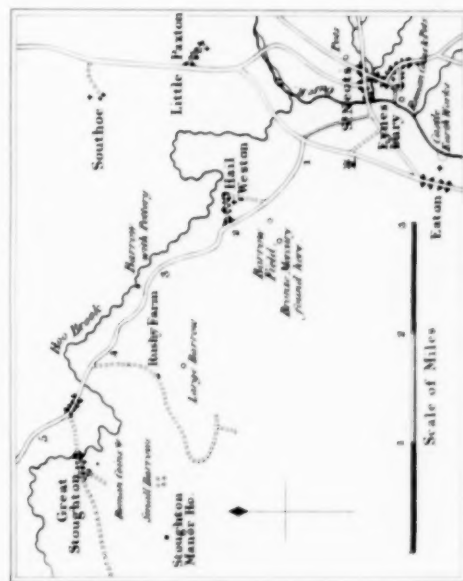
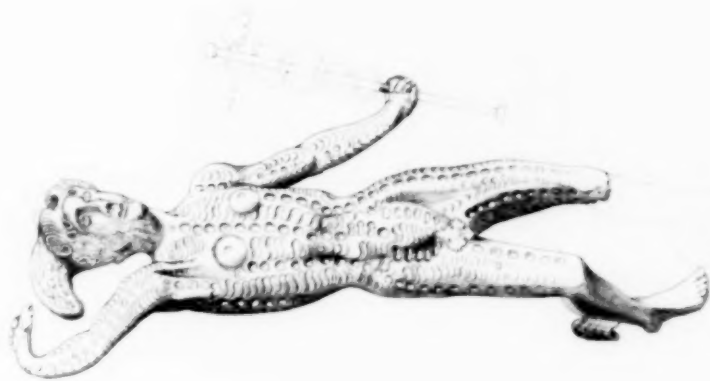
The Queen was then lying in state in this Coffin at the Convent at Chaillot near Paris, of which she had been the Institutress and Patroness.

Novemb. 18, 1824. The Rev. Thomas Rackett communicated some Observations on a Brass Plate, described in the *Archæologia*, vol. XV. p. 302. found in a poor man's house, where it had long served for the back of a grate, and was said to have been originally brought from Netley Abbey. Its area represented the figures of a man in armour and a lady, both kneeling, and a beacon, with the words "So have I cause," six times repeated, supposed to be the crest of the man. This Crest, which is that of the Compton family, appears with the motto, "So have I cause," in the east window of Sopley Church, near Ringwood, in the county of Southampton.

December 2, 1824. The Rev. Geo. Cornelius Gorham communicated to the Society an account of a small bronze Mercury, found a few years ago in a field about a quarter of a mile south-west of Hail Weston, called "Barrow-field," accompanied by a Drawing precisely the size of the original. The height of the bronze was four inches and a half; its weight three ounces and three quarters; the surface being marked with small circular depressions and furrows, giving the figure the appearance of being invested with a coat of mail. Mr. Gorham accompanied the Communication with a small Map, upon which the localities of certain Roman discoveries in the neighbourhood of St. Neot's were marked.*

December 2, 1824. Dr. Milner, in a short Communication to Henry Ellis, Esq. Secretary, presented an Impression from the last Seal used by the Brigetine Nuns, formerly of Sion in Middlesex, and still in their possession,

* See the Bronze and the Map, Plate XXVII.



1000

708 *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*



whose peregrinations and continuance as a Fraternity, he had described in a former Volume of the *Archæologia*.^b Three of their successors, the last remain of this Convent, far advanced in age, he describes as resident at the village of Cobridge among the potteries, two miles from Newcastle.

December 9, 1824. William Bray, Esq. communicated to the Society Copies of two Warrants from Queen Mary the First in 1553 and 1554. The first, directing a Dramatic Entertainment to be performed at the feast of her Coronation; the second, respecting the preparation of Dialogues and Interludes to be performed in the Royal presence, the same to be prepared by Nicholas Udal, and directing such dresses and apparel to be delivered to him from the Office of the Revels, from time to time, as he might require. Nicholas Udal, it will be remembered, was Master of Eton School, and one of the most eminent scholars of his day.

January 13, 1825. Sir William Betham, Ulster King of Arms of Ireland, communicated to the Society, from the originals in the Rolls Office at Dublin, Copies of two Bills in Chancery, respecting property in Ireland, alledged to have been usurped upon by Edmund Spenser, the Poet.

^a Vol. XVII. p. 326.

APPENDIX.

To the Right Honorable the Lord Chancellor.

Humbly maketh Petition unto y^r honorable L^p, Moris the Lo^r Roch, wheare one Edmond Spencer, gent. hath lately exhibited suit against y^r suppl^t for three plowe lands, pcell of Shanballymore, yo^r suppl^ts inheritance, before the Vice President and Councell of Mounster, w^{ch} land hath bene heretofore decreed for yo^r suppl^t, against the said Spencer and others, under whom he conveyed by the said Vice President & Councell. And nevertheless for that the said Spencer being Clark of the Councell in the said province, and did assigne his office unto one Nicholas Curteys, among other agreem^{ts} wth coveⁿant that the said Spencer should, from tyme to tyme, during his lief, be free in the said office for his cawses, by occa^sion of w^{ch} imunity, the said Spencer doeth multiply suits against yo^r Suppl^t in the said pvince, uppon p^tended title of others wheare yo^r Suppl^t is not sufficiently furnished wth counsell in respect of their attendance heare in tearme tyme, for as much therefore as the said suit is a matter of inheritance, and greatly importing yo^r Suppl^t, and for that by default of Councill, the same being proceded upon in the pvince may receive great p^rjudice, that it may therefore please yo^r L^p to graunt a certiorar for remove of the said cawse unto this honorable Cort to be heard & detearmyned as lawe & custume requireth, and yo^r Suppl^t shall pray.

A Certiorary graunted
ad Dublin. Canc.

To the Right Ho. the Lord Chancellor.

Showeth to yo^r L^p Sylvanus Spencer of Kyllcollman, gent. that where yo^r petitioner's father, Edmond Spencer, was seised in his demesne as of fee of Kyllcolemane, and dyvers other lands and tenements in the Couⁿt of Corck, w^{ch} descended to yo^r Petitioner by the death of his said father, so it is Right Honourable the evidences of the sayd inheritance w^{ch} doe rightfully aptayne to yo^r Sup^t, did, after the decease of his sayd father, com to the hands of Roger Seckerstone and his, petitioners, moulder, w^{ch} they uniu^stly detayneth, which evidences forasmuch as yo^r Petitioner can have no occion^a at comon lawe, he not knowing theire

^a i. e. action.

dates and certaynty, he is dryven to sue in consideracon byfore yo^r Ho: L^p, and avereth that the sayd Roger Seckerston, his mouther's now husband, uniustly detayneth the sayd evidences, not withstanding that yo^r Supp^t hath demaunded the same, to your petitioner's damadge of one hundred pounds, wherein he prayth remedij, that they be sent for to deliu' the sayd evidences in this ho: Court, and to delyver the certaynty of the same, and the same to yeld to your Petitioner, viz. such as to him of right doth aptayne, and he shall humblij, &c.

N.B. No date to this Petition, but from its place on the file, it appears to have been about the end of 1602, or beginning of 1603.

January 27, 1825. The very Rev. the Dean of Ripon laid before the Society a Drawing of a Capital of a Pillar, representing five small Figures of Minstrels, in the exercise of their profession, in the body of the Church of Saint Mary, Beverley.



"This Pillar made the Minstrells."

The Instruments which they are represented as playing upon are, a Tabor or Side Drum, a Crouth or Base Flute, a Guittern, and a Treble Flute. These instruments are calculated to produce sounds in Score or full harmony.

The Figures, as they stand upon the Pillar, are painted, in jackets of red and blue: but whether the colouring is original, or the work of modern art, is uncertain.

The Church of Saint Mary Beverley, is one of great beauty, of the time of Henry the Sixth. The springs of the other arches which rise from the pillars of the body of this Church are uniformly ornamented by small figures of angels, bearing scrolls and inscriptions on their breasts.

March 10, 1825. Thomas Amyot, Esq. F.R.S. Treasurer, exhibited to the Society the Matrix of the Seal of Milo Fitz Walter, Constable of England in the time of Henry the First, accompanied by the following Letter, addressed to Henry Ellis, Esq. Secretary:

" MY DEAR SIR,

"The ancient and curious Seal of Milo Fitzwalter, Earl of Hereford, which accompanies this Letter, is not altogether unknown to the Society, an Impression from it having been exhibited about five and twenty years ago by the late Bishop of Salisbury, one of the Vice Presidents, and a rather incorrect engraving of it having appeared in the fourteenth Volume of the *Archaeologia*.

"I cannot, however, decline availing myself of the permission given me by Mr. Selwyn, the present owner, to bring it again before the Society's notice, more especially as I am now enabled to offer to their inspection

not merely an impression in wax, but the Matrix itself, which may possibly derive additional interest from some historical facts connected with its original possessor, and which appear to have been left unrelated when it was formerly described.

"Milo of Gloucester, as he is called on the Seal, was the son of Walter, Constable of England, an office which Dugdale conceives to have been the same as that of Captain of the Guard in after-times, for he was then called "*Princeps Militiæ Domûs Regiæ*."^a From his father, and from his marriage with the daughter of Bernard de Newmach, Lord of Brecknock, he appears to have derived large possessions both in England and Wales, while his military and personal qualities secured him favour and influence with Henry the First. His possessions were confirmed to him after Henry's death, through the clemency or policy of the Usurper Stephen, although Milo had attached himself to the fortunes of his first patron's daughter, the Empress Matilda, a personage whose name has acquired some interest in this Society, from the respectable, though controverted opinion of the Abbé de la Rue, that we owe to *her*, and not to Matilda, the Conqueror's Queen, that singular and highly-prized relick of history, the Bayeux Tapestry. From her, as a reward for his zealous services and munificent support during her adversity, he received in 1141 (the period of her triumph while Stephen was her prisoner) a grant of the Earldom of Hereford. This fact is recorded by a contemporary writer, the Continuator of the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, who appears to have been acquainted with Milo, and to have derived information from his own mouth.^b

^a Baronage, vol. i. p. 537.

^b Flor. Wigorn. p. 542, edit. 1592.

The Grant itself, in which Matilda styles herself, "*Domina Anglorum*," is preserved in Rymer's *Fædera*, and is particularly ample in his assignment of privileges.^c It is dated in Oxford, on St. James's Day, and notices, in terms of exultation, the captivity of Stephen, and the successes Matilda had obtained through the aid of her brother Robert Earl of Gloucester, and of Milo and her other Barons. Her triumph, however, was of short duration, for in the month of September in the same year, she was driven from Winchester, and sought refuge in the Castle of Ludgershall, but finding that post insecure, she fled from Devizes, and from thence to Gloucester. At the latter place she was joined by Milo, who, as we learn from his friend, the Continuator of Florence, had effected his escape from the hostile army in a harrassed, solitary, and almost naked condition.^d As the disguise of his person became necessary in a flight in which he must have been closely pursued, it seems probable that the Seal now exhibited was cast away by him for the purposes of concealment on the spot where it was discovered more than six hundred years afterwards, namely, in a field near Ludgershall, when it became the property of the late Rector of that place, the Rev. John Selwyn, who was the father of the Gentleman who now allows me to submit it for examination.

"These circumstances I think cannot fail to render it an object of some historical interest. It is on silver, and in a very perfect state. The words '*Sigillum Milonis de Glocestria*,' shew it had been used prior to the grant of the Earldom of Hereford, for that title, had

^c *Fædera*, vol. i. p. 19.

^d *Flor. Wig.* p. 544.

it existed when the Seal was prepared, could not have failed to surround the equestrian figure of its possessor.

"I have only to add, that Milo died in 1144, from the wound of an arrow received while hunting, and that the male line of his family terminated with his sons, who died without issue.*

"I remain always,
my dear Sir,

yours, most sincerely,

THOMAS AMYOT."

June 16, 1825. Dr. W. Owen Pughe exhibited to the Society an ancient Torques of Gold, accompanied by the following Letter, addressed to Henry Ellis, Esq. Secretary :

"SIR,

"I take the liberty of putting into your hands herewith a Torques of Gold, now in the possession of David Jones, Esq. of Millbank, which he is pleased to submit to the inspection of this learned Society. It was found by Mr. James Hughes, son of the Rev. Richard Hughes, the late Rector of Dolgellau, while grouse-shooting, on the 2d of September 1823. As Mr. Hughes was passing along the boggy margin of Llyn Gwernan, or the Aldertree Pool, to the northern cliffs of the summit of Cader Idris, he observed the part of a circular rim above the surface of the ground, which upon drawing out, finding it to be perfect in its form, he carried home; and which he afterwards offered to a friend for five shillings, as a curiosity; and the offer being rejected, the relic was given by him into the hands of Mr. Jones, with a view of ascertaining what it might be,

* Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 536.

not supposing it to be of any value ; and the latter Gentleman recognised it to be an ancient British Torques.

"It is well-known that the torques was a military badge, common among the Celtic nations ; and it would appear that the knowledge of it came first to the Romans from Gaul. The name of it is a radical word of very general use in the Welsh language ; and this *Torç*, a *wreath*, a *coil*, a collar ; also a badge of distinction worn by the Britons, which it was a point of honour for a warrior to preserve from being lost to the enemy in battle. *Tynu torç*, to draw a torques, is a common saying, implying a contention for the mastery.

"The *Eurdorçogion*, or those wearing the golden torques, were among the highest themes of the old bards of the Cymmry. Anëurin, the author of the *Godôdin*, a poem on the battle fought against Idra at Cattraeth, who often alludes to the *Eurdorçogion*, informs us that he was one of three out of three hundred and sixty-three wearing the golden torques, who escaped from that fatal conflict. And so great a number being thus distinguished in one Army leads to an inference that the torques was more like an order of merit, than a badge of command. The following is one of the allusions to the torques in the *Godôdin* :

' Or â aethant Cattraëth o eurdorçogion,
Ar neges Mynyddawg, mynawg maon,
Nis daeth yn ddiwarth o barth Brython
Ododin wr bell well no cynon.'

' Of such as have gone to Cattraëth of those wearing the golden torques,
on the errand of Mynyddawg, a mild one to the multitude,
there has not come, void of disgrace, on the part of the
Brython
of Otodinia, a mighty man, better than cynon.'

" In the *Vetusta Monumenta*. Vol. V. Plate XXIX. fig. 2, there is a Torques of similar workmanship to the one now exhibited, only that it is represented thicker in proportion to its length. The one at present before the Society is forty-two inches in length, weighing eight ounces and eight penny-weights; and the intrinsic value of its metal is about thirty-six pounds.

" I am, Sir,
your obedient servant,
WM. OWEN PUGHE."

3, Prospect Cottages, Barnsbury-park,
Islington, June 16, 1825.

March 9, 1826. Henry Ellis, Esq. F. R. S. Secretary, by the kindness of Mr. Fitzgerald of Marlborough-street, exhibited to the Society an ancient Bell, evidently of the twelfth or thirteenth century, called Saint Senanus's Bell, which has been long known as a revered relic in Ireland.

It formerly belonged to the Abbey of Iniscathy, on the Island of Scattery, at the mouth of the river Shannon, founded by Saint Senanus. O'Halloran, who mentions this Bell in his *History of Ireland*, assures us, that many of the common people believe at this day, that to swear by it falsely would be immediately followed by convulsions and death.

The interior of this Bell seems formed of what is usually called bell-metal, ornamented with an outer coat of silver gilt, in compartments; on one side, where the exterior plate has been removed, the ornament upon the bell-metal itself seems of an age as remote as the twelfth century; the silver addition may probably be of a date a century later.

Saint Senan, or Senanus, whose Bell it is called, is said to have been born in the country of Hy-Conalls in Ireland, in the latter part of the fifth century; to have travelled for spiritual improvement to Rome, and thence to Britain, where he contracted a friendship with Saint David. After his return he is said to have founded many churches in Ireland, and the great monastery in Inis Cathaig or Iniscattery, in which he continued to reside after he was advanced to the Episcopal dignity. His death is placed on the same day, and in the same year, with that of Saint David, March 1st, 544, though he was honoured in the Irish Church the 8th of March.

December 22, 1825. James Jones, Esq. of Camberwell, exhibited to the Society, by the hands of Daniel Moore, Esq. F. R. S., the remains of an ancient Dagger, a Key, and a Silver Penny of King Edward the First, struck at London, which had recently been found in excavating a sewer at Walworth, close to the spot which tradition mentions as the site of Sir William Walworth's residence, the Mayor of London who was concerned in suppressing the rebellion of Wat Tyler in 1381.

The Dagger, about seventeen inches in length, the cross-guard of which was gone, was found about four feet below the surface of the ground, and the Coin full two feet lower in the excavation. The Key was found in the ruins of the house designated as Sir William Walworth's, a few yards distant from the other articles.

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ERRATA.

P. 317, l. 2 from bottom, *for* *pelerins* *read* *pelerius*.

P. 323, l. 7 from bottom, *for* *dunes cuirasses couvertes*, *read* *dunes cuirasses meschantes cuirasses*.

